

THE ETHNIC TRADITION IN PHILIPPINE MUSIC

Philippine musical traditions evolved over many centuries. A small minority of Filipinos, perhaps less than 10 percent, continue to practice these traditions, managing to exist outside the influence of the Spanish colonial campaign to convert the archipelago to Catholicism. Some cultures, on the other hand, absorbed Western influences in varying degrees—either freely or under duress—and developed new forms of social practice and artistic expression.

Background

Philippine musical traditions are diverse. Although they have common instruments and life-cycle functions, these vary considerably in form and structure, performance media, style, aesthetics, and theories, such as tuning temperaments, scales, modes, and terminologies.

Such cultural pluralism is the result of several significant historical accidents. The early population consisted of proto-Malays who were later joined by settlers from mainland and insular Southeast Asia. Migrations within the larger Southeast Asian region gave rise to many separate regional settlements and extended family communities with their own laws and customs, animist religious beliefs and practices, and distinct artistic expressions (Patanne 1977:85-89).

By the 10th century, there was dynamic trade between the people of *Ma-i* (now Mindoro) and Chinese, Malay, Indonesian, and Arab merchants. They exchanged not only goods but also religious and social ideas. Hinduism and other elements of Indian culture, for example, reached the Philippines via Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries, leaving strong imprints on religious concepts and patterns of social behavior, a Sanskrit-influenced system of writing, dress, and artifacts (Churchill 1977:21-45).

In the 14th century, Islam was introduced in the southernmost island of Sulu. The new religion was adopted by various communities at different times and under different conditions and different levels of assimilation. Thus, pre-Islamic practices were retained by the native converts while Islamic art forms enriched the indigenous arts.

Spain ruled the Philippines from 1521 to 1898 conquering the islands primarily by converting inhabitants to Christianity. The friars taught the people not only how to say the Christian prayers and speak a new language, but also how to read music, sing European songs, and play European instruments. The Spanish conquest spared only a few places in the south and the impenetrable highlands.

The long history of cultural assimilation shaped the highly varied Philippine

cultural profile. The numerous ethnic and language groups with orally transmitted cultural practices may be categorized into six clusters based on history, geography, topography, kinship of artistic forms, material culture, and social structures: the Cordillera highland cultures and outlying communities, consisting of the ethnolinguistic groups of the Apayao or Isneg, Applay, Bago, Bontoc, Balangao, Gaddang, Ibaloy, Ifugao, Ilongot, Kalinga, Kankanay, and Tinguian; the central west highland, cultures of the Alangan, Batak, Buhid, Hanunuo, Iraya, Palawan, Tagbanua, Magahat, and Sulod; the Mindanao highland cultures of the Bagobo, Bilaan, Kalagan, Mandaya, Mansaka, Manobo, Matigsalug, Subanon, and Tboli; the Aeta communities represented by groups like the Ati, Agta, Abyan, Dumagat, and Kabihug; the Islamic communities of the Badjao, Ilanun, Jama Mapun, Maguindanao, Maranao, Sama, Sangil, Tausug, and Yakan; and the rural Christian communities, including the Ilocano, Ibanag, Pangasinan, Pampango, Tagalog, Bicol, Cuyunon, Aklanon, Kinaray-a, Ilongo, Cebuano, and Waray.

Many communities in the first four groups were converted to Christianity and Islam. Although they are integrated into the lowland political and economic mainstream, some of their ethnic musical traditions are still widely practiced, especially those that have found areas of accommodation with current religious and social rubrics. Practices of animist or animistic provenance still exist, although not as widely as before (Hislop 1971:144-155). Music marks rites of passage and life-cycle events (birth, initiation, courtship, wedding, death), seasonal events (planting, harvest), religious-cycle events, and other special occasions (thanksgiving, war, peace pacts, and anniversaries). Music that accompanied extinct practices, such as tribal wars and headhunting, have either disappeared or are performed now but in new contexts.

In community celebrations, group instrumental playing is common, as are dancing, welcome chants, panegyrics, laments, epics, ballads, allegorical songs, and extemporized poetry. Solo instrumental playing is done for courting or self-entertainment while the player watches over the fields, for example, or at intimate, informal gatherings.

The Islamic cultures are mostly found in the coastal and lowland areas of western Mindanao. The musical traditions are generally pre-Islamic, integrating folk culture and court music dating back to the 10th century or earlier. Despite the fundamental Islamic view that frowns on music, the musical practices of these communities remain an important element in their social life and one of the chief sources of their ethnic identities. Moreover, the musical traditions of earlier Islamic peoples, such as Arabs and Persians, and the modes of rendition of religious literature, have enriched the musical life of Filipino Muslims.

The distance of rural Christian communities from cities was significant in their cultural evolution. Western ideas did not come in a constant stream, but were selected, improvised upon, and modified. Although many activities have been replaced by Christian-oriented or Christian-derived forms of social practice

(particularly related to the Christian liturgical calendar), aspects of pre-Christian culture remain in place, if not readily apparent. Varying degrees of acculturation and a syncretic blend of Western and non-Western ideas are evident in musical practices.

Ethnic music of Asiatic provenance may be classified into three categories in relation to social context: function-specific music, performed only on specific occasions, such as rites of passage and other rituals, e.g., the Kalinga *dopdopit* for the first bathing of a child outside the house (Maceda 1972:518), the music of the Yakan *kwintangan kayu* for the growth of rice seedlings and the Ifugao *bangibang* to avenge a person's untimely death, the *pasyon* for the Lenten *pabasa*; music that may be performed on similar occasions, usually identified by melody or rhythm or both, such as the Maguindanao *tagunggo*, a rhythmic mode played only for solemn activities, or the Ibaloy *ba-diw* and Maranao *bayok*, both sung with extemporized texts modified to fit the event; and music that may be performed anytime for any occasion, consisting of folk songs, epics, narrative and allegorical ballads, and musical theater.

Traditional music activities are somehow related to the social status, age, and gender of the performers. Rituals are usually reserved for priests and shamans. Elders and community leaders sing greeting songs, and songs of wisdom and advice, such as the Ibaloy *ba-diw* and the Ilocano *dal-lot*. Some instruments are usually played by women, such as the Maranao *kulintang* and Bagobo *saluray*, and those played by men, like the Maguindanao *kudyapi*, Ibaloy *sulibao*, and Kalinga *gangsá pattung*. Individual artistry and creative skill are admired in performers of such difficult forms as epics and extemporized poetic genres like the Kalinga *ading* and Aklanon *kumposo*.

Social changes—religious, economic, or political—affect musical practices, transforming them, giving rise to substitutes, or causing their disappearance.

The Musical Instruments

Most prehispanic instruments are related to those in Southeast Asia, South China and Oceania: gong chimes, bamboo aerophones (blown instruments), drums, zithers, and two-stringed lutes, bamboo xylophones, and other wooden and metal idiophones. The harp, guitar, and other plucked strings simulated brass band instruments like the *musikong bumbong*; transverse flutes, and violin-type instruments were adopted or adapted from Western instruments. The Philippine versions have a highly relative tuning system partly due to the lack of standard sizes and a great variety of material sources. Western-adopted instruments are tuned diatonically based on the Western equal temperament.

The following are representative instruments and instrument types according to area (Dioquino 1988):

In the Cordillera highlands are found: the flat gongs (Kalinga *gangsá*, Ifugao *gangha*, Ibaloy *kalsa* and *pinsak*); polychordal zither (Bontoc *kolitong*, Kalinga *kulibit*); lip-valley flute (Kalinga *paldong*, Ibaloy *taladi*); fipple flute (Kalinga *olimong*, Bontoc *teptepew*); pipe flutes in ensemble (Kalinga *saggeypo*); single-reed pipe (Ifugao *hupip*, Kalinga *pattotot*); nose flute (Isneg *baliing*, Bontoc *kaleleng*, Ifugao *ungiyung*, Kalinga *tungali*); metal jew's harp (Bontoc *awedeng*, Ibaloy *koding*, Kalinga *giwong*); conical drum (Ifugao *libbit*, Ibaloy *kimbal* and *sulibao*); bamboo and board zither (Ifugao *ayudding* and *tadcheng*, Ibaloy *kaltsang*); half-tube zither (Itneg *patanggu*, Kalinga *patang-ug*); stamping tubes (Kalinga *tongatong*, Isneg *tungtung*); bamboo buzzer (Bontoc *avakkao*, Isneg *bungkaka*, Kalinga *ubbeng*); yoke-beam (Ifugao *bangibang*); xylophone blades (Kalinga *patatag*, Isneg *talonggating*); and violin (Kalinga *gologod*, Isneg *nabil*).

In the central west highlands are found: the bossed gong (Palawan and Tagbanua *babandil*); wide-rimmed bossed gong (Palawan *agung*); jew's harp (Palawan and Tagbanua *aroding*, Hanunuo *kinaban*); ring flute (Palawan *beberek*); transverse flute (Hanunuo *lantuy*, Cuyunon and Tagbanua *tipanu*); double-headed drum (Tagbanua and Cuyunon *gimbal*, *tambor*); two-stringed lute (Palawan *kusyapi*); three-stringed fiddle (Buhid *gitgit*); bean-pod rattle (Hanunuo *buray dipay*); digging pole (Cuyunon *palakupakan*); shell trumpet (Hanunuo *budyong*, Cuyunon *taburi*); percussion beams (Tagbanua *sabagan*); and percussion sticks (Hanunuo *kalutang*).

In the Mindanao highlands are used: the small bossed gongs laid in a row (Tboli *klintang*, Bilaan and Subanon *kulintang*); small hanging bossed gongs (Manobo *kulintang*); small narrow-rimmed bossed gong (Tiruray *agung*); suspended bossed gong (Mansaka *bubundi*); several hanging bossed gongs (Bagobo *lumming tagunggua*); wide-rimmed bossed gong (Bilaan, Subanon, Tboli, Kalagan, Bagobo and Manobo *agung*, Bilaan *salmagi*); jew's harp (Tiruray *kubing*, Bagobo *kumbing*, Bilaan *lideng*); lip-valley flute (Mandaya *bunabon*, Bilaan *palundag*, Subanon *tanggab* and *tulali*); ring flute (Subanon *glantuy*, Bukidnon *kinsi*, Agusanon-Manobo *saguysuy*, Bilaan and Tiruray *suling*); one-stringed fiddle (Bilaan *aduwagay*, Agusanon-Manobo *kugot*, Tboli *duwagey*); two-stringed lute (Mansaka *binarig*, Bilaan *faglong*, Tboli *hagelong*, Mansaka and Manobo *kudlung*); polychordal zither (Bagobo *saluroy*); digging pole (Subanon *buhahay* and *taha-taha*); shell trumpet (Mandaya *lungga*); log drum (Bilaan *amdel*, Kalagan and Tagakaolo *edel*, Bagobo *odol*); and percussion beams (Tboli *kalutang*, Tiruray *lontang*, Manobo *lutang*); and bamboo slit drum (Mansaka *koratong*, Agusanon-Manobo *kagii*).

Among the Aeta groups are found: the flat gong (Aeta Magbukun *palay*); bamboo jew's harp (Aeta and Dumagat *kulibaw*); lip-valley flute (Aeta Magbukun *banghi*, Ata *tiwali*); ring flute (Ata *lantuy*); musical bow (Aeta Magkunana *bayi*, Agta and Dumagat *palat*); two-stringed musical bow (Agta *surimba*, Kabihug *curimba*); one-stringed fiddle (Ata *kagot*); parallel-stringed tube zither (Aeta Magkunana

tabebeng); digging pole (Aeta Magkunana *talibengan*).

Among Islamized groups are used: the small bossed gongs laid in a row (Maguindanao, Maranao, Sama and Jama Mapun *kulintang*, Yakan *kwintangan*); suspended bossed gong (Maguindanao and Maranao *babandir*); narrow-rimmed, suspended bossed gongs (Maguindanao *gandingan*); wide-rimmed bossed gong (Maranao, Maguindanao, Badjao, and Jama Mapun *agung*, Jama Mapun, Sama and Tausug *buwa*, *tunggalan*, and *pulakan*); bamboo jew's harp (Maranao and Sama *kobing*, Tausug and Yakan *kulaing*, Maguindanao *kubing*); lip-valley flute (Maguindanao *palendag*); ring flute (Maguindanao, Sama, Tausug, and Yakan *suling*); two-stringed lute (Maguindanao and Maranao *kutyapi*); European-type violin (Sama, Tausug, and Badjao *biyula*); bamboo slit drum (Maranao *bentong agong*, Maguindanao *tamlang agong*, Yakan *tagutok*); bamboo scraper (Maguindanao *kagul*, Maranao *garakot*); goblet-shaped drum (Maguindanao and Maranao *dabakan*); double-headed cylindrical drum (Tausug, Sama, Badjao, Maranao and Maguindanao *gandang* and *tambul*), bamboo clapper (Yakan *daluppal*); percussion beams (Yakan *kwintangan kayu*, Maranao *lumbang*, Maguindanao *luntang*); log drum (Yakan, Tausug, Badjao *tuntungan*); and bamboo xylophone (Yakan *agung gabbang*, *gabbang*, and *kwintangan batakan*, Sama *gambang*).

Among rural Christian communities are found instruments like: the goblet-shaped drum (Tagalog Batangas *tugtugan*); double-headed cylindrical drum (Cebuano *bombo*, Ilongo *tambor*); percussion sticks (Tagalog Marinduque *kalutang*); bamboo clappers (Tagalog Batangas *kalaste*); bamboo tube drum (Tagalog Batangas *kalatong*); European-type violin (Ilongo and Cebuano *biyulin*); diatonic harp (Ilocano and Tagalog *arpa*); transverse flute (Waray *plahuta*, Ilongo and Cebuano *flauta*); bamboo jew's harp (Tagalog *barimbaw*); imitation of brass-band instruments (Tagalog *musikong bumbong*); and the plucked-instrument ensemble (*rondalla*).

Some instruments are more widespread than others, and some are played only in certain areas. The bamboo jew's harp, for example, is found almost everywhere, while the musical bow is limited to the Aeta cultures. The lip-valley flute and the polychordal zithers are found in northern Luzon and the Mindanao highlands. Flat gongs predominate in northern Luzon, while the bossed gongs are widespread in Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. Other instruments, such as the half-tube zither (ayudding) of the Ifugao and the stopped-pipe ensemble (saggeypo) of the Kalinga, are specific to some ethnolinguistic groups.

The instruments are played either in ensemble or solo. In general, ensembles perform during community events such as feasts (*cañao*, *peshit*), weddings, and burials. In the Cordillera highlands and northern Luzon, ensembles consist of groupings of one type of instrument, such as the Kalinga and Bontoc gangsa ensemble, or the saggeypo and bangibang ensemble. The sulibao ensemble of the Ibaloy, however, consists of two flat gongs (*kalsa* and *pinsak*), two conical drums

(sulibao and kimbal), and a pair of metal bars (*palas*). There is a variety of heterogenous combinations of instruments and instrumental timbres in the Mindanao ensembles. The Yakan tagunggo ensemble consists primarily of a brass kwintangan, gabbang, a set of three agung, and cracked bamboo slit drum (*gandang*). The Maguindanao *kulintangan* is composed of a kulintang, babandir, four gandingan, a pair of agung, and a dabakan.

In the rural Christian communities, instrumental ensembles besides the brass band, rondalla, and other folk ensembles such as the musikong bumbong, *pangkat kawayan*, and the *cumbanchero*, vary in number of members and instrumentation. A group may consist of a clarinet, violin, *bumbong*, *bandurria*, banjo, guitar, and *bajo de uñas* (local version of a double bass). The five-stringed guitar is a common accompanying and harmonic instrument. The *cumbanchero* flourished in the 1950s as an offshoot of the popularity of the “King of Rhumba” Xavier Cugat. The instrumentation of the *cumbanchero* consisted of a harmonica (the principal melody instrument), maracas, claves, guitar, bongos, conga drum, jawbone, guiro, guitar, and one-stringed bass improvised from a war surplus portable gasoline tank. The accordion was also included when available.

Indigenous and adopted instruments which are used for solo or small group performances include the different flutes, jew’s harp, zither, xylophone, lute, kulintang, harp, bandurria, and the guitar.

Philippine musical instruments and their repertoires are unique in their degree of indigeneity and hybridization of instruments and music. Indigenous instruments used to play indigenous music are mostly metallophones and idiophones, as well as bamboo chordophones and aerophones. Asian-derived instruments tuned to Western temperament and used to play music in the Western idiom are the blown bamboo tubes (*bumbong*), *angklung*, and *tipanu* (Cuyunon flute). Western-adapted instruments used to play Western music are the guitar and other plucked strings (*bandurria*, *octavina*, *laud*, *mandola*, *bajo de uñas*), and brass band and orchestra instruments. Western-adapted instruments used to play Western music are those found in the musikong bumbong and *cumbanchero* groups. Western-adapted instruments used to play non-Western music are the Hanunuo gitgit, Tausug biyula, and Aeta biolin. **The Vocal Genres**

In most tribal communities that have no generic name for vocal music (or “music” for that matter), each vocal genre bears a specific name, usually referring not only to the musical and textual contents but also to its social role. The vocal repertoire consists of a great variety of types, forms, styles, uses, and functions.

While instrumental music is generally performed on different occasions (except for the *bangibang* music of the *Ifugao* which is heard exclusively at the *himong* ritual and the *Yakan* kwintangan kayu or *daluppal* music played for agricultural purposes), vocal music is function specific. Songs refer to particular occasions or activities and express individual feelings and emotions. Many songs are as

specific as the Ilongot *dinaweg*, sung when trapping a wild pig, and the *amamet*, sung when hunting a pig with bow and arrow, and the Manobo *sinda-ay*, a wedding chant sung before inviting the groom's party to enter the bride's house.

Song genres are named differently depending on their content. The Kalinga lullaby is an *owiwi* when it tells of a child's life or a *dagdagqay* when it foretells the baby's future (Maceda 1972:522). Some songs are general, such as the Kalinga *salidummay*, Tagalog *kanta* or *awit*, Mandaya *bayok*, Pangasinan *cancionan*, Manobo *limbay*, and ballads such as the Ilongo *composo* and the Ibaloy *ta-miya*.

Vocal genres may be classified according to their functions. The life cycle songs are lullabies, songs related to birth, courtship, wedding rites, and laments for the dead. Lullabies are as general as the *langan bata-bata* of the Tausug and *buá* of the Subanon, or as specific as the Kalinga *oppiya* which is sung while cradling a child on the singer's lower leg, and the *kawayanna* that accompanies the wearing of a child's first necklace (Maceda 1972:518). Love and courtship songs can be serenades like the Tagalog and Cebuano *harana*; song debates like the Kankanay *dai-eng*, Batak *inanen*, Tagakaolo *estijaro*, and Cebuano *balitaw* which is accompanied by dance; incantations such as the Manobo *kambong*; or expressions of secret love like the Bontoc *chag-ay*.

The different phases of the marriage rites have corresponding songs: the Manobo *antang*, a matchmaker's song; the Pangasinan *abuten*, a duet of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the Tausug *tarasul*, a song of advice to the wedded couple; and the Ilocano *dal-lot*, a song debate between the couple's parents. The Kalinga *donop*, which refers to the marriage proper, may be in the form of the *tamuyong* or appeal for spiritual blessing; *dango* or expression of gratitude; *oggayam* or greeting and advice to the newlyweds; and *salidummay* and *dangdang-ay* or love songs for entertainment.

Songs for the dead can be as specific as the Bontoc *didiyaw* and the Waray *pangade han trisahio* sung for a dead child or the Matigsalug *balow* for a dead husband. Some songs are sung during wakes: *iring-iring* of the Manobo and the *belasyon* of the Ilongo; dirges such as the Ilocano *dung-aw* and the Isneg *sangsangit*; and laments like the Manobo *ulaging* and the Ilongo *panaghoy*.

Work songs accompany the different phases of the agricultural cycle, fishing, hunting, gathering of firewood, etc. Examples are the Aeta *dururu*, the general term for work song; the Subanon *gagonapu*, referring to hunting or fishing; the Ata *panubad*, a prayer before planting; the *balatuking*, harvest song of the Manobo; the *sowe-ey*, rice-pounding song of the Bontoc; the Kalinga *daku-yon*, for hunting bats; the Ilongot *dinaweg* for catching wild boar, and the *dandannag* and *owayat*, sung while gathering firewood; and the Batak *didayu* for wine making.

There is a vocal repertoire for the religious cycles of Islamic and Christian communities. In indigenous animist cultures, the spirit world is usually integrated

in most of the life-cycle and occupational activities and rituals, especially those conducted or led by elders, priests, and shamans. On these occasions, there is only a vague distinction between religious and secular expressions. Islamic rites include the *Salathul Juma* (Friday prayer), the *Tarawe* (prayer during the Ramadan), and the *Maranao dekir* or *Maguindanao dikil* (a dirge sung on the last night of the vigil). An extensive repertoire of vocal music celebrates major religious periods of the Christian liturgical year: Christmas, Lent, Easter, May Festival, All Saints' Day, and the feast days of saints. During Christmas, Joseph and Mary's search for lodging is reenacted in the *panunuluyan*; the villancicos and the Cebuano *daigon* are the traditional carols sung inside and outside the churches during the entire season.

The *pasyon*, which is chanted during the *pabasa* using traditional tunes like the *awit* and *tagulaylay*, is the musical centerpiece of the Lenten season. The *pasyon* also provides the musical material to the passion play or *sinakulo*. The "Regina Coeli, Laetare" (Queen of Heaven, Rejoice), is sung during the *salubong*, a pageant depicting the first meeting of the risen Christ and the Virgin Mary. During the *santacruz* in May, the "Dios te salve" is sung during the processions. The Batangas Tagalog perform the *subli*. May procession songs in Bicol include the *aurora*, *kristiyanong turog*, *dotok*, *gozo*, and *dalit*.

There are rituals in which vocal music plays a significant role: curing ceremonies, such as the Batak and Subanon *diwata*, Bontoc *kapya*, Ibaloy *angba*, and Ilongot *dawak*; supplication rituals and offering of sacrifice such as the *Kankanay alasan* and Tagalog *sanghiyang*; the Ibaloy *bendiyan* to celebrate victory in headhunting or tribal war like the Kalinga *kayuyugan* and Manobo *pamansag*; peace pacts, which are celebrated with the *oggayam*, *ullalim*, and *dango*; and thanksgiving rites like the Manobo *pangangando*.

There are children's songs, songs for fun, like the Subanon *bongotat* which is about old age and falling hair, drinking songs, greeting songs, and farewell songs.

Philippine oral literature is also rich in extended narrative forms such as the folk epics and the *metrical romances*. The epics express not only the historical and literary aspects of a cultural tradition but also the people's beliefs and entire system of social values. Some representative Philippine epics are the *Bilaan Aflulok*, the Ifugao *Hudhud*, the Ilocano *Lam-ang*, the Sulod *Hinilawod*, the Palawan *Kudaman*, the Maguindanao *Rajah Indarapatra*, the Maranao *Darangen*, the Manobo *Tuwaang*, *Agyu* and *Ulahingan*, the *Mansaka Manggob*, and the Subanon *Gambatutu* (Maceda 1972; Pfeiffer 1975:204-248). Some epics are shared by two or more cultural groups, such as the *Rajah Indarapatra*, known to both the Maguindanao and the Maranao.

In most Christian communities, the epics have been replaced by metrical romances introduced by the Spanish colonizers. The popularity of metrical romances peaked in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Although the stories were originally

written, these have been orally transmitted through the years, assuming different versions in the process. The awit and *korido*, differing only in poetic structures and style of rendition, are tales of heroism populated by European knights, princes, and princesses, and based on Biblical stories and Greco-Roman literature (Eugenio 1987). Recited or intoned on preexisting melodic formulae such as the Tagalog awit, metrical romances are an established tradition among the Tagalog, Pampango, Ilocano, Cebuano, Bicol, and Ilongo. Philippine metrical romance literature includes both adapted works like *Erastro*, *Floristo at Blanca Flor* (Floristo and Blanca Flor), *Adriana at Pantinople* (Adriana and Pantinople), *Mariang Alimango* (Maria the Crab) after “Cinderella,” and original works like *Don Juan Tiñoso*, *Florante at Laura* (Florante and Laura), and *Ibong Adarna* (Adarna Bird). The stories of the metrical romances have also provided material for the *komedy*, a popular theater form in the 19th century.

Styles, Concepts and Structures

While affinities exist in instrumental inventories and social functions among music cultures, there are distinctions in the styles of performance, structural elements such as scales, tune formulae and rhythmic modes, and aesthetics.

Differences in performing styles can be very apparent even between related cultures. In the Cordillera highlands, the Kalinga play their gangsa (flat gongs) in groups of six or more, either in the *pattong* style (beaten with hard sticks) and dancing at the same time, or in the *toppaya* style (beaten with the palm) with gongs resting on the lap as the musicians half-kneel around the dance area, playing for dancing couples. Among the Ibaloy, the kalsa and pinsak (flat gongs) together with the palas (iron bars) players follow in step behind a dancing couple, while the two drums, sulibao and kimbal, are played by two seated musicians. The Ifugao play their gangha in a group of three, using both mallets and hands, remaining in position while accompanying the dancers.

Among the inland Muslim peoples, kulintang music has greater musical autonomy, except when used in rituals such as the *kapagipat* curing ceremony of the Maguindanao, where the medium dances the *sagayan* to the accompaniment of the kulintang (Butocan 1987). The Manobo, however, play the hanging kulintang while the body moves rhythmically with the music that eventually leads to dancing. The Maguindanao kutyapi (two-stringed lute) is played in a sitting position, while players of the Manobo kuglong and the Tboli hagelong dance to their own music.

The styles of vocal rendition can be classified as solo singing, leader-chorus, song debate, and group singing, with or without accompaniment.

Lullabies, songs for entertainment, laments, epics, and ritual chants of both indigenous and rural Christian cultures are sung solo, although in liturgical and

semiliturgical singing among rural Christians, two- to three-part harmonizing is desirable.

The identity of solo songs with extemporized texts is based on tune formulae and social functions, as in the Kalinga *oggayam* and Tagalog *huluna*.

Song debates— such as the Visayan *balitaw* and Ilocano *dal-lot*—are usually performed in courtship and wedding rites, either by the two lovers or their parents.

The leader-chorus style, such as the Ibaloy *ba-diw* and Ifugao *alim*, is common among indigenous cultures. In the *alim*, two groups of singers reply to two male leaders.

Group singing predominates in the music of lowland Christian communities. Folk songs are either sung in unison or in harmony. Members of folk religious sects in the provinces of Quezon, Laguna, Cavite, and Batangas, sing hymns in semi-extemporized harmonization (Santos 1975:93-117). In indigenous cultures, work songs, such as the Bontoc *chey-assa*, a rice-pounding song, are sung in groups.

Accompanied solo songs are popular among highland communities of Mindanao and Palawan and Islamic coastal groups. Among the Mindanao highland peoples such as the Manobo, Bagobo, Matigsalug, the singers accompany themselves on the two-stringed lute or the zither, dancing to the music at the same time.

Among Christians, accompanied singing is the predominant style of vocal music, and the guitar is the most popular and readily available instrument. Improvised folk singing among rural Christian groups show an integration of non-Western and Western musical elements. The preexisting tunes are loosely cast in major and minor tonalities, while phrases are repeated in dronelike fashion over nonfunctional chordal accompaniment of the guitar or the local harp. The songs are based on certain metric patterns which are not strictly complied with in actual performance.

The melodic structures vary from the most ornamented or melismatic to syllabic and speechlike rendition. Vocal techniques include trills, vibrato, slides, and glottal stops. In the *sanghiyang* ritual of the rural Tagalog, for example, the shamans start their dialogue in exaggerated speaking style and gradually modulate to more musical or chant like vocal undulations as they reach a state of trance.

Each cultural tradition has its own set of musical concepts and aesthetic values. In many cultures, music is not purely auditory or affective: the musical or sound component may be part of a larger artistic act. In most vocal repertoires, the text serves as the main artistic element more than the musical sound, where poetry and rhetoric determine the value of a song as a whole. The performer also composes by extemporaneously creating text in vocal music, or by innovating and

improvising on melodic motifs or rhythmic patterns in instrumental music.

Despite the use of five- or six-tone scales in indigenous musics and the diatonic scale in Christianized music, and the manufacture of more or less similar instruments, the tuning, sizes, scales, and modes are all relative to individual groups, families, or even individual artists. No kulintang is tuned exactly like another, and the lengths of flutes and overall size of other instruments are dependent on the preference of the performers who usually make the instruments themselves. Thus, musical excellence and aesthetic satisfaction are not determined by exact intonation and other quantitative factors deemed significant in Western music, such as pitch range, amplitude, formal clarity, and compositional complexity. Rather, aesthetic pleasure is derived from individual timbres, tonal resonance, improvisation, poetic depth, and the relationship of the musical elements with other elements of the artistic activity.

Drone and melody are the underlying principles in the organization of the musical elements. Drone, a basic element in Asian music, reflects a concept of infinity and stability in the spiritual world. Musicologist Jose Maceda (1976) first described the different ways that cultures developed their musical languages according to the structural principles of drone and melody. First, drone and melody are an integrated structure of interlocking repeated individual parts (hocket) or patterns, such as the music of Kalinga saggeypo and gangsa music, and Tiruray agung. Second, drone and melody are played as separate parts. Third, drone accompaniment alternates with song melody, as in the Palawan *kulilal*. Last, drone and melody are combined in one line, as in the Maguindanao kutyapi or Yakan solo gabbang.

The concept of tonal harmony hardly exists in orally transmitted musical idioms, except for the use of chord structures (usually the tonic and dominant) in rural Christian musics. However, these chord structures provide drones rather than harmonic function relative to the European tonal system.

Philippine traditional music is generally free rhythmically. While a basic pulse unifies a group performance, there is little synchronism or the tyranny of the downbeat. Formal elements such as opening and closing formulae function only in instrumental ensemble musics, without necessarily affecting the freedom to improvise with indefinite duration on the microstructural elements (motifs, phrases, rhythms) of the music or the body of the music itself.

The structural and stylistic elements of traditional musical practices represent different concepts of artistic expression, most of which are not confined to the purely sonic dimension, but integrate sound, movement, space and poetry, and fuse the performers' creative and interpretative roles. Furthermore, improvisation and the absence of fixed systems in the formulation and formation of basic musical materials reflect not only individuality and specificity, but a concept of individual freedom of choice in the selection and organization of these materials.

Improvisation and variation pervade even the seemingly closed and limited compositional system based on drone and melody.

Epilogue

The great variety of musical repertoires and styles in oral traditions reflects a highly pluralistic culture. There is no simple definition or description of the totality of Philippine music, whose diversity stems from highly dispersed ethnic origins as well as long periods of contact with outside traditions, both Asian and Western, and from the transformation of new impulses into integral parts of a Philippine cultural heritage. • R.P. Santos

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