

A Tradition Behind Bars: Philippine Epics and the Evolving Philippine Literary Canon

Angelito L. Santos

Introduction

This study on the evolution of Philippine literary discourse, actually the first of two parts, discusses the original functions of Philippine epics in the cultural communities which produced them and why contemporary Philippine society should regain their enculturative functions.

To many a Filipino writer, literary scholar or critic, literature teacher or student, interested reader/listener/viewer of literature, the question of what makes Filipino literature Filipino is irrelevant. To them, the only relevant question to raise is what makes Filipino literature literary.

Towards changing this sad situation, we propose here to redefine the literary-cultural terrain of Philippine epics and folk literature in general—a Filipino popular culture no longer seen as inferior, primitive or even exotic but simply a product of a history undergone by scores of cultural communities who were driven apart by colonizers but in the end pulled together to forge a multilingual and multiethnic nationality.¹ Precisely because it thrives in a terrain shot through with ethnic, religious and class consciousness, the study of popular culture brooks no concealment of ideological position.

Though Philippine literary traditions may be said to have developed over thousands of years, the dominant, that is to say canonical, features of contemporary Philippine literary discourse are much more recent in origin. They date back no earlier than the sixteenth century, the apparently "unbreachable frontier" (the term is William Henry Scott's) of so-called Philippine cultural prehistory.²

And, in any case, the second of two cataclysmic ruptures in its development, coming at the turn of the now ending century, at the precise moment of its first flowering, was so irreversibly decisive that for most Filipinos now, just to talk about it as a rupture already requires a violent self-redefinition.

It has taken all of the Filipino nation's first half-century of existence to fully display the contradictions created by both historical fissures. This is because Jose Rizal, who laid out the solid basis of what we today call Philippine Studies, was able to clear an epistemic nursery for the Filipino viewpoint only by abandoning his ambitious project of rewriting Philippine cultural history. He felt that his *La Solidaridad* collaborators were not sufficiently committed to the monumental project.³ For this reason, he was able to complete, aside from many political essays, only the annotation of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. He was forced to transform the grand cooperative project he originally envisioned into the solitary, though perhaps no less grand, enterprise of writing *Noli Me Tangere*, *El Filibusterismo*, and a third uncompleted novel.

In the Philippines, the term "popular" became possible only after the Spaniards had colonized ca. 1571 majority (more probably just a plurality) of the diverse ethnolinguistic groups of the country. This is because the "filtering down" process of a "superior" culture or technology became possible only after the fact of colonization.

The popular specifically in this study alludes to a literary quality acquired by Filipino literature after the fact of the *conquista*. All post-*conquista* native literature became popular, that is to say, of the "Indios" as opposed to the "superior" literature of the Spanish conquerors. What the term highlights is therefore nothing less than an epistemic shift to a "center of rationality" stipulated by the colonizers, the colonial bureaucracy.

Popularization factualized the reification of Filipino native cultures into "exotic" commodities with marginally variable exchange values, mixed and thrown together willy-nilly, into the cauldron of a cheapened, downgraded, and therefore

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which is value and instrument rational.⁴ Certainly, every reading of a text — a myth, a romance, an epic, a play, an essay, a novel — is necessarily structural. It seizes upon what is in the text by first structuring them, naming or labelling them. But even then, the structuration is always contingent, born of disinterested necessity, of a scarcity of choices. It is an ideologically motivated situation which pre-constrains human choices. The consumer of literature qua critic may interact with the text either as a bricoleur or a scientist-theoretician.

Discourse, the linguists will say, is the use of language or any system of visual and aural signs. We define discourse in this study as the use of any and every human language, in turn defined as:

A sign system fulfilling the cognitive and communicative functions in the process of human activity. Language (L) can be natural and artificial. Natural L is the L of everyday life, a means by which human beings convey thoughts and communicate with each other. Artificial L is created by people for some narrow needs (as mathematical symbols, systems of signalization, etc.) (Frolov 216-7).

The representative Philippine "folk epics" analyzed in this study textualize traditions which are, in varying degrees, still alive. In Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao. Though none of these texts can definitively be said to be pre-Hispanic, they are patently non-colonial discourses. It is, of course, axiomatic that they constitute the highest literary-cultural expression of the more than 120 cultural communities which today make up the Filipino people.

The researcher was unable to retrieve even just one authenticated text of a Philippine epic recorded earlier than the 1880s. And, to hurdle this handicap, we attempted instead to recreate the cultural matrix that produced the extant texts through discourse analysis and historiography. As a typological study, it necessarily makes use of synchronic and supranational literary categories. To launch this study in 1988, with these constraints, we had to generate two sets of hypotheses, the first

comprising the theoretical thrust and the second the practical thrust.

The following theoretical hypotheses, which are predicated on a materialist theory of cultural hegemony,⁵ are what made possible the second set.

1. Discourse, as an evolved and still evolving system of oral, visual and gestural signs is used conventionally, that is, in accordance with principles emanating from an authority or authorities;

2. The locus of the power of discourse is ultimately the structure of authority rather than the set of principles emanating from it, which can be rescinded anytime;

3. Literary canon is a secondary phenomenon one step removed from the real seat of power of literary discourse since it is, as a set of principles of literary aesthetics, derivative of sociopolitical and economic canon(s);

4. Literary canon as the literary establishment or a group of the literati is also secondary and derivative; however, to the extent that the principles the literary establishment lays down do not contravene or subvert the sociopolitical and economic authority of the elites — so long as the literary principles are only organic elaborations of the ruling classes' own interests — then the literary establishment and the principles it espouses manage to appear as though they operate separately and independently of the real locus of power in laying down literary as well as other artistic normative principles;

5. Popular literature needs to be viewed in this double perspective: as a body of works employing second-rate literary aesthetics, in the literary establishment's estimate; and as "safe," "fit for the mass consumption of those below," as "non-political" meaning non-subversive literary fare, in the ruling class's estimate;

6. In Philippine and similarly-situated societies, where the literary canon is implicit and ill-defined, both among the marginal ethnolinguistic groups and the tyrannized majority found in modernizing mainstream society, literary canon is seen *au naturel*: as an unobtrusive appendage of socio-political and economic canon; and,

7. The canon of Philippine literary aesthetics, to the extent that it de-politicizes or rids literature of its historical moorings, succeeds merely in superficially masking the residual power of the political and economic elites to indirectly legislate, as models of success or "culture heroes," literary taste.

These specific hypotheses lead to one major hypothesis: that Philippine canonical discourse is simultaneously a twin sibling and child of Philippine colonial and post-colonial history and culture structured, directly and indirectly, by the present polity and economy of the country — both at the national and international administrative levels — and its definition of popular literature, as used in identifying the basic texts of reference for this study, therefore needs to be understood as a political discourse requiring a nationalist orientation if it is to become a material and progressive force in Filipinos' lives.

The practical hypotheses are:

1. Philippine popular literature up to the year 1900 was mainly oral and performative.

2. Philippine popular literature until the year 1900 had, as an ever-weakening constituent, the theanthropic logic of folk epic discourse that, through an evolutionary fusion with strands of the dominant Hispanic-Catholic discourses, both religious and lay, has come down to us as the folk Christian millenarian discourse. Philippine folk epic discourses are ethnic discourses almost uniformly subscribed to in limited but significant units of the Philippine population; and, as ethnocentric and cabalistic discourses evolved in response to colonial rule and its aftermath, they have identical counterparts in even the most acculturated and modernized segments of the population.

(A second theoretically more challenging study grew out of the first. It deals with the putative Tagalog, better yet lowland Filipino, epic, the *pasyon*, as well as with the epical tradition's surreptitious appropriation of some texts, from the Tagalog metrical romance tradition, the *awit* and the *korido*. The Tagalog elites have been the most successful of Filipino lowlanders in acting as brokers of power in the Philippine political economy

since Spanish colonial times to the present, except for a handful of clans in the Visayas, perhaps. Thus, their genealogical roots have been truncated by the extinction of their epic. Abandoned by their traditional leaders, the marginalized Tagalog folk borrowed the religious-literary text of the *pasyon*, with which they created a new genealogy, classifying their supposed "betters" alongside the foreign colonizers as hypocritical priests and citizens of a false theocracy. But that is already another study.)

An Empowering Philippine Epic Canon

Aesthetic canons are either homegrown or appropriated after being introduced nicely or violently by a "superior" political, economic, or social culture.

Strictly speaking, the presence or absence of violence in the initial pre-emption made by one over another culture would have the same effect on the overpowered host culture: it becomes popularized.

In practical fact, this popularization means the opposite of what it appears to mean: it alienates the people from their own traditions. Such a process is best illustrated by the marginalization of what supposedly are the central traditions of each ethnolinguistic community: the Philippine epic traditions.

Although each epic is a self-sufficient tradition, it is necessary to do a comparative reading of the epic texts to be able to talk of a Filipino epic tradition.

E. Arsenio Manuel, in two groundbreaking monographs — *A Survey of Philippine Folk Epics* written in 1963 and *Epic in Philippine Literature* written in 1980 — laid out a prototypical schema for doing a comparative reading.

The reading offered here is based on the examination of only eleven epics summarized in the Appendix. A bigger database is always preferable, of course, but the representativeness of these eleven texts is patent. Also, we took

off in our discussions here from the premises laid down by authoritative critical works, notably Elena Maquiso's on the *Ulahingan* and Francis Lambrecht's on the *hudhud* and the *ullalim*.

Towards A Canonical Philippine Epic Discourse

The putative national literary canon we Filipinos have is now better seen as a "loan" from the Americans. Imposed on us at the turn of this century as part of their colonialist experiment of "benevolent assimilation", we have since legitimized it, if largely by default. In any case, the colonialist project made our literary tradition an instant bearer of the Anglo-American literary discourse — through the institution of "English" (literature studies) at the few "normal" schools offering crash courses for teachers and at the University of the Philippines beginning in 1908, and through the use of English as the medium of instruction in the public education system in general. What the other early American teachers like the "Thomasites" taught in the "normal" schools were really not just English grammar and composition but in fact the theory and practice of late 19th-century American Romantic literature.

American literary discourse thus effectively pre-empted the initiatives of Jose Rizal and Isabelo de los Reyes among others, who, as propagandists of a national culture writing in Spanish, had delved into Philippine folk literature. Called by Manuel the "second period" of Philippine folklore studies, the entry of American scholars into this field "saw the progress of epic recording, translation, collecting, or study both by missionaries and humanists, foreigners and Filipinos alike" ("Epic" 309-21). Ralph S. Porter, a surgeon, joined hands with geologist-chemist H. Otley Bayer, Roy F. Barton, Frank Laubach, Dean S. Fansler, Fay Cooper-Cole, *et al.*, in this undertaking which (as Vivencio Jose, in a passage we shall quote at greater length later, pointed out) was geared "to understand the natives so as to make public administration quite efficient for alien investment and trade."

The American Occupation "babies" of folk literary studies constituting the third wave of Philippine folklore scholars

—Leopoldo Y. Yabes, Resurreccion Calip, Amador Daguio, Gabriel Bernardo, E. Arsenio Manuel, and folk literature popularizers Armando Malay, Manuel and Lyd Arguilla, etc. — as a result were either anthropologists or literary scholars. And though anthropologists and litterateurs alike were co-opted by American colonialist literary discourse, their efforts coalesced in time into the putative fourth and fifth periods of folk literary scholarship — the latter ushered in by Vivencio R. Jose⁶ with E.A. Manuel as his magus in the 1970s.

In a groundbreaking essay, Jose brought folk literary studies to the centerstage of contemporary Philippine literary scholarship and criticism. Until he published it in 1979, literary studies had been silent on how ridiculous it was that canonical Philippine literature was effectively sanitized of Filipinicity in concrete terms, in as much as it excluded most texts which majority of Filipinos considered literary.

The well-intentioned work of Lucila Hosillos in 1969, for instance, *Philippine-American Literary Relations, 1898-1941* was, in its time, a methodical study of Philippine literary history predicated on the formalist antinomy of the provincial and the universal in the constitution of the literary. It was very sophisticated in its foregrounding of the generic and formal qualities of literary works. Like her US-schooled counterparts in the other disciplines at that time, Hosillos was in the grip of a curious form of scientism underlain by an anti-establishment Romanticism. Accordingly, she could not transcend a basically American formalist theory of literary aesthetics. It must have been the temper of the times; it was fashionable up to the early 1980s among Western-schooled Filipino academicians and intellectuals to maintain that excellence, whether in the sciences or in the arts, has no nationality, including aesthetic excellence.

As a result, Hosillos in this book fell for the Orientalist labelling game, in the process being forced to call Philippine folk literature "pre-literary". So it is that in espousing nationalist "world literature"-class literature, she could do no better than defensively try to show its capacity to internalize a "superior" (American) literary culture.

She blamed Spanish colonialism for the "lack of influential tradition in the pre-American periods of Philippine literature", saying it "stifled creative efforts" and gave Filipinos only "degenerate" literary forms (religious tracts, metrical romances, miracle plays). But, surprisingly, Hosillos would not spare her people, faulting them for having developed only what she called "the pre-literary types – short lyrics, tales, proverbs, simple drama forms, and even epics" before the Spanish conquest.

Not surprisingly, she concluded that there was a "need for ideas, forms and techniques" which "another fully developed literature" could supply. (To be sure, a society which tries to ignore other national literatures – as an autarkic economy would resist foreign capital formation and accumulation – is soon enough stunted. But this is beside the point. The point is that literature is a social discourse and can only develop to the extent that society itself develops.)

Evidently, Hosillos here presumes without much ado that everything "artistic" in Philippine literature – everything "literary" that is to say – is so on the basis of a literary canon evolved in Europe and in North America. She is, in fact, explicit on this point in another passage:

After four decades, Filipino literature became a bearer of the Anglo-Saxon traditions in the Far East; it had enriched itself with Western culture as a whole even while becoming distinctly Filipino and transcending its nationality with artistic maturity. It strengthened its right to exist with its reception in the United States. While American influence varied with the growth of Filipino writing, American response to Philippine literature also changed with the achievements of Filipino writing, the nature of their political and cultural relations and the effects of their reception factors (138-9).

She flirted with the idea of enthroning the nationalist literary movement in the late nineteenth century that "developed and found expression in Spanish, although its forerunner, Baltazar, wrote his masterpiece, *Florante at Laura* in Tagalog" but

her discourse was such that the impulse was stifled. Instead of tracing its growth underground, she thus ended up dismissing it by saying that the patriot-writers of the Reform Movement who "succeeded in fostering nationalist consciousness and in awakening the need for a genuinely Filipino literature... later realized that Filipino writing in Spanish could not continue while its readers and writers diminished.

....In the late '20s, self-criticism fostered artistic consciousness which inspired literary experiments. The Filipino short story in English grew when cultural alienation gave way to disciplined use of American influence. The types and trends which Americans helped create are the foundations of Filipino writing today (89).

And yet, given all these shortcomings, Hosillos' book is a landmark work. It gives its readers a clear picture of how, in her own words — "the characteristics and development of an emerging national literature can be described and evaluated through its relations with another literature that has gained world stature as to provide literary standards on supra-national levels." Indeed Hosillos' book, by what it says and what it does not say, shows how our "national literature" emerged as a tributary of American literature through the wholesale adoption by Filipino academicians and intellectuals of the American, more accurately Anglo-American or "English", literary canon.

Let us be clear on this point: we agree with Hosillos that the influence of American literature on Philippine literature in terms of "ideas, forms and techniques" was largely beneficial—and, in any case, inevitable. This literary influence, the pre-emptive in-creeching of American canonical discourse into Philippine literary traditions, was as insidious an aspect of international literary relations, as it was a benign aspect of supranational literary borrowing of conventions. Hosillos, in her book, was oblivious of the built-in ideological biases of said canon which isolated and insulated writers and intellectuals from their people, effectively depriving them of a social support system (of a viable readership base, that is) which is indispensable for their further engagement with social concerns.

Its documentation of how leading Filipino literary scholars such as Hosillos herself naturalized English Romanticism and American Realism as the Filipino literary canon up to the 1970s is what makes Hosillos' book significant in any discussion of the Philippine literary establishment's history.

Written four years earlier but published much later in book form than Hosillos' work, Bienvenido Lumbera's *Tagalog Poetry 1570-1898* has clear advantages over Hosillos' book: its New Criticism biases are tempered by the author's affection for the works by Filipino poets themselves rather than for abstract "critical constants" like "artistic significance and perfection".

Lumbera's conclusion — that a centuries-old Tagalog poetic tradition existed and was "formalized", was "made acceptable to the intelligentsia", by Francisco Baltazar's *Florante at Laura* and that the poets of the 1896 Revolution made the tradition "acceptable to the entire Filipino people" — has a populist dimension that Hosillos' work lacks. It highlights the fact that: (1) the Philippine intelligentsia's nascent literary aesthetics was intimately linked to their historical role as the "enlightened" Filipinos and, therefore, only deigned to endorse the Tagalog poetic tradition after it exhibited, through *Florante at Laura*, an "enlightened" or studied artifice — such as the incorporation of footnotes into the poem to explain allusions to Greek and Roman mythology, "elements that no previous poem displayed with such ostentation" (vii) and, (2) that Tagalog poetry's continuing vitality was primarily stimulated by the fact that Tagalog was the official language of the Katipunan (116), which made Tagalog literature popular (that is, to a certain extent, homogenized and homogenizing).

Lumbera himself points out the main flaw of his work, taken on its own terms: it lacks a "deeper and more precise knowledge of poetry before it came into contact with the culture of the colonizers" (149).

Epifanio San Juan, Jr.'s *Toward a People's Literature* foregrounds a "radical tradition" in Philippine literature by focusing on historical data to build up a concept of hegemony

limited to the terrain of power politics. San Juan Jr. talks of economic and political events to foreground what Hosillos calls "critical constants" — "artistic significance and perfection" — though situating these in "materialist aesthetics". Not easy to read, San Juan Jr.'s book would perhaps yield more insights to a more patient reader. Unable to flesh out "radical" discourse, it ends up valorizing an apparently metaphysical aesthetic canon. Again, as in the work of Lumbea, the unwitting silencing and exclusion of a folk literary discourse which gained continuity in a popularized form, subverts San Juan Jr.'s project.

Vivencio Jose's "Ideological Trends in Philippine Folk Literature" zeroes in on the ideological aspects of Philippine literary canon that the political economy's ideological imperatives brought about, and in turn constituted the "literary text".

According to Jose, the Spaniards destroyed parts of Philippine folklore and folk literature, allowing the rest to fuse with written Spanish literary forms ("then consisting of tales and legends about celestial creatures, the Spanish nobility and monarchs, the novenas, the pasion story, the comedia or moro-moro, the profane awits and corridos and similar others") which could hinder their drive for mastery over the natives.

Nevertheless, many aspects of indigenous folklore and popular traditions remained generally alive for these were deeply rooted in the lives and interests of their creators — whether among the majority groups in the Spanish dominated lowlands or among the minority tribes of the hinterlands -- and continued as a flowing stream across the centuries....

....The Spaniards, through the family, the pulpit, and confessional, the Comision Permanente de Censura and the few printing establishments, wanted to control more firmly (literature's) ideological direction. This control... they could not fully enforce in the case of folk literature... (which) possessed the advantage of being orally transmitted (191-202 passim).

This pattern of cultural pre-emption by the Spaniards was

replicated with material variations by the Americans, from 1898 and beyond 1946, the end of the formal American colonial regime. The project of the Americans was, however, more ambitious: to create "little brown Americans" no less by substituting their own for the natives' folklore not only in the mass media and the schools but directly into the family.

...Folk literature... did not occupy the central... concern of the American colonizers... (who) were more busy integrating in the early years other aspects of native social and political institutions into the colonial structures. The influx of capitalism, by its nature and momentum, ushered in many changes in all aspects of the social existence of the conquered natives. The emphasis towards ethnic studies which greatly influenced the thrust of folklore increasingly became evident. On October 2, 1901 for instance the Philippine Commission passed Act 253 creating the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the Department of Interior,... later... (the) Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands... a division of the Bureau of Education (in 1905)... (of) the Bureau of Science (in 1906)... (and) gradually phased out upon the establishment of a new Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (in 1916).

These institutions, apart from their avowed functions, were actually helping American prospectors and businessmen to look for mineral resources and bigger internal markets for their products. A scholar (E. Arsenio Manuel) summarily pointed out that the "principal aim really was the study of the culture of the different ethnic groups, especially that of the minority peoples. There was tangential interest only in folklore study. If folklore ever became part of ethnographic effort, it was mostly accidental and not focal. Folklore work was taken over by teachers who joined the educational force. The leading ones during the American rule were H. Otley Beyer and Dean S. Fansler" -- both of whom arrived during the first decade of the 20th century. These two introduced folklore and anthropology courses in the University of the Philippines, an institution then envisioned as a training ground for the future leaders of the colonial

society. Others followed them later.

In all these moves... the American colonial government... wanted to understand the natives so as to make public administration quite efficient for alien investments and trade (191-202 *passim*).

We cannot overstress here that epic discourse is almost always an ethnocentric oral discourse (the so-called "literary", that is to say written, epics are the exceptions). This simply means that since an epic culture is necessarily pre-scientific or bricolagic, epic discourse is a homogenizing or enculturating discourse of a community with a variable level of organizational development as a political economy. It arises when a germinal sense of ethnicity has already set in for further development by the polity.

That an epic is either sung or chanted points to its ritualistic and ceremonial nature, its magical efficacy. Rituals are nothing less than pre-scientific mass psychology practices: with or without the aid of hallucinogens and similar stimulants that strip away people's inhibitions, hypnotic sounds and movements — chanting, dancing, singing — bring down participants' reservations and inhibitions and thus put them in a proper psychological state to "learn about morality" as Robert Graves would put it.⁷ To speak of an epic milieu then is really to speak of a nascent ethnicity or cultural predispositions to act which are encoded in symbolic systems that mediate the objective reality out of which they arise.⁸

The epic texts we have are non-colonial rather than pre-colonial. Nonetheless, Manuel says that some of these epics were noted in passing by early Spanish chroniclers ("Survey" 4-6). Unfortunately, their allusions are not properly documented and are therefore not of much help.

Manuel cites, among others, the observations about the barter milieu of Arevalo, Panay Island as of June 1852. Miguel de Loarca noted that those who lived in the mountains produced rice and cotton which they exchanged for fish, salt and "other

articles of food" with those who lived along the coastline. Yet, lowlanders and uplanders had distinctly different sets of beliefs: "The people of the coast, who are called the Yligueynes, believe that heaven and earth had no beginning and there were two gods, one called Captan and the other Maguayan. The Iguines (another subdivision of that people) believed that the god Maguayan carried the souls of his disciples in his boat, to another life". (In Philippine ethnography, it is evident that bodies of water like rivers, lakes and even open sea are bridges for friendly inter-ethnic transactions; land masses tend to be guarded too jealously against any form of incursion, perhaps because they were ancestor worshippers and could not countenance any transgression, imagined or real, of holy burial grounds – and thus tended to be unbreachable obstructions to friendly inter-community relations.)

...Since these natives are not acquainted with the art of writing, they preserve their lore through songs, which they sing in a very pleasing manner -- commonly while plying their oars, as they are island-dwellers.

Also, during the revelries, the singers who have good voices recite the exploits of olden times: thus they always possess a knowledge of past events (Blair and Robertson 121).

Manuel says that it was only in the last quarter of the 19th century that Filipino epics were recorded ("Survey" 6). The Spaniards' lack of interest in Philippine folklore, specifically folk literature, is understandable: they wanted to obliterate the "strange", "superstitious" traditions. (Florentino Hornedo has translated a third epic recorded by the Dominicans in the 19th century. Even so, three epics recorded in 300 years is a conclusive figure.)

And yet, evidence suggests that the "legacy of ignorantism" alluded to by T.H. Pardo de Tavera cannot be truly said to have been deliberately managed. John L. Phelan's *The Hispanization of the Philippines* says that "much of pre-conquest" 16th century Philippine culture "survived the conquest" with the following characteristics (15-28).

First, the "only form of political and social organization" were small kinship units of 30 to 100 families called barangays which "provided an umbrella of mutual security". Big barangays, with as many as 2,000 families, existed although suprabarangay political units were unknown until the coming of Muslim influence "sometime after 1450." The Muslim sultanates were slowly encroaching northward when the Spaniards came. Thus the Cebu and Manila sultanates of the 1560s conquered by the Spaniards were just a little bit more than superficially Islamized. In these fortresses, the principle of suprabarangay leadership "apparently had not progressed beyond the embryonic stage". The absence of suprabarangay organizations in the unconquered Cordilleras, then as now, supports this hypothesis.

These barangays had four distinct classes, with several sub-classes: the *datus* and their families; the *maharlika* or nobility; the freemen or *timagua*; and, the servile dependents "whom the Spaniards misleadingly called slaves." But landowning was communal. The chieftain did not own the barangay lands, but he probably had more dependents than the rest and thus was able to cultivate a bigger share of the communally owned lands for rice and root crops. Fishing and the raising of swine and fowls was open to everyone.

Dependents were peons or sharecroppers composed of insolvent debtors, captives from raided nearby barangays, convicted thieves/robbers or convicted fornicators/adulterers. Their status was hereditary but manumission was possible for a stipulated price (about 12 Spanish pesos in the 16th century; 16-20 pesos by 1635).

Second, the family, nuclear or extended, was the basic socioeconomic unit. Polygamy "was confined to the Bisayan islands of Samar, Leyte and Cebu... [where] divorce and re-marriage... were more common. The failure to have children, a prolonged illness, or an opportunity to make a more advantageous marriage were sufficient causes to secure a divorce. Divorce was socially accepted under certain conditions, but it was still the exception.... Parents negotiated the marriages of their children with a view to cementing kinship alliances and

property arrangements." The groom had to provide a dowry to his future father-in-law and pay a "bride price" (a sum in gold or *bigay haya*). Else, he worked gratis for a period of time in his father-in-law's house (*maninirbihan*). Pre-marital sexual relations were not discouraged for engaged couples.

Patrilocal residence was the rule in Luzon. In the Visayas, however, matrilineal residence predominated. Generally, kinship was traced on both sides.

Third, the pre-conquest Indios were animists and nature worshippers. They conceived of a hierarchy of gods, with a Supreme Being as the "creator of the universe and ruler of men," the Tagalog *Bathala* or the Bisayan *Laon/Abba*. Their gods and goddesses were "specific protectors" who assured the success of specific endeavors.

In addition, they had *anitos* and *diwatas*, good (the spirits of their ancestors) and bad (the spirits of their traditional enemies). Gods, goddesses and other spirits, benign as well as malignant, had to be propitiated. And in these propitiation rites, they "drank copious libations of rice wine... at the betrothal, weddings, and funerals." Traditionally, datus shouldered expenses for such ceremonies/rites. They had professional priests known as *babaylanes* or *katalonans*, according to Juan de Plasencia's 1589 study of Tagalog customs. Priests were usually elderly women or transvestites. Rites usually took place in sacred spots (caves, groves, etc.) as the need arose.

Fourth, Filipinos had an alphabet of their own consisting of 17 letters, three of which were vowels and the rest consonants. There was a Tagalog text of the Doctrine of 1593, the first book printed in the Philippines, also printed in said alphabet, not just in Latin. Literature was largely oral and scant — "only a few historical fragments have come down to us, and there is little evidence to suggest that the Spaniards deliberately destroyed Philippine manuscripts...."

For the foregoing summary account of the culture of pre-conquest Filipinos, Phelan used 17th century archival materials,

culled from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and the library of the *Palacio de Oriente* in Madrid.

It should be noted, of course, that for all *Indios*, even for those cultural communities which managed to keep the Spaniards and the lowlanders at bay or at foothills, the coming into being of Filipinas irrevocably changed their world. And it is precisely against such a backdrop that the epic traditions can be seen as historical records of: (1) how "other" Filipinos were easily subjugated due to their baranganic sociopolitical organization as much as by the fact that they saw Christian or Catholic rituals as no more than variants of their own ceremonies for propitiating their gods/ancestors; (2) how the epic singing tradition, once banned by the friars, could have survived only in the hinterlands and isolated/fortified islands; (3) how much easier it was for barangay leaders to decide to flee, therefore, rather than fight frontally — and consequently, how war raids rather than frontal assaults are reflected in the surviving texts; (4) how, given their low agricultural technology and the perpetual siege the colonizers subjected them to, they saw threats to their lives, not just to their homes and property, very real indeed; (5) how such a state of siege made food and filiation the highest good for the barangay; and, (6) how mobile ethnolinguistic communities in time became different and estranged from their sedentary kinsmen — except in terms of closed-because-defensive ethnic ties, the worship of ancestors in theanthropic guise, and male-right kinship ties (because of the state of war, warriors must have been decimated and this paved the way to polygamy and exogamous practices).

Philippine Epic Discourse

Manuel, in his *A Survey of Philippine Folk Epics* says that

after an examination of the materials...certain common features of the folk epics stood out; and these gave definition to folk epics. These characteristics show that these ethnoepics are (a) narratives of sustained length; (b) based on oral tradition, (c) revolving around supernatural events or heroic deeds, (d) in the form of

verse, (e) which is either chanted or sung, (f) with a certain seriousness of purpose, embodying or validating the beliefs, customs, ideals or life values of the people (3).

This definition of Philippine epics skirts the issue of what Western epics are. The lacuna signifies Manuel's repressed fear, nay conviction, that Philippine epics are so "folksy", so uncultivated, that it is difficult not to rate them as inferior to well-known Greek, German, Anglo-Saxon, Indian, and other epics. After all, are not all epics "ethnoepics" or folk epics?

To set free the demon of un-acknowledgeable cultural inferiority, let us then ask the bedeviling question: What do Philippine epics have in common with other countries' epics?

Vladimir Propp, in his study of Russian epics, says that epic poetry has many features rather than just one, each of which contributes to its essence:

The most important feature of epic poetry is the heroic character of its content. Epic poetry shows whom people consider a hero and for what deeds... The content of epic poetry is struggle and victory.... In different historical periods, the content of the struggle has been different, but there is one thing peculiar to the struggle in all stages of epic poetry:.... The struggle is not personal but popular and national, and in later periods it also has a clearly pronounced class character (149).

Propp goes on say that Russian epic poetry is meant to be sung — because "All verse folklore is always sung. The form of oral verse is alien to folklore; it is possible only in literature. Therefore, when musical epic folklore becomes written literature, it first loses its musical form and sometimes its verse form as well" (150).

But always, "Epic poetry portrays an ideal reality and ideal heroes. It generalizes the vast historical experience of the people in extremely powerful artistic images" (152).

There are striking similarities between Manuel's definition of the "ethnoepic" with Propp's of "epic poetry": the common focus on the oral tradition, the emphasis on the singing/chanting, and the generalization of historical experience to portray ideal reality and ideal heroes.

What Manuel identifies as the first epical feature, "sustained length", refers to the actual singing/chanting time. Thus, it is subsumable under features (e) and (f) of his own definition. Thus it can be included among the points of similarities.

The third feature — "revolving around supernatural events or heroic deeds" — is subsumable as well under feature (f). Suffice it to say that folk cultures qua epical ethos are, as a rule, pre-capitalist and pre-scientific, where the heroic is practically indissociable from the supernatural.

The fourth feature of the "ethnoepic" which Manuel singles out, the verse form, is the nexus of the problem. And Manuel alluded to it gingerly as follows in 1962:

Aside from these obvious features, the verse form of metrical romances is strikingly different from that of the folk epics. The poetry has reached a sophistication that is not found in the primitive form, being syllabically metered and regular; it has also a stanzaic structure consisting of a regular number of verses, in sharp contrast with the epic forms which are uneven and irregular. Lastly, assonantal rhyming is pretty well understood, adhered to and achieved in the metrical romances, whereas in the folk epics, it appears only occasionally, or is rendered by devices such as the addition of meaningless terminal morphs by some Bogobo epic singers ("Survey" 10).

By 1980, Manuel had already given the problem a handle:

...shall we consider our epics folksong or poetry?

Either from the terminology or from the point of view of performance, the ethnoepics are essentially sung or

chanted. While it is true that in the performance the singing or chanting may lapse into recitative, this is not exactly recitation of the story as is done in the telling of a tale, for there is a great deal of intonation in which the timbre of the singer-reciter's voice may vary from one performer to the other which may or may not be circumscribed by its length because the tunes may be regular or irregular. The second reason for lapsing into the recitative may be functional: that is, to provide a respite period from an otherwise long or strenuous singing. Perhaps, a third explanation might be offered: it could be part of the style of the performer or part of the delivery tradition ("Epic" 306).

This certainly is a roundabout way of saying "All verse folklore is always sung. The form of oral verse is alien to folklore...." And why Manuel hesitates and decides not to say it is, to my mind, intimately connected to his adamant refusal to drop the "ethno" and "folk" as qualifiers of Philippine epics: he knows that our epic texts are "inferior" works of versification.

What Manuel was not ready to say (and which explains his uncharacteristic beating around the bush) is that the Philippine epics should not be judged at all as verses but as songs. Although he says as much in his definition of the epic ("which is either sung or chanted"), he was still unable to say more than that the epics should be taught in schools as songs ("Epic" 309). Because epics of other countries (e.g., Greek, Anglo-Saxon, etc.) have come down to us in translation, and to be read rather than sung, we assume that their rhyme schemes and meter came to them quite naturally because they have better poetic traditions. What we forget is that between the recording of the epics between 1000 and 2500 years ago and the present, many folk poets, scholars, and even translators had already mediated — the epic texts as we know them today are evolved forms of the first recorded versions. Besides, classical education, except for a smattering of Latin in some secondary schools, is almost no longer accessible nor sought in the Philippines. So most students of literature have no idea at all of how the epics of the Greeks and Romans sound when sung or chanted in the original.

To say this is to suggest that if we are to look at our epics as poetry, we need to formulate an aesthetic canon derived from the study of texts as such. And translate them into the national language. Or else, we must look only at the more developed outgrowths of the epic tradition, as that of the Tausogs and Maranaos — the *lalleng* or love ballads whose length per episode is not too long but are played one after the other practically 24 hours a day. Such songs, because they are cast in acculturated poetic form, and are in fact accompanied by electric guitars and organ, would certainly be more "poetic" in terms of meter and rhyme.

But are epics less poetic when their folk verses are less sophisticated in metrics and tropes? Poetic "beauty of form" is for the listener/beholder to say. This is why epics remain as such even when they lose their melody; even when they acquire or lose their verse form. Whether their development is or is not arrested (that is, whether they die out after being recorded or continue to grow and develop with vigor as chanted/sung narratives), they evolve into other genres. And this evolution has ideological causes and consequences.

In this light, the traditional schematization of Philippine epics as Christian, animist and Muslim is untenable. All of our epics are animist with Christian and Muslim accretions. All our epics are ethnic, of the folk.

Although the goal in completing the collection/annotation/translation of all texts is obviously to learn more about each cultural community, this is but an intermediate goal. This goal logically leads to a next: to group communities geographically so as to better organize "ethnoepic regions" or communities and, ultimately, to formulate a national epic canon.

This is precisely what "bricolage" is all about: the natural decay and reconstitution of folk or pre-scientific or naive social discourses. And this leads to the most valid insight that Structuralism, seen either as a simultaneous development in France or, which is really more logical, as an outgrowth of Russian Formalism, offers: that a limited range of motifs or

"functions" which are "immanent" in the "normal" operations of language constitute the mythological language of folk social discourses; and not just in folk literature, but in literature as a whole. Each literary genre as a general or special deployment of language would have a limited repertoire of settings and characters, as well as turns and twists in plots, themes, and characters. In a word, Northrop Frye's "pre-structuralist" paradigmatic theory of literary genres, myths, and symbols as constitutive of the supranatural dimensions of the literary is valid for limited application, primarily for typological anatomy.

All epics are social and religious discourses: they are deployments of language mandated by pre-scientific ideologies; they are coherent only within their linguistic and ideological boundaries. In encoding an order or a hierarchy of social priorities, of ideal realities and ideal heroes, they capture historic states of consciousness that are in constant flux.

Epics as Discourses of Primitive Accumulation

As a rule, the country's folk epics illustrate a discourse of primitive accumulation: how labor and products of labor are "pooled together" to perform social projects, mainly agriculture. The labor "pooling" proceeds alongside the crystallization of a primitive power structure — the baranganic three-tiered hierarchy with gradations in between. Without such a power structure which can legitimize collective or communal endeavors, there can be no "social wealth": techno-economic development would be impossible. That such a process is evident still in the folk epics may be seen as confirmation of the proposition that the baranganic sociopolitical system was (and, for some cultural communities, is) primitive.

1. The Luzon Epic Cycle Cluster

The Bicol epic *Handiong* was supposedly recorded early in the 19th century but only published in 1895. According to Manuel, it was M.B. Espinas who ascribed the recording to Fr. Bernardo D. Melendreras in manuscript which Fr. Jose Castano a bit later included in his "*Breve Noticia Acerca del Origen Religion*

Creencias y Supersticiones de los Antiguos Indios de Bicol" in Spanish translation. Said translation appeared in W.E. Retana's *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino*, v.1 printed in Madrid in 1895.

However, Florentino Hornedo says that the text of the epic was not recorded but in fact written by Melendreras, based on then current folklore. Hornedo has raised a valid question regarding this epic's authenticity.⁹ It is thus best to exclude this epic from our discussion.

a. The Iloko epic *Lam-ang*

As the oldest and the latest recorded versions of this epic show (see synopses in Appendix 1.1 and 1.2), the epic's discourse is really animist rather than Christian. Except for the mention of two religious sacramental rites — baptism and wedding — there is nothing thoroughly Christian about its *weltanschauung*. Instead, it evokes an animist world where charms and amulets of all sorts play a bigger role than skill, wile or even valor in the fighting. The fact that these charms and amulets are alluded to at all, however, may also point to the fact that there was a need to remind the listeners that these existed — but that a contrary opinion was already possible because of the inroads made by the Spanish friar.

The heroism of *Lam-ang* is an accident of lineage: he inherits not only lands, two boats and well-stocked granaries but also his standing in his community and his stock of magical animals, weapons and objects.

In fact, he does not become a hero but is born one. Not only is he born fully grown, physically and intellectually. More, he is invulnerable when geared for battle — he remains unscathed in battle not so much because he is a warrior but simply because his is literally a charmed life.

The only time he exhibits a heroic nature is when he disregards his wife's warning about his vulnerability to a shark (*berkakan*). The heroism he exhibits here is twofold: one, he honors his social obligations to dive for *rarang* (some sort of a

bivalve which is a delicacy among Ilokanos) when his turn to do so comes; second, he exhibits valor in diving into the sea without using any of his magical powers despite having been forewarned by ill omens.

This point needs a little amplification.

In its prototypical version (Appendix 1.3), this episode has Kanag (Lam-ang's Tinggian prototype) upstaging his father on a headhunting trip by ambushing a passerby (a young girl) ahead of his father and cousin, who "only" manage to kill an old man and old woman, respectively. During the victory dance, back in the tribe's village, Kanag's face "brightens up" as he dances with such wild abandon that the earth trembles and the river is diverted to where the celebration is ongoing, the fish lap his feet--and his father decapitates him. (He is later revived by his mother.) There is, therefore, a coherent displacement of the two episodes as follows: (1) the dancing of Kanag is displaced by the dancing of the stairs as an omen of things to come; (2) the trembling of the earth and falling of coconuts by his vigorous dancing becomes an intense tremor that wrecks the kitchen; (3) the river is displaced by the sea; and (4) the fish lapping his feet in adoration and the cutting off of his head become the *berkakan* that defensively swallows him whole as a nuisance in its habitat.

Clearly, the epic discourse reflects a higher, more advanced social organization — where the elements of headhunting as a test of valor and skills, the celebration of a successful headhunt, and a "normal" filicide have all been deleted. In their place are created: the diving for *rarang* as a test of valor and skill; natural tremor as an ill omen; and, convivial and respectful father-son relations as the natural order of blood kinship.

In the latest version of the epic to be recorded, this death-and-resurrection episode is deleted. In its place, a whole new episode about Lam-ang's happy solution to a problem with his in-laws of building a house between his mother's and mother-in-law's houses is textualized. This development indicates that Ilokanos as "tribesmen" (more in spirit than in actual situation)

have become less community-oriented and more family-oriented. This may be because of their migratory tendency — to escape the harshness of their spiritual home. The Ilokos region is, for the greater part, mountainous, and fit only for marginal agriculture and grazelands.

b. The Ifugaw *Hudhud*

There are many versions of the *hudhud*, each essentially identical with the next, except for the episode recounted. The *hudhud* expert, Fr. Francis Lambrecht, calls this epic's cycles "romances", "tales of heroes and heroines of wealth" dominated by "the double theme of manly skill or valor, and womanly beauty". As tales, they exhibit "significant linguistic peculiarities,... outstanding pieces of primitive literature, memorials of an ancient culture that has maintained itself for ages." They are sang at any time of day by groups of women, while weeding or harvesting, or holding their funeral wakes "not only to break the monotony of their tedious labor or the oppressing silence of their nightly watches, but more especially to praise Ifugaw wealth...."

Since almost all *hudhud* romances describe battle episodes in which the main hero (or heroes) proves his skill, or valor, the *hudhud* have been compared with sagas and epics. However, the *hudhud* stories do not primarily center around his exploits and do not make of him an epic hero symbolizing Ifugaw valor, although in such battle episodes he is endowed with extraordinary, and sometimes mysterious powers and skills. Moreover, the *hudhud* battle motif is subservient to the pervading romantic motif, which enables the chantresses to praise Ifugaw wealth spectacularly manifested in festive celebrations.

Besides, *hudhud* battles are idealized by the chantresses, for such battles have nowhere been actually fought, certainly not among the Ifugaws. On the other hand, *hudhud* celebrations, especially the *uyany* marriage feasts, are realistic tableaux of the present-day Ifugaw prestige feasts.

The *hudhud* romances, though purely fictitious, belong to the sacred traditions of the Ifugaw people. Their characters, vaguely representing culture heroes of wealth have been deified: they are invoked in some of the Ifugaw rituals. Nevertheless, the actual chanting of the *hudhud* is not regarded as a religious performance. While the various myths, also belonging to sacred traditions, are incorporated in the Ifugaw rituals in the form of magical tales, the *hudhud* are not; for, unlike the myths, which are believed to have been revealed and, in some vague manner, to have historical value, the *hudhud* merely recount fictitious stories as if they were historical (267-8).

Lambrecht understandably calls the *hudhud* "romances". He is, after all, not a Filipino but a Belgian missionary. Though he may have become, in the decades that he has been here in the country, as Filipino as any Igorot, the fact is that his formative years as a scholar were spent in his country rather than here. In short, he uses Western literary canon here to define what is an epic and what is a romance.

We alluded earlier to the fact that the dominant Filipino literary canon has been thoroughly Americanized to the extent that it is nearly indistinguishable from the Anglo-American canon. Thus, most Filipino critics, literature teachers and scholars alike, would agree with Lambrecht.

For indeed, the *hudhud* episodes talk but implicitly of a heroic struggle. (More on this struggle later.) They appear to trivialize rather than ennoble their manhood/womanhood by showing off rather than observing neo-classic traditions of propriety and decorum.

But this, precisely is the point: that Iloko, Igorot and other Northern Luzon tribes were unable to evolve social organizations and social ideologies as sophisticated (or even just nearly) as what the Greeks and Romans evolved. And it is therefore foolish to compare their characteristics as social discourses.

It should be noted that it is only now that the Igorots are

banding together as the "Cordillera people". This fact, while indicative of their will to self-reliance (in the technical sense that embraces self-determination, self-help, self-rule, etc.) is likewise indicative of their and their brother Filipinos' backwardness in that they are still unable to transcend their ethnicity, and thus cannot come together in forming a nation that is not a mere bureaucratic category but one indivisible social unit. This should not be misconstrued, of course, as a condemnation of their attempt to preserve their ethnicity in their autonomous region — given the unevenness of development in the country, regional autonomy may be a sound political maneuver at this time, though it may isolate the region economically.

But to go back to the original point: since cultural ideology is a result rather than a "first cause" of sociopolitical and economic structures, it cannot help but be as sophisticated or as backward as the material culture that gives rise to it. This being the case, the struggle that is epical can be as significant or as trivial as the concerns of the ruling class. Among the Greek nobles in 8th century B.C., it was a struggle for supremacy among the city-states and a struggle for supremacy as well among gods as keepers of natural powers, (or, in any case, among the discourses on natural power). Among the Anglo-Saxons of 8th century A.D., it was a struggle against natural forces in a virtual *terra incognita* — demonic monsters of the deep and caves. The struggle was for human excellence in every sense of the word. Equally significant, the struggle was also for extremely selfish and parochial ends, also in every sense of those words. This attests to the validity of the proposition that the epical world is an idealized, "universalized" projection of the primitive world of men.

Notwithstanding their idealization, the binding cultural ethos reflected in them, in our time, appear unimaginably narrow-minded and shortsighted rather than "sublime".

Appendix 2 reproduces a shortened version of the synopsis of one episode in the *hudhud* cycle, *Hudhud da Dinulawan Ke Bagan ad Gonhadan* (Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bagan at Gonhadan) prepared meticulously by Lambrecht.

For purposes of elucidating our thesis, it is necessary to discuss four points further: the quest-for-bride/groom motif; the *kadaklan* (big river) motif; the "spring-poled offsprings" motif; and, the "big feast" motif.

Lambrecht intimates that the quest-for-a-mate motif in the *hudhud* is the equivalent of the quest-to-please-the-married-beloved motif of Christian metrical romances in the Middle Ages. He telescopes this idea thusly:

It is precisely this double theme (of manly skill, or valor, and womanly beauty) which makes 'romances' of all the *hudhud*. The double theme is dominant in as far as it knits together the various episodes and incidents of the narration; it renders possible and actual the composition of a tale in which Ifugaw wealth is praised ... spectacularly manifested in festive celebrations (267-8).

This telescoping is not tenable for two reasons. First of all, the discourse of the metrical romance is radically different from that of the epic *not in terms of the ideals each upholds but in the scope of application of such ideals*. Romance heroes are courtly (or courteous). Epic heroes are either xenophobes or "barbarians": they either look down on or cruelly maltreat every non-member of their tribes (as Achilles, Beowulf, Lam-ang, Bantugan, Agyu, Ulysses, etc. do) but are gracious and solicitous with their own members. The protagonists of all *hudhud* epics are Igorots. Thus, their battle scenes are almost gentle and choreographed rather than cruel and vicious. Second, the display of wealth in epics is almost an act or exorcism of the specter of hunger (this will be treated more fully in the discussion of the *Ulahingan*) and a paradoxical fear and endorsement of looting and plunder. This is what the 1975 Norton *Anthology of English Literature* editors alluded to as the unpredictability of the situation: it is forever on the threshold of turning into violent confrontation. These are tribes abroad, and they are out to rape and loot and kill — horsemen or footmen of doom, each group on its own — because the world of men who inhabit epics exists only for domination by the "chosen" tribe.

Hyperbolic descriptions of personal adornments in epic warriors' bodies (or else, in their wives' or sisters' or mothers' bodies) is, therefore, a sign, a symbol if you will, of the successful plunderer: Beowulf, Achilles, Aliguyon, Pumbakhayon, Lam-ang, Agyu, Sandayo, Humadapnon, Bantugan, etc. In contrast, the atmosphere in metrical romances is such that some sociopolitical laws higher than those of a closed cultural community are already acknowledged.

Lambrecht likewise hints at the matriarchal logic of the quest motif, just as in metrical romances — with respect to the stylized battle scenes. This he convincingly argues by citing the matriarchical logic of Ilonggots' headhunting trips — who are related ethnolinguistically to the Isinays (Ituys) who, in turn, are related to the Igorots. And this leads us to the *kadaklan* motif.

Lambrecht hypothesizes that: (1) the rice terraces were built sometime at the turn of the 16th century or early 17th century — sometime after they learned wet-rice cultivation from the Isinay or the Ituy region, after settling in the Magat River area; (2) the battles in the *hudhud* are conflation of two things — the headhunting practice among the Ifugaws in an earlier time as a matriarchal society and the difficulty of finding suitable partners for the rich Ifugaws (or *kadangyans*). This, though, gives more weight to the epic-ness of the *hudhud* rather than to its being a romance. (This stipulation of a past matriarchal society incidentally, gives Lam-ang's apparently aimless adventures a coherent rationality as well: he had to advertise his skills so that his reputation would precede him when he pays court.)

The "spring-poled offspring" is a mere manifestation of the Ifugaws' belief in another life "after this". This would explain the miraculous born-as-a-full-grown-man motif in Lam-ang and in the *ullalim* episode, *Marriage Between Enemies* at Appendix 3. In short, child prodigies are "divine children," in C. Kerényi's lexicon: they are not really born but re-born or "born again". (This motif is also in *Sandayo* and in *Humadapnon*.)

Finally, we come to the great-feast motif. This motif is shared by Lam-ang and the *ullalim* referred to earlier. It is an

index of wealth, possibly of "criminal" origin. But since Northern Luzon tribes, precisely, live in a largely inhospitable terrain, the more acceptable explanation is that it is simply a sort of a sympathetic magic ritual for assuring bountiful harvests and successful hunts.

Clearly, then, the Northern Luzon epic discourse points out the commonalities of ethnolinguistic groups there in times past when matriarchy held sway. This hypothesis is the focus of our discussion in the next section.

c. The Kalinga *Ullalim*

Based on the discussion of Kalinga tribal culture by Francisco Billiet and Francis Lambrecht, it is evident that the Kalingas have essentially the same culture as the Tinggians. Among others, they (the Kalingas and Tinggians) share similarly structured rituals after successful head-hunting expeditions, performed by female shamans.

And if this is so, then the Kalinga hero Banna's magical birth as a full-grown man, as a variant of Lam-ang's, is no accident. The other points of similarity in all Northern Luzon epics surface thereby as follows: the belief in signs and omens and in the existence of charms and amulets; the practices of bride-price and bride-service; the belief in rebirth; and, the ostentation of wealth.

It should perhaps be added that the meter and rhyme of all epics are irregular, with a predominant meter (seven syllables, in the case of the *ullalim*). This simply means they were meant to be chanted or sung, such that shorter lines are "filled in" with duplication of syllables and with the use of apparently meaningless words.

2. *The Mindanao Epic Cycle Cluster*

a. *The Ulahingan*

Mindanao scholars have reached a certain level of

unanimity in accepting the proto-Manobos as the original settlers of Mindanao. According to Alfredo T. Tiamson, known Mindanao bibliographer, descendants of this ethnolinguistic group include: the Manobos scattered in Agusan, Surigao, Western Bukidnon, North and South Cotabato, Southern Davao; Higaonons of Misamis Oriental; Matigsalugs, Dibabawons and Atas of Northern Davao; Kagayanons; etc. Even the Maguindanaos and the Maranaos are said to be descendants of the same original community.

This view has been strengthened with the investigations of the Agyu epic cycle, *Ulahingan* (Appendix 7). Thus:

There is unmistakable closeness between the heroic characters of the *Ulahingan* and the *Olagingan* as can be seen from the collection of both Ludivina R. Opena and Carmen C. Unabia preserved at Xavier University. Closeness is discernible also with the Dibabaon-Mandayas of Davao Oriental as can be gleaned from the findings of Father Emmanuel Nabayra formerly parish priest of Nabunturan, Davao del Norte, as reported by Alfredo T. Tiamson. The same is true of the *Guman* of the Subanons as studied by Esterlinda Mendoza Malagar and of the *Mangaob* of the Mansakas as collected by Antonio Magana. In these epics, one meets the same characters and motifs, although the names may be slightly different and the color, too. The themes of struggle, of magic transformation, sudden deaths and resuscitation by water, immortality through food; pig's meat or fish or rice or the chewing of the inapugan or the betel quid are quite common (Demetrio vi).

This passage points to the relative primitiveness of the non-Muslim and non-Hispanic cultures in Mindanao. It also points to the fact that it is not culture that determines history but the other way around.

The primitive political economy of the proto-Manobos notwithstanding, their epical world of Nalandangan appears to be more advanced a civilization than any recounted in Philippine epics. Consider the facts: (1) the immediate reason for chanting

this epic, a tradition supposedly initiated by Bayvayan, Agyu's son, was for food (Maquiso 38); (2) one version of the *kepu'unpu'un* states that famine was the cause of the first migration (Maquiso 12); and (3) the tribe's concept of Nalandangan as the abode of the immortals has as its anchor the idea that gods do not experience hunger anymore — when Lena's wife, Mungan, became *adkatulusan*, an immortal, the honey and venison offered her came alive as bees and deer.¹⁰

We should add at this point that this paradox — that the Manobo-Arumanens, Talaandigs, etc., though not even past the food-gathering stage of economic development, were able to conceive of a universal picture of paradisaical opulence and plenty — is one more evidence of the fact that epics idealize political economies. They project communities, small worlds, as universal societies where men fight evil and uphold the good, apparently unfazed by the instability of their hearth.

This leads us to the second point: the flight to Nalandangan is always triggered by the presence of a stronger force in all versions of the etiologic "prologue" of the narrative, the *kepu'unpu'un*, it be the Muslims, the Spaniards, the Americans, etc. Surely, the righteous slant of these *kepu'unpu'un* versions was overdetermined by the historical need for the community(ies) to flee. Having been forced out of their original settlement, the proto-Manobos never looked back and instead conceived of a Nalandangan where they would always win or bounce back from defeat.

The *Ulahingan* discourse is therefore essentially a rationalization of a history in the guise of a universal story about the human craving and struggle to excel in making love and war.

b. The Maranao *Darangen*

Manuel Tawagon, a Maranao scholar, says that

Generally, the Maranaos have no historical sense. First, they do not write down their own history (*tatalan*); and second, their genealogical accounts

contain meager historical data; that is, no dates given, descent lines of personages and their respective names were given more emphasis rather than the events surrounding them. The Maranaos are a society of royalties. Their history is genealogical in nature which includes folklore, especially the *Indrapatra* narrative and the *Darangen* epic poem. In short, history for them is nothing more than a mixture of genealogy and folklore.

The history of the Maranaos as perceived by them may be divided into four: (1) the *Radia Indrapatra* period; (2) the *Darangen* period; (3) the *Pengampong* period; and (4) the Islamization period (*Pengampong* 21).

Tawagon adds that just as Maranao history takes the *Radia Indrapatra* narrative as an etiology on the peopling of the Lake Lanao region, it also takes the *darangen* characters as historical ones, as is evident in the pains taken by the texts to actualize the continuity of genealogies.

This "epoch" in Maranao history covers four generations, ending in the founding of the *Pengampong*, the traditional sociopolitical organization and territorial divisions of present-day Lanao provinces: "from Diwata Tanda or givon (the founder and first ruler of Bembaran) to Botowanen Kalinan who fled to Lanao as a result of the destruction of the kingdom, married there and whose descendants became the founding fathers of the *Pengampong*."

In short, the *darangen* is viewed as an embodiment of beliefs, practices, norms, behavior, thinking, rituals and other activities: they be social, political, cultural, religious, intellectual, etc. In general, the *darangen* has greatly shaped Maranao history, society, culture and institutions. For instance, the concept of datuism which revolved chiefly in political, social and economic aspects of this institution is believed to have originated from the *darangen* (Tawagon, *Pengampong* 24-34 passim).

Although the *darangen*, then, is clearly pre-Islamic, it has

flowed smoothly into the Islamic epoch. Composed of about 25 chapters according to Mamitua Saber, most of the *darangen* has yet to be translated.

The difficulties encountered by Delia Coronel, which she recounted in her "Introduction" to the translation of the "first three books" of the *darangen* she edited, derive from this conjuncture of fact and fiction.

First of all, the epic's extant texts were difficult to authenticate. This was because families usually had two versions: a "common version" for lending and an "authentic version" for the family's exclusive use. Thus, owners would either lend out only a portion, or else hold on to the concluding part of the episode: "to have a complete *darangen* meant that you really owned it".

The fact that these versions or cycles had already been written down, first in scrolls, later, beginning with the US regime, in notebooks, thus complicated rather than simplified the task of tracking them down. The *kirim* were "family versions" – "heirlooms passed from one generation to the next."

This authentication-thru-privatization of the scripts necessarily generated counterfeiting. Or, to put it nicely, it led to the proliferation of "authentic" versions. This prompted Coronel's research staff to anchor the task of sifting through the many texts on a genealogical table, which put them in a "was it the chicken first or the egg?" kind of dilemma.

The genealogy, like a proper genealogy, starts with the Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him). That this was anomalous was soon clear, but no genealogy can properly be said to start except with the Prophet. And so, even if the *darangen* is mythical and therefore antedating history, and even if the ending is anomalous because Bembaranis petrified precisely because all of the people there refused to accept Islam, the listing had to be retained in keeping with the rules of genealogy singing....

Still, it wasn't all hard work; it was also fun, says Coronel.

The *darangen* is still part of the cultural milieu of the rural areas. It is still customary to invite the *onor* (singer) during a *kalilang* or feast, whether it is for the dead or for any other occasion. The host always includes *darangen* singing as part of the festivities. Then one gets not only a song but a story and a dramatic spectacle as well, because the *onor*, while singing about the battle scenes, jumps into the *sagayan*, or war dance with a partner joining in. If the *darangen* sung is *Gandigan*, the audience gets a triple treat: *kulintang* playing, *bayok* singing, and *singkil* dancing....

Hadji Lawa Cali told me that there are two kinds of *darangen*: *darangen a mama* and *darangen a babai*. It seems, traditionally, the first were sung only by men, while the other was exclusively for women. However, today, any *onor*...may sing any *darangen*. The *darangen a mama* was what we had collected while the *darangen a babai* was the Maguindanao version...(with) a different set of characters working out another plot in a different cycle (5-6).

Clearly, the discourse of the *darangen* (Appendix 6) is ethnocentric — and not only because of the differences between the Maranao and the Maguindanao cycles. Indeed, it is nothing less than a *raison d'etre* of the Maranao sultanates. We speak of the sultanate as the highest pre-Hispanic political organization in the country, and here is a community that has more than two hundred sultanates! This certainly is the clearest example of how universal viewpoint could be so parochial and gratuitous.

This is not, of course, to disparage the Maranaos. The point here is simply that the *darangen* is the highest form of poetry, is the Maranao epic, because it discourses on the tribe's highest form of organization as an oral culture. And as a legitimizing discourse, it gives the community that produced it a historical depth, both, as it turns out, factual and mythical.

The apparent appropriation of the *darangen* texts by the Maranao families wishing to legitimize or else affirm their royal

bloodline may well be turning the *darangen* into a romance, dislodging the element of social struggle and substituting for it the familial/personal struggles. The gradual transformation of the *darangen* into romances, which is even more advanced in the case of the Iloko epic, should alert us to the need, as soon as possible, to "nationalize" our epic tradition.

3. *The Visayan Epic Cycle Cluster*

Panay's *Labaw Donggon/Humadapnon* cycle (*Hinilawod* I and II) is a discourse on sexuality, specifically marriage. This is not so surprising since, as we, quoting Phelan, pointed out earlier, Visayans appeared to practice polygamy rather consistently.

Its questionable association with machismo is with reference to *Labaw Donggon* (Appendix 4). And according to Manuel, only a "small portion of the text... containing 3822 lines" of the *Labaw Donggon* text was used in 1957 by F. Landa Jocano for his "*Hinilawod* Epic of Panay". What is more, adds Manuel, Jocano's text "has a number of fragmented cantos which appear to have missing episodes, sometimes rendering the story incoherent or the incidents inconsistent; at other times, some characters seem to play double roles, not warranted by the story, unless the cantos are treated as separate songs not constituting an epic cycle. The epic of *Humadapnon* is many times longer than the first and runs to about 53,000 lines" ("Survey" 26-7).

Although much can be made of *Labaw Donggon's* machismo, it is more productive to look at the polygamous hero's exploits as a signifier of certain historical conditions.

In a synopsis by Gina Barte of "A Song of the *Hinilawod* Epic" (Appendix 5), *Humadapnon* and *Malitong Yawa* are first cousins. The taboo of incest is certainly stronger and more strictly enforced in most societies than the taboos on polygamy and adultery. Thus, the *Humadapnon* epic may be said to be even more of a "chronicle" of sexual practices, of marriage customs, specifically, than the *Labaw Donggon* cycle.

What is significant here is the existence of such practices, rather than their being tabooed. It points to the lack of marriageable maidens in Sulod society. As in the *hudhud* cycle, heroism in this epic is a correlative of "proper" reproduction: beauty and wealth are advertised by heroes as their way of wooing maidens who, when won, add to the heroes' reputation as men who appreciate and attract the wealthy and the beautiful. The focus on the capacity to have many wives, including other men's wives, is obviously a discourse on manhood that seeks to exorcise the lack of marriageable maidens. But, to repeat a point we made earlier, the hero's self-advertisement is ruled by matriarchal logic well on its way to total transformation to patriarchal logic. The sacred exorcism discourse of yesterday has ironically become today's legitimizing discourse on machismo.

Essentially the same observations can be made of some Mindanao epics: *Sandayo* (Appendix 7), *Tuwaang* (Appendix 10) and *Nalandangan* (Appendix 9).

A Question of Philippine Epic Heroes

Each Philippine ethnolinguistic community probably has its own epic. Though only 26 of these have been recorded so far (see Appendix for list), the *Ulahingan* alone is said to have as many as 1350 episodes. Considering that the Manobo-Arumanens are just one of the 120 or so ethnolinguistic groups in the country, we can very safely say that we have no lack of a rich epic tradition as a nation.

Up to now, educated Filipinos have been consistently misled into looking at Philippine epic heroes as strange, exotic, savage model leaders of "ethnic communities" far removed from our "modernizing world."

But are they really strange? Isn't it rather that we have made strange people's heroes our own?

Are they really exotic? Or are contemporary Filipinos, rather, the exotic specimens of brown Americans or brown Europeans?

Are they really savage? Are we not more savage than they because we have not yet learned to care for our very own people who have managed, against all odds, to retain their identity? Are we not the real savages because we would rather have other people's identities than our own — even to the extent of insisting that we never had a real identity before?

Should we then wonder why we still continue to talk about nationalism — national heroes, national culture, national literature — as though we were still trying to invent it? as though there were compelling reasons to reinvent it?

We cannot continue denying that we have a national culture: a culture structured by our resistance against colonizers of all hues and forms.

And this is the reason why we need to canonize our national epic traditions as the foundational pillars of our culture: social, political and economic.

We need to understand the symbology of our continuing past: how the latent power of our culture was appropriated and commodified by colonialism; how the commodification of our culture made it exotic, savage, strange.

What then is to be done?

We can initially group regional epic cycles by cognates as suggested by Manuel and Maquiso, on the basis of ethnicity and geography. We can, for instance, reconstitute the Manobo community from the many groups into which it had splintered, just as Northern Luzon cultural communities may reconstitute proto-groups. A formulation of a national canon of our epic traditions is thus feasible offhand.¹¹ Regional canons per major island group (Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao) are just as readily definable, of course.

This is perhaps the place to discuss the "universality" of epic discourses despite their ethnocentric, indeed, xenophobic, axis.

Because of the built-in empiricist biases of scientific thinking, we often overlook the most basic of all scientific truths: that truth is a symbolic construct rather than a simple collection of positive facts. When we say something is "universal", we refer not to the experience but to its symbolization. An experience is always particular and individual. Its symbolization, to be communicated, has to be "universalized" or encoded into a discourse curiously "timeless": it must be textualized as a world of synchrony and metonymy, the world of language.

To this extent, the epic, like folklore in general, may be seen as no more than the elaboration of a lexicon. Or, to put it differently, the expansion of communities which appropriate a language or symbology. In describing the world, it creates vocabulary. It thus universalizes by creating a limited totality of vocabulary.

As a result, the folk literary text mystifies by juxtaposing discrete data and images: it explains by describing paradoxes. It is structured like a riddle: it emphasizes paradoxes in our experiences of nature when it tries to explain them. It achieves no more than a description of an ever-widening circle of related phenomena via substitution: each episode the hero textualizes by his action generates another episode patterned after an already rehearsed motif.¹²

As a fiction, the epic hero's qualities are totipotential. And he therefore puzzles. He is the paradox that man, without rigorous theoretization, the method and knowledge of science, takes as the dead-end explanation for the "natural" scheme of things.

The epic hero is a god of nature: he gives natural cycles, the natural order of things, a coherence they do not have. The epic hero is the certainty that bodies forth in the naive mind at the cost of self-deception: the exorcism of the unknown by embracing it; the "false consciousness" that fills in gaps of knowledge with conviction, with emotion, with belief.

This means that:

As inscribed in the text, the hero becomes the axis through which the text's amorphous content of puzzlement starts to cohere, with the many images competing for primacy inscribed in the hero's being, giving the hero an illusion of polysemeic dynamism — an apparent capacity to generate many layers of meaning. The hero thus "mysteriously", "craftily" gives the text a self-sufficiency as a piece of historicizing discourse; an ideologically coherent account of human events.

As ideologies crystallize further and change, further structural displacements occur, enabling the text to shrink and expand in relation to other texts, both older and newer. And so the bricolage continues.

We had earlier shown that the epic hero is always the first in a genealogy: he anchors a fictive history of the tribe or community as the first of its kind. Short of that, it anchors the fictive history of the community as the chosen, whether of God, a god, or some superior being.

And herein lies the charm of the epic hero: he represents not only an individual hero's claim to immortality as the chosen but also the entire community's claim to such a distinction. Thus, the epic hero concretizes the mysterious world of gods to the extent that he embodies or personifies all the gods. And simultaneously, he "abstracts" the all-too-familiar world of the ethnic community (small, primitive, dangerous, unstable, undeveloped, etc.) into one part of the mysterious world of gods, his universe.

In coming into being, therefore, the Philippine epic hero "formalizes" the legitimacy of God and the gods - and also the legitimacy of the ethnolinguistic community in a moral order under the protection of a benign god. In a very real sense, the epic hero formalizes religion as a social discourse; he makes religion the basis of cultural (that is, social, economic, political and philosophic) organization and vice versa.

Epic discourse naively interchanges and equates concepts that are not just dissimilar but even contradictory. It does not

make scientific distinctions but rather makes a "science of the concrete" of every distinction — into a symbolic ritual, an art.

This being the case, epic poetry cannot survive except in the chaotic atmosphere of "primitive socialism" wherein the general lack of privileges associated with rank creates the illusion of equality and freedom, a sense of "community" which keeps under wraps the mystery of power. Power appears more of an obligation, a burdensome duty, of those who attend to public matters. The rulers, that is to say, do not rule by force. Rather, the power that inheres in the polity, the public-at-large, is dissipated in the chaos of ideologies that are silent on the need to coordinate and cooperate to make the social system work for the common welfare.

Whether free or not, men rule themselves; they live by the force of their own power. And in a situation where the text doubles as law and religion, power becomes a zero-sum game. The power that initially resides identically in each member of the polity soon becomes concentrated in the hands of those who diligently exercise their rightful share of the collective power. The defaulting member soon finds himself the ruled rather than a co-ruler. And soon enough, ruler-gods are born.

In the epic hero-as-magician — one who ritually equalizes resources and needs — the potency of certain rituals comes to be institutionalized, like Bayvayan's *ulahing-ing* for food. And soon, the security of life and property comes to be associated with rituals of an organic society — with ethnicity.

In this light, it comes as no surprise that epics have survived only in those communities that have maintained their sense of organic unity. And it is in this context, too, that the ethnocentricity of the Ilokanos can be associated with the survival of their epic. It would appear that the Christianized Ilokanos merely treated the Spaniards as mere additions to their "aristocratic" *babaknang* class.¹³

A clear evidence of this is the case of Diego Silang, who led the 1762-1763 Ilocos revolt. Born of parents who belonged to

the *principalia* class, he grew up as messenger-servant of Vigan's parish priest. At age 27, Silang married a rich widow, Gabriela Josefa, who was an adopted daughter of a Provisor, Tomas Millan. Although Silang's brief rule of Vigan and its vicinity was surprisingly unsullied by the blood of the clergymen, it is nevertheless said that Silang, a devotee of the Virgin of the Rosary, amazed his Tinggian allies by dancing the victory dance, also known as *sagang* rites, around the head of Don Miguel Pinzon, a local official who resisted Silang's takeover of Vigan.¹⁴ (A book can be written on this alone: the ethnicity factor in the recurrent involvement of Ilokanos in religio-political controversies, from Silang to Fr. Burgos to "Apo Lakay" and his Guardia de Amor, to De Los Reyes and Aglipay — to, if a member of a cultist group is to be believed, Marcos.)

As for the Muslim tribes, it should be noted that, as Alfredo Tiamson put it in an interview, the Muslim religion is distinguished by its willingness to let social organizations be, untouched and intact. Thus, conversion to the Muslim faith can be painless. This fact is related to Coronel's puzzlement as to why the Maranao and Maguindanaos, among others, trace back their genealogies to the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

And what of the other Christianized communities? Historical evidence suggests that trans-baranganic "organic societies" or cultist groups sprang up aplenty if sporadically, for the entire duration of the Spanish regime in the islands. These were the millenarian "tribes", they be Boholanos, Tagalogs, Ilocanos, etc.

And their sacred text, their epic text, were what became by the 19th century, via acculturative bricolage, the Pasyon Heneis.

NOTES

¹ This insight was probably first propounded by Renato Constantino in his many books from the late 1960s onward.

² See *The Discovery of the Igorots*. "Scotty" eventually breached this

frontier with his *Barangay: Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society*.

³See Vivencio Jose, "Poetry and Revolution: A Chapter of Philippine Literary History." and Nick Joaquin, *A Question of Heroes*.

⁴See "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy" in Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Weber's concept of "instrumental rationality" as an ideal focus of value judgments is perhaps best illustrated in literary criticism by the works of Northrop Frye.

⁵See Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* and Raymond Williams, *Towards a Sociology of Culture and Marxism and Literature*, as well as Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology and The Function of Criticism from "The Spectator" to Post Structuralism*.

⁶The arguable breakthrough point is Jose's "Creation and Flood Myths in Philippine Folk Literature."

⁷See his article in William Sargant, *Battle for the Mind* and "Interview: Robert Graves", in *Playboy*.

⁸Pierre Bourdieu says that *habiti* are "the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment" (e.g., material conditions), "the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g., language, economy, etc.) to succeed in reproducing themselves." See his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

⁹Interview (11 Sept. 1988). For the same reason, we are excluding the Maguindanao epic *Indrapatra and Sulayman* freely adapted by Frank Lewis Minton in *Philippine Magazine* (September 1929): 200, 202, 236. Both unauthenticated texts, in any case, also deal with the process of primitive accumulation, specially the clearing and survey of lands — identical with the "subject" of the Beowulf epic and, to a point, with the Lam-ang epic.

¹⁰For an enlightening comparison, see Carmen Ching Unabia, "Bukidnon *Batbatonon* and *Pamuhat*: a Socio-Literary Study." See especially vol. 2 Part II ("The *Batbatonon* Text") of Unabia's work.

¹¹For cognates of the *Ulahingan* cycle, see Virgilio Resma, "Keg *Sumba Neg Sandayo* or Tale of Sandayo: A Subanon Epic"; E. Arsenio Manuel, *Tuwaang Attends a Wedding*, and Corazon A. Manuel, "The Epic of Nalandangan: A Study of Two Songs". See also E.A. Manuel, *Agyu: The Ilianon Epic of Mindanao*.

¹²See V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, 83-9, for an enlightening discussion of this point.

¹³This was originally propounded by I. de los Reyes. See W.H. Scott, "I. de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore".

¹⁴See E.A. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* I, 409-18 and W.H. Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 132-6.

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APPENDIX: Summaries of Ten Folk Epics (Fourteen Texts)

These summaries are meant to help the reader follow the discussion.

The three *Lam-ang* epic texts are summarized here to shed an important sidelight on the mythic structural displacement process. (The Blanco and Tacdol versions were recorded seven decades apart.) Along with the next two epic episodes of the *hudhud* and *ullalim*, respectively, they should enable one to make out the distinct historical and ideological flavor of the Northern Luzon epic cycle cluster.

The Visayan epic cycle, *Hinilawod*, follows.

The last seven summarized texts represent the 20 epic cycles of Mindanao. They were chosen to show that, their disparate storylines notwithstanding, common features are evident in all these epics. The Tausug *parang sabil* reflects the influence in its tight narrative structure; the Maranao *darangen*, in its epochal character as genealogical literature; and, the Manobo-Arumanens, Talaandigs'/Bukidnons' and Manuvus' *bendingan/guman/olagingan*, as the "negative presence" of Muslim outlook.

One last word. There are 26 documented folk epics so far. Two of these -- the Bicol *Handiong* and the Magindanao *Indrapatra and Sulayman* -- have no original texts, only a Spanish and an English text, respectively. The others are: (3) the Ilokos' *Lam-ang*; (4) the Kalingas' *ullalim*; (5) and (6) the *hudhud* and *alim* of the Ifugaws; (7) and (8) *Hinilawod* I and II of Panay's Sulods; (9) and (10) *Agyo* and *Baybayan* of the Bukidnons/Talaandigs; (11) and (12) the *gumans* of Dumalinao and Sandayo of the Suban-ons; (13) the Manuvus' *Tuwaang*; (14) the Mansakas' *diawot*; (15) the Mandayas' *owaging*; (16) the Palawanons' *kudaman*; (17) the Maranaos' *darangen*; (18) and (19) the Taosugs' *silungan* and *parang sabil*; (20) the Tahavawas' *sambila*; (21) the Matigsalugs' *ulod*; (22) and (23) the Manobos' *bendingan/ulahingan* of *Agyu* and *Tulalang*; (24) the Ilianons' *Agyu*; (25) the Puangion's *Banlakon*; and (26) the Jangans' *Indaya*. Some of these cycles have yet to be recorded/transcribed; scores of the epic cycles' episodes await transcription and translation.

1. *The Life of Lam-ang* (Iloko)

1.1 The 1889 Gerardo Blanco Transcription

Lam-ang is born in Nalbuan of Namungan with the help of a skilled midwife. At once, he asks for his father, D. Juan Panganiban. Told that D. Juan had gone to fight Igorots, he at once leaves in search of his father, bringing all sorts of charm stones/amulets.

While resting under a big tree, he has a vision of a *sagang* feast, D. Juan's head at its center. He gets up and redoubles his search. Finding the feast, he challenges the Igorots, telling them to call all their kinsmen. The spears thrown at him prove harmless. His *campilan* slaughters the Igorots, except one whom Lam-ang spares but sadistically mutilates.

Home with his bloody booty, Lam-ang interrogates Namungan. Then, he goes to the river for his shampoo, assisted by 9 x 2 x 9 maidens. The fishes die except a crocodile which he subdues and whose teeth he takes for talisman.

Home again, he goes to pay court to Ines Cannoyan. He is ostentatiously dressed — even his pets are leashed with pure gold. Along the way, he is insulted by Sumarang and he kills the impolite mutant. Further on, he cruelly repudiates the seductive Saridandan's advances.

Reaching Kalanutian, he outshines the massed suitors. Ines comes out for him after he renovates the Cannoyans' out-house with his magical pets' help. The marriage negotiations follow. He boasts that his inheritance and expropriations (from those he defeated in battle) are not even dented by the demanded bride price. A grand wedding, with two boatloads of Nalbuan's populace plus all of Kalanutian's in attendance, follows, after which all the china used and leftover food are given away to guests.

Back in Nalbuan, Lam-ang agrees to hunt for *rarang* or shellfish when asked by the *capitan*. He alerts Ines to look out for the signs of his impending death: an earthquake. Ines asks a diver to retrieve Lam-ang's bones expelled by the shark that ate him. He is resurrected on the seventh day. He embraces his wife and pets who revived him.

1.2 Domingo Valdez Transcription; Carlo Magno Tacdol's Recitation (Ms. submitted to Juan Francisco in Tarlac in the late 1960s.)

Tengleban leaves pregnant Namongan to search for his father-in-law. Igorots kill him like his father-in-law.

Lam-ang is born. He suckles once then goes to look for his father and grandfather. He kills 1039 Igorots in a 20-year adventure.

Returning home, he gives Namongan his amassed real estate titles (whose taxes alone amount to 30 million pesos). He pays two maidens a peso per step to shampoo him.

On the way to the river, the mutant Tebuang mocks Lam-ang's rich-man's-walk and is killed. The shampoo kills all the river's fishes. A crocodile that survives the pollution gives him a 20-day fight. (Along the way home, the used plates are sold for P18,000. This, plus 25 cavans of rolled money, constitutes the two maiden's windfall income.)

Lam-ang goes to Oloy Buaya to court Ines Cannoyan. He wins her and goes to fetch his mother for the wedding.

But on his return, Oloy Buaya was already conquered by Sumarang. Lam-ang does an El Cid: he gives the 30-column-strong forces of Sumarang a three-month shooting practice. When they run out of ammunition, Lam-ang gets them all.

The wedding takes place. Both mothers insist that the couple live with them. Lam-ang shouts and a 12-room house roofed with gold etc. materializes, along with two other houses connected by equidistant roofed pathways -- exactly 301.5 kms. either way.

1.3 *Kanag* Tale (1916 Fay Cooper Cole Summary Translation)

Pregnant woman asks in succession for fish roe and deer's liver. Wastes these. Husband transforms into an ant and discovers she really wants *bolnay* fruit. He gets fruit but gives away to his sweethearts some. Wife eats all left then demands more. He is enraged; buries her under *bolnay* tree, where she gives birth to Kanag (between her third and fourth fingers). Child bathes and grows each time such that he joins headhunting shortly afterwards. Kanag gets head of pretty girl; all others in party get old men's/women's heads. During the feast back in the village, Kanag dances. Earth trembles, coconuts fall, river enters village, fish lap Kanag's feet. Jealous father decapitates him. Mother

restores Kanag; informs father of his paternity. Father kills all his sweethearts. Family reconciled.

2. *Hudhud of Dinulawan and Bagan at Gonhadan*

(1967 F. Lambrecht Translation; Rosario Mabingon's Recitation)

Dinulawan urges his sister Bagan to seek a husband. He gives her his ginuttu-adorned belt-scabbard for her to offer to any young man for fitting. He tells her to stay with him whom the scabbard fits.

The scabbard fits wealthy Aliguyon and no one else. But Aliguyon is married to Induduli (whom he cannot repudiate since she already has given him a son Guminigin), and thus does not claim Bagan for a wife. Bagan is disappointed and shamed: she thinks Aliguyon rejected her and that her brother wanted to get rid of her. She decides to roam around instead of going home. In the process, she meets a lone-house dweller, Daulayan, who resembles Aliguyon closely. Since the scabbard fits him, Daulayan claims Bagan for a wife, who accepts him though he looks poor.

Meanwhile, preparations for the Aliguyon-Induduli marriage feast in Kalbuyan are underway. Induduli's brother Guminigin (after whom her son is named) takes charge of the preparations. Lacking sugarcane for sweetening the rice wine and meat, Aliguyon leads a party in search of sugarcane. They find Daulayan's sugarcane and ask for some stalks. Aliguyon is surprised to see Bagan there — and to notice his resemblance to Daulayan.

Back at Kalbuyan, Aliguyon recounts to his mother Indumulaw his encounter with Daulayan. Indumulaw tells him Daulayan is her "spring-poled" (resurrected) first-born. She tells him to fetch Daulayan and Bagan. Bagan hesitates but finally agrees. Her fears are confirmed: Induduli is hostile to her presence.

Meanwhile, Guminigin is ambushed by Dinulawan who is on the warpath because he is worried by Bagan's disappearance. Guminigin is saved only by his quick assurance that Bagan was safe at Kalbuyan. But those who saw Guminigin attacked raise an alarm and young Kalbuyan braves incited by Induduli attack Dinulawan. Dinulawan shooes them away with improvised spears. Bagan, recognizing her brother in the distance, approaches then reproaches her brother for disrupting the wedding feast. She does not dare to go back to Kalbuyan so she goes home with her brother to Gonhadan.

Aliguyon, realizing Bagan's high social standing, pushes

Daulayan to legalize the latter's marriage to Bugan with a bride gift (*hingngot*). The groom's party is welcomed at Gonhadan with the customary nine days of rejoicing. Then, it is decided to hold a double marriage feast at Kalbiyan.

Meanwhile, Aliguyon's "spring-poled" 12-year-old sister instinctively "homes" to Kalbiyan. There, Guminigin falls for her and gives his necklace to the girl who accepts it gratefully. Dinulawan, as master of ceremonies for Bugan's wedding held simultaneously with Induduli's, also notices Aginaya. And he wastes no time in ascertaining where she lives after the festivities. That same night, he woos and wins Aginaya and takes her to Gonhadan.

Guminigin discovers next day Dinulawan's "fast break" with Aginaya. Repulsed by Dinulawan at Gonhadan, Guminigin goes home and prepares for a duel with his rival. The spear battle the next day pits Guminigin and namesake nephew as well as his brother Babliing against Dinulawan. Daulayan is urged by Aliguyon to help his brother-in-law since Aliguyon himself cannot fight against his own son. Daulayan's hesitation prompts Bugan to go to Dinulawan's aid.

The duel has gone on for days when Guyaguyon, cousin of Guminigin, arrives to help his kinsmen. He kidnaps Aginaya but alerted by Bugan, Dinulawan orders a bamboo to hook up Aginayan and place her on a tree's branch. Guyaguyon then fires his rifle and ignites (sic) a granary. Dinulawan commands rain to put out the spreading fire; then, the sun to come out again. The show of power frightens the Guminigins and they flee. Bugan overtakes Guminigin Jr. and strips him of his g-string and gives him a punk's haircut. Dinulawan overtakes Guyaguyon and robs him of the rifle.

Aliguyon tells Induduli to fetch Guminigin Jr. (who did not want to go back to Kalbiyan for shame) and she does.

3. *Marriage Between Enemies: Ullalim*

(Billiet/Lambrecht 1974 Translation of L. Manopag Transcription)

Banna, son of Chief Dulliyaw and Ginnanayan, is with his father's warriors on a war raid on Manluta, the village of the giant Gittam. Transported there on a red light beam, a terrible fight ensues till nightfall, when Dulliyaw wisely tells his warriors to retreat and regroup at Sinkabila. (In the darkness, friends mistook friends for enemies.)

Banna flees to Kamyogan river which he crosses, on to

Malunawa heights. He sees two braves and flees again, finally falling asleep out of sheer fatigue.

Thus is he found by Onnawa, daughter of Pangdan, chief of their enemy village, Dukiban. And they fall in love. She invites him home lest her father's warriors, then on the warpath, harm him. He agrees and there offers her his bridal gift of gold. After some hesitation she accepts the gift and this validates her marriage to the son of the chief of an enemy tribe.

On his return, Pangdan objects to Onnawa's marriage to one he supposes to be a mere commoner. Banna, unwilling to reveal his noble lineage, leaves, not knowing his wife is pregnant. He is welcomed back with much rejoicing but slowly wastes away, unable to confide his predicament to anyone. As solution, his mother sends him on a suit for Laggunawa of Mangoby. The maiden's father, however, would agree to the match only if Banna, or any suitor, could bring Liddawa's head. Two other warriors (Banna's cousin, Wasigan and Aggonnana, the Bayuya chief's son) meet with the same precondition as Banna in their suit for Laggunawa. The two serious suitors (Wasigan was not serious in his suit) attempt to get Liddawa's head. Banna gets the head of Liddawa's cousin; Aggonnana, that of another cousin. Both are told to get Liddawa's head.

Meantime, Banna's son by Onnawa has grown into a handsome Gasingga -- in the care of Mangom-ombilayon who found and adopted him after unhappy Onnawa had consigned the baby to its fate, leaving it in a basket in the river -- and joins the quest for Liddawa's head. He succeeds but does not get Laggunawa because Banna and Aggonnana object. Laggunawa is forced to give the three one more quest each. Banna succeeds in killing Gani Ganniniyan. Aggonnana succeeds in killing Inoga Malbinoga. Gasingga is swallowed by a python guarding Aba Mangabangon. Mangom-ombilayon offers to anyone who can save Gasingga Onnawa's necklace and Aliguyon's beaded cap (which he found with Gasingga's basket). Aliguyon, recognizing his cap, goes to the rescue of Gasingga.

Later, Mangom-ombilayon convinces Pangdan to go with him to Dulawon. There, Dulliyaw mollified him with peace offerings. Banna then has Wasigan fetch Onnawa. Gasingga is depressed then consoled, by the knowledge of his identity.

Gasingga gets Laggunawa for a bride. Aggonnana gets Bananay, sister of Banna. Banna and Onnawa live together, their families no longer enemies.

4. *Hinilawod* of Panay Sulods

4.1 Labaw Donggon: *Hinilawod I*

(1956, F. Landa Jocano Transcription and Translation of Ulang Udig's Chanting)

Labaw Donggon, Humadapnon and Dumalapid are born as child prodigies to Abyang Alunsina, a *diwata* "of the eastern sky" and Buyung Paubari.

Though hardly a day old, Labaw Donggon takes leave of his mother to woo Anggoy Ginbitinan of Handog, at the mouth of Halawod river. With the aid of magic, he wins the maiden's hand with little difficulty.

A few weeks later, Labaw Donggon moves on to woo Anggoy Doroanon, the lovely water spirit. He succeeds. After a while, he goes back to Handog, where he hears of Nagmalitong Yawa Sinagmaling Diwata, wife of Buyong Saragnayan, "the Keeper of Light." He seeks and gets the permission of his two wives to go and woo N.Y.S. Diwata.

Saragnayan, however, has greater magical powers than Labaw Donggon: he survives seven years of submersion, not to speak of the beating he gets. The weakened and exasperated Labaw Donggon is tied up and corralled in Saragnayan's pigpen under the kitchen.

Asu Mangga, the skywalker, and Baranugun, riding a boat that flies, Labaw Donggon's sons by Anggoy Ginbitinan and Anggoy Doroanon respectively, seek and find their father. Baranugun, his umbilical cord still uncut, challenges Saragnayan.

Their first encounter alerts Saragnayan to Baranugun's potent charms (*pamlang*). He therefore asks for a ceasefire while he bids his wife goodbye properly. He puts her to sleep so she won't see his probable defeat.

The battle then resumes, with armed spirits coming to Saragnayan's aid. When the brothers from a safe distance on their boat had killed all the spirits (thousands of them) with poisoned arrows, they land. Baranugun wrestles with the giant-witch. He discovers that Saragnayan cannot be killed — unless (so Abyang Alunsina informs her grandsons' spirit-messengers) they kill and eat a wild pig in Paling Bukid.

The brothers leave Saragnayan, locate his alter-ego boar, kill

and eat its hearts. Then, they go back for the kill. Baranugun blinds Saragnayan with poisoned arrows, and the pained witch causes the first night and earthquake.

The fight over, they look for Labaw Donggon. However, they don't find him and think he had gone home ahead. Their two uncles later help them locate Labaw Donggon hiding in a fishtrap, every inch full of slime, out of his mind and deaf.

The first two wives restore him to his former self with their magic. Once restored, Labaw Donggon regains his lust for adventure: he asks his two brothers to accompany him in wooing Nagmalitong Yawa and her two sisters.

(Note: Jocano's transcription ends here. For continuation, see E.A. Manuel, *Survey* 28-9).

4.2 *Humadapnon: Hinilawod II*

(Based on 1987 synopsis by Gina Barte of an undated transcription of Dikoy Dubria's singing).

Humadapnon prepares for a ten-year journey in quest of a woman he dreamed of, Tubigon Daligan-Umis Kuyamisan, who is kept in a golden tower surrounded by bamboo thickets. On the day he is to leave, his younger brother Dumaladap is born and insists on going with him. Their mother reluctantly agrees.

Dumaladap proves crafty and brave in overcoming obstacles on their journey, such as when their boat got stuck in Maragkot river. (They eventually had to forfeit their gold necklaces to stay alive.) Humadapnon's mettle is tested by Abyang Mangalayo, a fire-breathing datu. He passes the test but spares his opponent's life. Next, Humadapnon fights Mamang Dumadakung Dagat, older brother of Mangalayo. They fight up in the air for many days, till Dumaladap senses his brother's fatigue and goes up to take his place. Soon, Baranogon and Padanog Palinti, their cousins, arrive. Baranogon replaces Dumaladap and, upon begging the help of Mamang Alunsina and Abyang Alungkabig, vanquishes Dumadakung Dagat.

Baranogon offers to Humadapnon his younger sister, Malitong Yawa, in exchange for Tubigan Daligan. His offer is accepted.

Dumaladap asks Humadapnon to go with him in his own quest. However, the latter demurs. He reaches Mabun-ag river and,

after casting a spell on Mamang Tumpong, steals the latter's kept woman or *binukot*. He is challenged by Tumpong Langit and is about to be defeated when he summons Humadapnon.

Humadapnon, Baranogon Padanog Palinti, and Tubigan Daligan meanwhile had reached river Makutay-kutay. Along the way, they "harvest" two *binukot* maidens (Labi-labing Anyag and Laya-layang Sukla) without doing more than threaten said maiden's "keepers." Laya-layang Sukla's former keeper, Abyang Sugamorong, meanwhile leaves right away after giving up his kept woman to woo Malitong Yawa. Baranogon thus finds him proposing to Malitong Yawa in their house when he arrives there at nightfall. To circumvent the custom of "first-come, first-served" Baranogon makes a duplicate (made from dough) of his sister and marries off the duplicate to Sugamorong. The fake Malitong Yawa dies soon after and even Baranogon's mother, Matanayon, unaware of her son's scam, is grieved.

The summoned Humadapnon accompanied by Baranogon, defeats Tumpong Langit. Then, the three leave to free Baranogon's father, Labawdonggon from Mamang Magtanguo's mountain fortress. There, on Baranogon's demand, Magtangub brings back Labawdonggon to life, who then proceeds to fight his former captor and defeat him. Naturally, he wins only with the intervention of his ancestors.

Proceeding home, Humadapnon is enticed to have fun with cave-dwelling beautiful fairies who later transform him into an ugly witch and imprison him. Dumalapdap asks his mother to summon help. The *binukot* all arrive but only Malitong Yawa succeeds to enter the cave and kill all inside, including Humadapnon.

Anggoy Imbitinan orders Malitong Yawa to resurrect Humadapnon. Later, when already home by the Halawod river, Humadapnon's marriage to Malitong Yawa is feasted.

5. *Kapmabaning or The Abduction of Lawanen: Darangen #8*
(1985 Delia Coronel English verse translation of Batua Macaraya's edited Maranao text; from the *Kirim* of Mangaracan Orogan and *Madrasah* of Hadji Lawa Cali as versified into Maranao by Engracia Macaraya and Mofida B.M. Tawano)

While her brother Prince Bantogen (Bantugan), cousin Madali and cousin-sweetheart Mabaningendaw Rogong, chief or Ayonan of Gadongan, a satellite of Bembaran, are gone capturing slaves and other treasures, Princess Lawanen of Bambaran is kidnapped by Salindagaw

Doronan, Ayonan of Sagorangan a Dagat in the kingdom of Kadara'an. Bembaran's guardian spirits or *tonong*, though more powerful, are unable to stop the *tonong* invoked by Salindagaw Doronan from escaping with Lawanen. Quick as lightning, S. Doronan's boat goes home. Doronan is disappointed to discover that Lawanen is protected, even in captivity, by a wall of fire.

As soon as their princess' disappearance was known, a big gong was struck to alert everyone in Bembaran of the crisis. At once, two search parties were formed: one to search the lands; the other, the seas. A seer tells the assembly to look at Kadara'an.

Armed and armored, the warboat Rinamentaw Mapalaw is launched the next day. Batogen and Madali, returning on their flying shields, miss the boat. Mabaning's returning noisy boat (full of human and other booty from a successful campaign) is mistaken for an enemy ship and is fired upon by the Bembaran warship. But is not hit. He is later told of his sweetheart's kidnapping (to explain why the men of Bembaran consider any rejoicing, any noise, as hostile) and he faints. He decides to go with the warboat (with his boat, his men, captives and all, towed by the former) on to Dalendeg sa Baroraw. Nearing their destination, rough waves separate the boats. Mabaning, failing to locate his ship, asks to be put ashore. He is reluctantly allowed to go ashore while the warboat continues on its original course.

Mabaning disguises himself as an ugly mountain-dweller until he reaches Kadara'an. There, he passes himself off as messenger of the chief of Kadara'an's satellite state closest to Bembaran. Thus does he gain entry to Salindagaw Doronan's castle, even gets an interview with the latter. Finally he gets permission to take a peep at Lawanen and ends up reciting love verses to her. He impetuously decides then to fight Salindagaw Doronan and company singlehandedly — asking, beforehand, the spirits of Bembaran to transport Lawanen and the entire *torogan* to Bembaran.

The two rival Ayonans fight evenly until Mabaning decapitates the other. Bantogen's son who lived in the sky then succors Mabaning. Shortly after, Batogen himself, Madali and the other braves of Bembaran arrive.

The battle raged fiercely on the land and on the sea. But Bembaran's heroes were clearly winning. And the Kadara'an forces under Batara sa Kadara'an soon resort to having Batara sa Minalang, half-brother of Bantogen born of a mother from Kadara'an, mediate to end the fighting.

The battle is thus stopped. The *torogan*, with *kadara'an's* princess and her ladies, that had been transported to Bembaran by the *torong* is transported back.

Then the forces of Bembaran go home and celebrate their victory.

6. *Agyu*

6.1 The Manobo *Bendingan, Ulahingan Kepuunpuun*
(Kasama Bangcas Version; 1964 recording by Demetrio Bangcas)

In a land in the west ruled by non-Maguindanaos, *Lagaba'an's* Manobo descendants live in poverty. Their leader, *Pemulew*, counselled his people to obey the ruler's wishes (among others, to send their children to school).

There came a time however, when they began to resist their oppression. Shortly afterwards, a captain and his men herded them at gunpoint to an iron corral and chained them for execution the next day.

A beautiful girl-spirit saved them, however, and they fled east. When they could no longer bear their hunger, they stopped at *Aruman*. *Lena* volunteered to scout for habitations nearby so as to produce tools for gathering *ubod*.

Lena finds a Magindanao settlement, where he is welcomed as a kinsman. The Magindanaos, an old man in the place tells him, had a Manobo *apuhan*. The *datu* affirmed this, and gifts him with *bolos*, axes and other tools, telling him to come back with some men to get rice.

When the Manobos returned, they were asked to clear a *kaingin* in exchange for the rice. They grumble but obey. The Magindanao *datu's* request for the Manobos' assistance turned into an order. *Kuyasu's* protests that they needed to tend to their own *kaingin* prompts the *datu* to slap him. *Kuyasu* spears him dead.

And the Manobos again flee from *Arman*. While fleeing, *Vanlak* decides to junk his wife *Muingan* who had leprosy. *Lena* tends to his sister-in-law, who asks him to build her a house at *Aruman* (as suggested by the same girl-spirit who had delivered them earlier on). The house done, *Lena* brings her to *Aruman* (one to two months away by foot). He leaves after securing her finger-less palm to a stick for beating a wooden gong.

The Manobos shortly after transferred to another place where they could have more palm *ubod*. They fortify the place and place boar-traps. They catch ten pigs. From there, Lena again visited Mungan with some roasted pork. Mungan, already reed-thin, told him not to come anymore. (She does nothing except beat the wooden gong.) He leaves.

Mungan is near death when the child-*diwata* of vegetation inquired why she persists in beating the gong. She said she wanted the Magindanaos to kill her since she was abandoned by her husband. The child successfully intercedes for Mungan with the supreme *diwata*. Returning, he gives Mungan broiled young palay for *pinipi* which heals her, then instructs her to give Lena betel quid. When he drew near, the pork he carried turned to a live pig. Then, she pours oil on him and he, like Mungan, is transfigured into a shining fragrant being.

Lena then fetched the others and they shared of the special betel. After this first step toward immortality, the Manobos had to fight a family of giants -- Lena kills both but, as ordered, spares the child (for the next batch of heaven-bound Manobos to kill later). They then sail to the skyworld on a *vinta* (the world is flooded first to give the *vinta* mobility).

Reaching Nelendangan's plains, they disembark. (By this time, Agyu had become the community's headman. The resident *diwatas* of nearby kingdoms help them build houses, Agyu's first).

It is said only people related to the Manobos invaded Nelendangan -- and, then, just for fun.

6.2. *Agyu: The Ilianon Epic*

(1963, E.A. Manuel Recording; sang by Blagtas Pandakan)

One day, Agyu sent 19 lumps of beeswax to a Moro datu through his brothers Kuyasu and Banlak. The wax was a partial payment (for items like cloth, blanket, bolos, betelnut, and lime containers, salt, coconut oil, etc., according to, E.A. Manuel) and the Moro datu saw red because he expected to be given more. He hurled the wax and hit Kuyasu's ulcerated foot. Kuyasu, in turn, speared him.

Banlak hurried home to inform Agyu of what happened. Agyu decided that they should flee from Ayuman to Ilian mountain. There, they built a fort. When attacked by Moros, they let loose logs and decimate the enemy who then retreat.

Agyu decided to move his people farther to Pinamatu mountain. There, they discover beehives and wild pigs.

Lono volunteers to fetch Mungan, Banlak's wife, from Ayuman where she was left because she being leprous, could not travel (and Banlak decided to abandon her). In Ayuman, Lono finds out she had become an immortal who does not need to eat. She gave Lono betelnut and young rice to distribute to the people, which made them feel good and new. They decided to go back to Ayuman.

But they discovered that Mungan had already ascended to the skyworld. Agyu thus decided to move on.

While on the move at Tigyandang, they are attacked. Tanagyaw, Agyu's young son, volunteered to meet the enemy in battle. He killed them all in four days. The leader of the attackers invited Tanagyaw home but he refused. However, the chief on reaching home, discovered Tanagyaw in his house. He offers his daughter to the young lad but he leaves saying he is too young for that kind of thing.

While passing through Baklayon, he is offered the young daughter of the datu, Paniguan, if he would help ward off expected invaders. He kills all the invaders. Again, he refuses the proffered maiden. But the maiden leaves with him anyway.

Back home, Agyu had the young couple married.

Later on, Agyu's people are invaded by seafaring people. They overwhelmed the resistance put up. But then, Tanagyaw put on his ten-layered clothing, picked up his unbreakable shield and spear, then systematically annihilated them. The leader of the invaders invites Tanagyaw to visit the former's country. Tanagyaw refuses, saying the invaders had been humiliated. This provokes the leader's son, armed with a golden bar, to challenge Tanagyaw. He is pounded dead with a golden chain by Tanagyaw.

As reward, Agyu gives his son the country of Sanglawon to rule.

7. *Keg Sumba Neg Sandayo*

(1980 Virgilio Resma Transcription and Translation with E.M. Alunan; Text chanted by Perena of Pawan, Zamboanga de Sur).

Salaria, datu of Tubig Liyasan, takes for a bath his wife Salaong to the miraculous spring of Liyasan. At once, the barren Salaria is heavy

with child and her child dropped from her hair as she was brushing it. This was Sandayo, who starts to walk when seven days old and goes on a journey when but a month old. His parents dress him in a golden robe, put two charms (one woman attracting and the other enemy repelling) and give him a sword.

He leaves on board his flying kerchief, dreaming while flying, of two women offering him betel-nut chew, and arrives at Gwalo Leyo. The two datu there, Dangbolawan and Lomelok, adopt the handsome child. They bring him to the *buklog* or feast of Lumanay, where he meets his lovely cousins Bolak Sondag and Benabong and other datu's families. Sandayo challenges Domoadianay, datu of Balatakan, just because Bolak Sondag liked him. They fight for two years. A goddess tells them they are brothers: Domoadianay was blown away by the wind when born. They embrace. Domoadianay demurs when asked to go to Liyasan but Sandayo puts him into an enchanted sleep then brings the former, including the hill of Balatakan, to Liyasan. Some 14 slaves are sacrificed by Salaong and Salaria to mark the happy occasion.

Sandayo and his cousins (Dangbolawan, Lomelok and Mendepesa) go by boat to the waters of Manelangan where many datu are wooing Bolak Sondag. Along the way, Bae Pigdindingan causes strong winds to buffet the ship (when Sandayo refuses the betel-nut chew she offered). Sandayo counter attacks by transforming the winds into an octopus which he hurled at the Bae and got welded with her body.

His uncle and aunt demand a bride for both daughters which none of the suitors can match: money, gongs, jars, a golden hair-thin bridge, etc. Sandayo easily meets all the demands. To cap it all, a giant pig is demanded by the couple for a banquet (which, again, only Sandayo can comply with). Thus, Lomelok and Dangbolawan won Bolak Sondag and Benobong respectively. But not without killing first, after months of fighting, the spurned suitors who refused to back out.

They had all gone home when Sandayo suddenly got ill. He summoned Bolak Sondag to comfort him before he died. Bolak Sondag, with Benobong, searched and found Sandayo's soul in Piksipan in the arms of an amazon. She fought the amazon and took Sandayo back to Liyasan.

Shortly afterwards, Sandayo returned the favor when Bolak Sondag died in Sumina from a finger wound. He fought the datu of Katonawan who had appropriated Bolak Sondag and then restored her to life.

Sometime later, he visited his cousins in Sumina. There, he saved the day by helping a suitor of his cousin bring her to life.

Not much later, a *buklog* is celebrated at Nelendangan in which the entire clan participated. They all rise to heaven and lived there happily. Their poor male and female slave-servants fall back to earth with the *buklog* afterwards.

8. *Putli Isara*

(Sung by Indah Annura; 1973 Translation by G. Rixhon)

Putli Isara is about to be married to Abdulla, who has gone to buy goods needed for the wedding. She asks permission to bathe in the river. Her father, the Panglima (Sultan), reluctantly agrees when he senses her determination.

While bathing in the river, guarded by her brother, a platoon of Spanish soldiers arrive. The lieutenant holds her and woos her. Though she is allowed to go, she is disgraced.

The Panglima leaves her to her devices for regaining her loss of face.

When abdulla returns, he and Putli Isara decide to go amok (or do a *parang sabil*). They kill the lieutenant and 29 others before they themselves get killed.

The Panglima refuses to claim his daughter's corpse. His wife decided to run amok too. She kills seven soldiers before she is killed herself.

The only brother of the Panglima goes amok, too. He is, however, appeased by the captain who entices the former to become his adopted son.

Two months later, the Panglima dies of grief.

9. *The Warriors of Sagilar Attack Naladangan*

(1976 Corazon A. Manuel Translation; Talaandig *Olagingon* Text chanted by Anastasyo Saway)

The fortress of Londongan near Modan-odan river is invaded by warriors of Sagilar. They hurl their challenge as soon as they land on the beach. They are met by silence.

The fortress is actually undefended. The warriors had gone on a year-long campaign, ostensibly to train them as warriors. But they had found themselves waging a very real war. Shortly before the invaders came, the boat of the fort's leader, Dalamanon had come to report the thousand warriors' inability to return at once, hardpressed as they were. The boat then left anew.

Dalamanon's sister, Tabagka wad Lamina, takes charge. She decides to defend their fort singlehandedly. She approaches the invaders who are disarmed by the sight of her. The headman of the invaders decides to ask her for a betel-nut chew (as sign of betrothal), meantime asking his men to relax. She seizes the opportunity to attack the surprised warriors. Many die.

Though highly skilled, she is soon on the verge of capture. Only the timely arrival of Dalamanon Moyongba saves her: she is snatched and brought to safety by her brother.

His spear asks to be let loose to fight by itself and Dalamanon instructs it to seek out the invaders' chief, Pingatibalos Lona, who has a tattoo of a man and a woman. Once he has located the chief, Dalamanon talked to him. Identifying themselves, they agree to duel with their blades since their people have a running feud. They both die.

His shield raises Dalamanon to the sky, where Lagabanon ko Langit asks the highest deity's help to revive Dalamanon. Dalamanon revives.

Lagabanon ko Langit stops the battle, inasmuch as the attackers and the attacked are kinsmen.

10. *Tuwaang Attends a Wedding*

(1957 Translation by E.A. Manuel and Saddani Pagayaw; Text first sung by Inuk in 1956; Dictated with help of notes to E.A. Manuel by S. Pagayaw)

Tuwaang informs his aunt that the wind has summoned him to attend the wedding of the Maiden of Monawon. Aunt unsuccessfully tries to dissuade him from going. He leaves with his arms and charms, riding on a flash of lightning. A speaking gungutan bird joins him.

At Monawon, Tuwaang is seated on a golden stool which the gungutan perches on a crossbeam. Soon, gallants arrive, signalled by the flowering of trees and other amazing signs. Soon the Young Man of Sakadna, the groom, arrives and asks his in-laws-to-be to clear the

house "of dirt." Tuwaang cautions the arrogant groom of the presence of "red leaves" or men of consequence.

The bride price later proves too much for the groom: he is unable to produce an ancient gong with nine relief rings, as well as a golden guitar and golden flute. Tuwaang produces these articles and saves the groom from humiliation.

The bride then comes out. She commands her betel-nut box to serve everyone. The box stops near Tuwaang and the bride, too, chooses to sit near Tuwaang. The groom is shamed and therefore challenges Tuwaang.

Even as the bride combs Tuwaang's hair preparatory to the fight, the gungutan had already trimmed down the Young Man's allies to six. These six Tuwaang and the gungutan kill.

The duel proper then begins between the equally strong gallants. They sink when thrown down. When he sinks to the underworld, Tuwaang asks Tuwaba, a god, the secret of the Young Man's invincibility. Surfacing, Tuwaang gets hold of the golden flute where his foe keeps his breath. The Young Man of Sakadna accepts death rather than become a vassal of Tuwaang.

Tuwaang, his bride, and the gungutan go home to Kuaman where he ruled "ever after."

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