INTRODUCTION

Material for the present study is the result of a three-month stay in Lanao del Sur, the Philippines, during the summer of 1972 just prior to the declaration of martial law on September 22nd. Recordings were made in six strategically-located areas around the lake. Of 174 performances, 129 were of *kakolintang* (music of the gong row), 11 of *kapanginsi* (flute music), 11 of *kadubak* (dubakan drumming), 3 of *kagundung (gundungan* drumming), 1 of *kapangobing* (jew's harp playing), 1 of *katugongko* (processional music), 1 of *kasugayan* and *kasayao-sa-singkil* (warrior and pole dance), and 17 were of various vocal genres.

The study of style and repertoire is based on the above recordings and field logs, and the general information is the result of the writer's experience both in and out of the field. The latter information has by preference been supplemented from time to time in the words of Muranao informants as recorded by Mr. Birowa Cadar in June of 1971. These taped interviews were transcribed and intricately translated with isolation and definition of key terms by Usopay H. Cadar and the present writer in the summer of 1971. Subsequently the transcript was further refined into a single informative document which was then transliterated according to the system described below. In the text such quoted material is documented with the abbreviation "BCT" (Birowa Cadar Tapes) followed by reference to the question number and page of the document currently in possession of the writer and Mr. Cadar.

The present work attempts to establish a solid platform from which an extensive study of the Muranao kolintang repertoire can be accomplished. It supplies considerable background information providing a general orientation within the culture followed by a presentation of the repertoire as witnessed in contrasting regions of the province. Also included are concepts, insights, and hypotheses which the writer presents as keys to analysis.

Very few people have written on the Muranao language, the most substantial study having been done by Dr. Howard McKaughan of the University of Hawaii. Differences in transliteration among scholars and Muranao alike can be quite confusing, the greatest discrepancies occurring between "o" and "u," "i" and "e", the semi-vowels "i" and "y," "o" and "w" (or sometimes "u"), and particularly among "e," "u," "a," and even "h" to indicate the pepet vowel.

The system employed in the present work was developed by the writer based on knowledge of the language as supplied by Usopay

Cadar. Quite simply it attempts to remain faithful to the vowels as they occur in the *alipalipan* — or Muranao writing system using Arabic script — rather than the way a vowel may sound in a given linguistic context. Hence the letter "u" is reserved for the symbol *patay* when it is voiced and can never be confused with *dapan* ("o") when it sounds like "oo." Likewise *diyatas* is always rendered as "a" and *dibawa* as "i". The velar nasal consonant "ng" is transliterated as "ng" inasmuch as it is written in Arabic script with a symbol separate from either "n" or "g," and can thus be distinguished from a situation in which the latter occur as adjacent consonants. The letters employed then are the vowels "a," and "i," and "o"; the pepet vowel "u"; the semi-vowels "y" and "w"; and the consonants "b," "d," "g," "K," "l," "m," "n," "p," "r," "s," "t," and "ng."

The Muranao prefix "ka" denotes "doing" (or in a musical context, "playing") and is inevitably found in the proper titles of pieces as well as the names of musical genres. Inflected forms of the prefix include "kam-," "kan-kan-," "ka-," "kapa-," "kapag-," and "kapang-." Thus *kakolintang* refers to kolintang music and the proper name for the piece "onor" is *kapagonor.*

Kolintang melodies occurring as examples in the text are notated by numbers 1 through 8. Each number represents a stroke on one of the eight graduated pot gongs, 1 representing the largest and lowest-sounding members of the set. Rhythms indicated only by the relative placement of numbers and spaces within a framework allowing for sixteen notes per metric unit. In instances where the role of each beater is designated, strokes with the left hand are shown slightly lowered as subscripts. No attempt is made to show the left hand in its non-melodic accompanimental role.

The present work represents one step in a coordinated scheme of manuscripts planned between the writer and Usopay H. Cadar. Mr. Cadar, a Muranao, has already provided insight into the social context of kolintang music and is currently dedicating his efforts to a description and classification of Muranao vocal genres. As a compliment to these endeavors, the writer is in the process of defining and classifying the Muranao kolintang repertoire. The present work represents the initial stage of that study. It is expected that our current independent writings will eventually merge to form a complete picture of Muranao music which taken together will represent the views of both an insider and outsider as well as those skills, knowledge, background and experience which come more naturally to either an Asian or Westerner.

Inasmuch as the *raison d'etre* of the work hinges very closely upon the personality of Mr. Usopay Cadar, the primary credit goes

to him. To Cadar Romapunut al Hadj, who is not only a great father and leader, but as a mainstay of tradition can still somehow appreciate the extraordinary, I owe an unforgettable image of wisdom approaching elegance. To Juan Francisco, whose quarters on the campus of Mindanao State University served as home base, I owe inspiration and fond memories. And to Dr. Robert Garfias, whose documentary travels of 1966 paved the way for the study in this area, is attributed ultimate credit for these and future writings.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING

Throughout the general area embracing Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands, gongs constitute a major portion of the traditional music instruments still in use. In the case of mainland Southeast Asia the basic role of gongs can be seen in the gong and drum ensembles of various hill tribes, while in the lowlands their prominence is tempered somewhat by the presence of reeds and strings from cultures of the west. In Indonesia, the cultivation and refinement of special bronze-casting traditions has resulted in a prolific number of gongs and metallophones culminating in the esteemed gamelans of Sunda, Java, and Bali. In the Philippine Islands, gongs are the dominant type of instrument among a diverse group of non-Christian Filipinos.

Throughout this same area, one might also generalize the underlying concept of an ensemble based on gongs accompanied by one or more drums. Such performing groups can be found in the mountains of central Luzon, as among the hill tribes of Southeast Asia, in which there is gong or drum to a player. Between these areal extremes, however, one generally finds the melodic component of the ensemble to be a set of graduated, boosed, pot gongs played by one person. Examples of such ensembles are the *gong, sembilan* and *gong dewabelas* of the Moluccas, and the *kulintangan* of North Borneo and the southern Philippines. In the large modern gamelans of Java and Bali, this melodic role has been delegated to slab-keyed metallophones. Nonetheless, the role of the melodic pot gong row can be seen in older gamelans of the area. Thus, to the above list may be added the Balinese *Gamelan Gong Gde*, the Sundanese *Gamelan Degung*, and the Javanese *Gamelan Charabalen.*

The Moslem Filipinos of Sulu and Mindanao have been grouped nationally with people of whom the vast majority have been inundated by Hispanic tradition. Culturally, the former have long-established ties with Borneo and Indonesia, and as such, their *kolintang* ensembles *(kulintangan* in Sulu) represent the northernmost extremity of what is essentially an Indonesia gong tradition. Likewise, among these Moslem groups, the Muranao of Lanao del Sur, Mindanao, represent the farthest extremity and probably the most isolated and self-contained manifestation of that tradition. These gong ensembles, then, exemplify a development of the same ensemble prototype from

which the Indonesian gamelans stem, although unlike the latter they operate exclusively on a folk level without an accompanying body of theoretical conceptualization.

The Islamic Philippines

The four principal groups of Moslem Filipinos are the Tausug, Samal, Magindunaon, and Muranao, which together account for 92% of a Moslem population estimated at more than 1.6 million in recent decades.[1] Next in size and importance are the Yakan, followed by the Sangil, Melebugnon, Badjao, Jama Mapun, and Moslem Palawani.[2]

The *Tausug* are found in the Sulu Archipelago. Most live in the Jolo and Tapul island clusters with a few on Tawi-Tawi, Sibutu, and Pangataran. About 15% have migrated due to the overpopulation of some Sulu regions and are found along coastal areas of Borneo, Palawan, Zamboanga, and Davao. The Tausug were the first of the groups to be Islamized and became the backbone of the Sulu Sultanate.

The *Samal* are found on Sibutu Island, in Zamboanga, and throughout the southern part of the Sulu Archipelago. They are the poorest of the major Islamic groups, and by 1939 30% of the population had migrated from the home areas existing in scattered pockets from Borneo to the east coast of Mindanao. The Samal were "the last of the great waves of Malayan imigrants [sic] . . .and Muslims before they came."[3]

The *Magindunaon* of Cotabato Province, Mindanao, constitute the largest group. Originally they were based at the mouth of the Cotabato River but have expanded progressively up the river valley to the marshy interior of the Province. This "Rio Grande de Cotabato" periodically overflows its banks, hence the name *Magindu-*

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[1]Melvin Mednick "Some Problems of Moro History and Political Organization," *Philippine Sociological Review,* V (1957), 40; Philippine Census of 1960.

[2]Actually, the Moslem Palawani outnumber the preceding four groups, but their location isolates them from other Philippine Moslems. On the other hand, the Badjao are often attributed greater importance by outsiders intrigued with their unique life style.

[3]Peter G. Gowing, *Mosque and Moro,* (Manila: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964), 17.

naon, meaning "people of the flood plain." Some of the non-Islamic groups of Cotabato Province such as the Manobo, Tiruray, Bilaan, and Tagabili are thought to be descendants of Magindunaon who fled to the mountains in reaction to the spread of Islam.

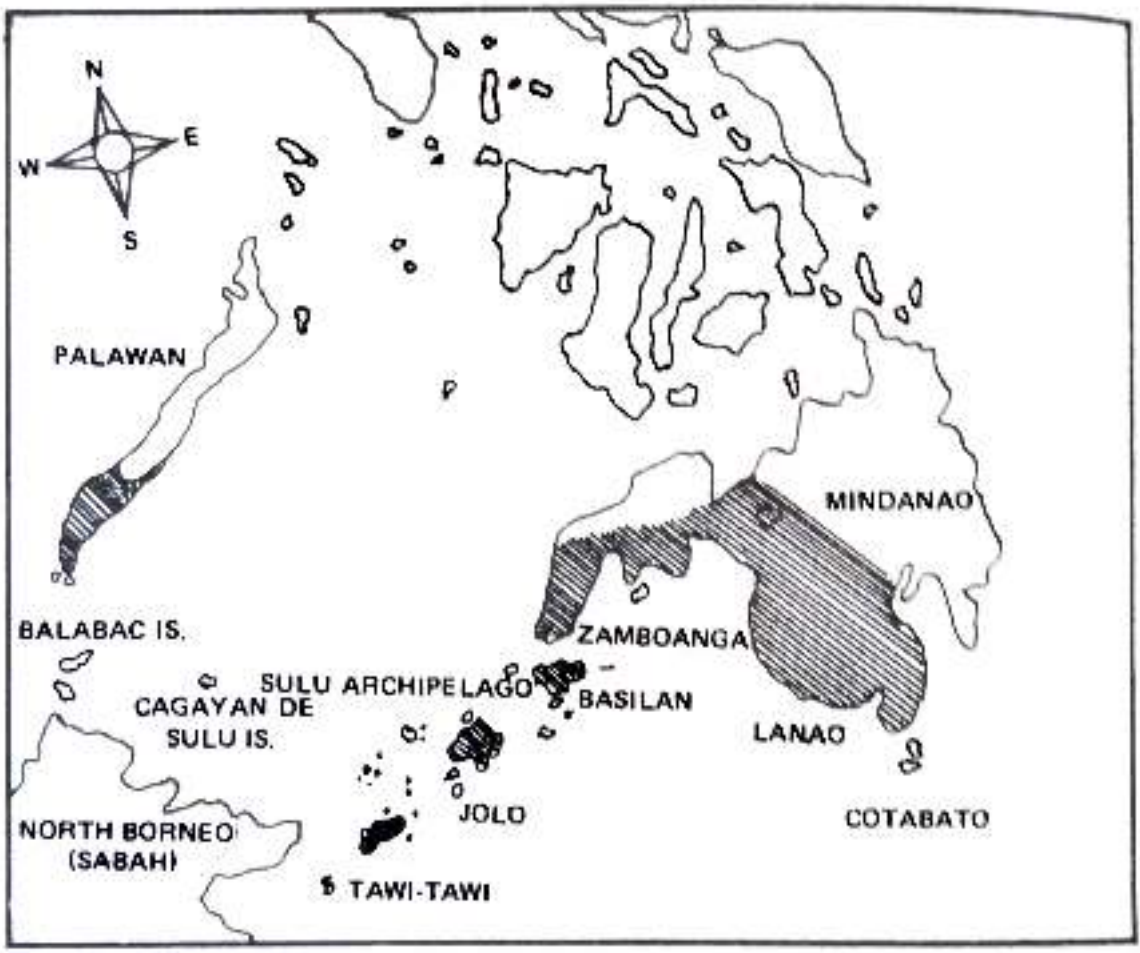

Figure 1. Map showing Islamic Regions of the Southern Philippines.[4]

[4]Usopay H. Cadar, "The Role of Kulintang in Maranao Society," *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology*, 11:2 (1975), 50. After Antonio Isidro, *Muslim-Christian Integration at the Mindanao State University*, (Marawi City: MSU Research Center 1968).

The *Maranao*, or "people of the lake" are concentrated around Lake Lanao in the highlands of Lanao del Sur. Approximately 10% have migrated, but most only as far as adjacent Cotabato Province. In population, the Muranao number nearly as many as the Magindunaon, with whom they trace common legendary ancestry, but unlike the latter they have remained relatively free from encroachment by outsiders. This is primarily due to their protective terrain but they are also bound up in social codes governing intermarriage.[5]

The Yakan live on Basilan Island and in neighboring regions of the Zamboanga Peninsula. Not all Yakan are Moslem and it is said that they are partly Polynesian in origin.

The *Sangil* are found in Cotabato and Davao where they have migrated from northern Indonesia. The *Melebugnon* live on Balabak Island on the southern tip of Palawan.

The *Badjao*, commonly known as "Sea Gypsies," move about the southern Sulu Islands on floating homes. Like the Yakan, some have remained pagan.

The *Jama Mapun* of Cagayan de Sulu form the smallest group, numbering only 10,000 or so. Like the Islamic segment of the *Palawani* of Palawan, contact with other Moslem Filipinos is very limited.

Racially, these groups are Malay-Indonesian although the Yakan, as indicated above, may have some Polynesian ancestry, and some upper class Tausug may be of mixed Arabic lineage. They all speak Malay-Indonesian languages of the Central Philippine subgroup. As might be expected, the Yakan, Samal, Badjao, and Jama Mapun are closely related linguistically, as are the Magindunaon and Muranao. On the other hand, the Sangil show greater affinity with Moslem groups in Celebes and the Melebugnon more closely resemble groups in Borneo.[6]

The Magindunaon and Muranao have complex genealogies, myths, and epics. The genealogies are Islamic to the extent that lineages are traced back to the time of the Prophets.[7] The Muranao epic,

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[5]See Usopay H. Cadar, "The Role of Kulintang Music in Maranao Society," *Ethnomusicology*, XVII (1973), 236-37.

[6]Much of the information of the preceding two pages from Gowing, op. cit., pp. 1-6.

[7]Most importantly Prophets Mohammad and Ibrahim (Abraham).

Darangun, is considered indigenous although it is fairly likely that at least portions of it were derived from the Hindu epics. The Muranao tale of *Maharadia Lawang* is definitely related to the *Ramayana*, although miniscule by comparison.[8]

History

The Subanon, a non-Islamic group of northern Zamboanga, have a legend depicting the arrival of the first Moslems, one of whom subsequently marries the daughter of the Subanon chief.[9] How and when the first contact with Islam occurred is unclear, but it seems that the process of Islamization was effected in part by such intermarriage into the families of local rulers. The most substantive contact came in the form of Arab merchants who were primarily interested in establishing trade bases, and then got ideas of setting up their own kingdoms in the process. As such, conversion to Islam may initially have been of secondary importance or perhaps merely a tool to more lucrative ends. Gowing states that in the mid-fourteenth century these Arabs brought Islam from the Malay Peninsula to Borneo, Sulu, and then to the coast of Mindanao. The first Moslem missionary, Sharif Makdum, arrived on the island of Simunul about 1380. He was followed by Rajah Baguinda from Sumatra who converted the inhabitants at least nominally to Islam.[10] In 1475 an Arab-Malayan named Shariff Mohammed Kabungsuwan landed at the mouth of the Cotabato River with an army of Samal and established his own sultanate. It is tradionally said that Islam was later carried to the Muranao in a similar move by one Sharif Alawi who took a force from Cotabato into Lanao from the north shore of the island. On the other hand, there is evidence in some Magindanaon *tarsila* (genealogies) that Kabungsuwan actually landed first among communities of Muranao in the vicinity of Malabang in the first quarter of the 16th century.[11] Thus Islam probably made its way into the lake region via interaction between Muranao rather than

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[8]Juan R. Francisco, Maharadia Lawana," *Asian Studies*, VII (1969), 187.

[9]Emerson Brewer Christie, "The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay," *Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications*, VI (1909), 28-30.

[10]Gowing, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[11]Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973), 70-71.

through Sharif Alawi who may well have confined his activity to a northern coastal area near Cagayan de Oro City. Either way, it can be said that Islamization took place earlier among the Magindunaon than the Muranao, a conclusion made clearer by the following details: 1) missionaries were present among the former as early as the mid-15th century (before the appearance of Sharif Kabungsuwan), and 2)even though some datos around Malabang were contacted quite early, Islam spread only very slowly up into the lake region as generations intermarried with the coastal communities.[12] There is evidence that even as late as 1645, Muranao of the Basak region (on the east side of Lake Lanao) were not yet Moslem.

The role of trade in the development of the Southern Philippines should not be underestimated. The Sulu Archipelago, strung out like a gill net between Mindanao and North Borneo is a natural gateway for ships going to and from China and the Spice Islands. Jolo became an important center, as did the area around the mouth of the Cotabato River which offered access to the interior of Mindanao. Moslem trading ships sailed from the Northern Philippines to New Guinea and as far west as the Persian Gulf. The Sulu area was under one centralized sultanate which included southern Palawan, North Borneo, and parts of southern Mindanao. The Maguindunaon, originally under one sultan, were divided into three sultanates. The Muranao area was divided into three basic regions, each with its primary sultan. On another level, however, each region was composed of many smaller sultanates representing individual clans.

Moslem traders penetrated the interior of a number of Philippine islands in an attempt to establish trade monopolies. The Sultans of Sulu and Mindanao were extending rule into the northern islands when the Spanish came. In the 1570s, "Legaspi and his *conquistadores* met their strongest oppposition . . . from . . . Rajah Soliman who . . . had settled around Manila . . . If the Spanish had not come, it is likely that the entire Archipelago would have been Islamized and the way opened for penetration into Formosa, China, and Japan.[13] As it happened, the Spanish became a constant threat and over the span of more than 300 years major offensives were launched (with the help of Christianized Filipinos) against the Moslems in the South. By and large these campaigns were militarily successful but insignifi-

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[12]Ibid., pp. 70, 72.

[13]Gowing, *Mosque* and *Moro*, pp. 19-20.

cant in the long run since the Spaniards were never able to control or occupy their conquests in the South. Because of the its protective terrain, the heart of the Muranao territory was relatively untouched. Only in the "eleventh hour" were the Spanish involved in a major attempt to subdue the Muranao capital when the Spanish-American War broke out.

These centuries of Spanish presence in the Philippines served to further unify the Moslems of Mindanao and Sulu. As Mednick put it, "the moros were a single society, though not a single culture."[14] That is to say, the various Moslem groups should be considered as distinct peoples who came to have political, social, and religious systems in common, yet their observance or interpretation of these systems was not necessarily identical one to another, or completely orthodox in Near Eastern terms. As such , there were from time to time major points of contention between, for example, the Maguindunaon and the Sultan of Sulu, but these disagreements were short lived in view of the constant threat imposed by the Spanish.[15]

The Moslems maintained control of their own seas until the 19th century when Spaniards appeared with steam vessels. Jolo, the capital of Sulu, fell to the Spanish in 1876, and two years later the Sultan of Sulu signed a treaty with Spain. For the remainder of the century the area of Sulu was in a state of great confusion marked by *juramentado* raids and much factionalism among the people. With the death of the Sultan in 1881, there followed a decade of controversy between various contenders for the sultanship, the Spanish backing their candidate with military action, and all the while other European powers, notably the British, Dutch, and Germans, were involved in their own form of international ping-pong with the sultans as well as the Spanish over land and trade agreements.[16]

By 1898 the Philippine people had overthrown the Spanish in parts of Luzon and declared themselves independent of Spain. At the same time the United States, convinced of its destiny in international politics, embarked on the Spanish-American War. Phase III of the war plan called for Admiral Dewey to confront the Spanish in the

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[14]Mednick, "Some Problems of Moro . . . ," p. 42.

[15]It should be pointed out, however, that there were never serious differences, between the Muranao and Magindunaon who view each other as "cousins" in their written genealogies.

[16]Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, pp. 293-304.

Pacific, specifically the fleet in Manila Bay. In the process Dewey befriended Aguinaldo (Philippine revolutionary leader) and they agreed to co-ordinate their efforts against Spain. Unfortunately, unbeknownst to Dewey, the American Government had decided that the Philippine Islands were a valuable asset and could serve as a stepping stone to markets in China. As a result Dewey and others were soon forced to turn against Aguinaldo, but not before an amazing deal had been worked out between Madrid and Washington by which the last bastion of Spanish troops trapped in Manila would try to hold out until they could surrender to Americans. Thus the existence of an independent government in the Philippines was limited to a mere few weeks.[17]

The Americans, then, inherited (along with everything else) the so-called Moro Problem in the South. It is to their credit, however, that they soon learned the futility of fighting these people and adopted a policy of "friendship, aid, and toleration . . . the ultimate goal was [their] integration into the national body politic," but the Moslems protested being included in a Christian stage.[18] In 1924 they petitioned Washington to be granted sovereignty from the rest of the Philippines, but to no avail. "From the viewpoint of many Muslims, the Philippine Government is to all intents and purposes not their Government — the Muranao call it the *gobirno a sarwang [a] tao* ('the government of foreign people')."[19]

A contemporary source of unrest in Mindanao stems from Christian homesteading on Moslem lands. The fertile farm land of the Cotabato flood plain, for example, has been marked off for resettlement by the government to help relieve population pressures and provide increased grain production for use in the North. These lands are considered public since Moslems don't hold land titles, and all too often the latter lose if they appeal such disputes in the Christian courts.

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[17]Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1972), passim.*

[18]Gowing, *Mosque* and *Moro*, pp. 23-24.

[19]Ibid., p. 38.

The Muranao dwell in the Western Highlands of west-north-west Mindanao, east of the Zamboanga Peninsula. The majority are found in villages along the shoreline of majestic Lake Lanao in the province of Lanao del Sur. The Philippine Census of 1960 gives a population of 378,327 for the province, 355,727 (over 94%) of whom are Moslems.[20] Peter Gowing (based on the same source) states that the Muranao number more than 450,000 in the two Lanao Provinces.[21] We can deduce, then, that there are perhaps another 94,000 Muranao living primarily in the adjacent areas of Lanao del Norte.[22]

The lake region is truly pleasant. Along the eastern shore, rice lands give way to richly-forested hills backed by mountains rising as high as 9,233 feet.[23] On the west, a high volcanic ridge rises swiftly from the shoreline, and to the south, the lake is contained by an abrupt yet unassuming wall of land which continues as a plateau toward further hills and passage to Malabang on the coast. At the heart of this panorama is Lake Lanao, some 78 square miles in area, at an elevation of 2,297 feet.[24] It is the focal point of the Muranao people. It provides food in the form of fish and its waters are used for ablution in Mosques along the shoreline.

At the northern tip of the lake is Marawi City[25] where the marketplace bears daily witness to the exclusive interaction among peoples from opposite regions of the lake. Every morning from 6:00 o'clock until noon a fleet of small, privately-owned motor launches

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[20]Francisco, "Maharadia Lawana," p. 192.

[21]Gowing, op. cit., p. 4.

[22]These figures must be considered mere estimates at best. cf. David B. Baradas, "Maranao Law" (Ph.D. dissertation abstract, University of Chicago, 1971), p. 1. Jose Maceda, "The Music of the Magindanao in the Philippines," (Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1963), Vol. 1, p. 16.

[23]Mt. Ragang, some twenty miles to the southeast on the border of Cotabato Province.

[24]Sailing Directions for the Philippine Islands, Vol. II, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 205 (Sec. 6C-17).

[25]Formerly, Dansalan.

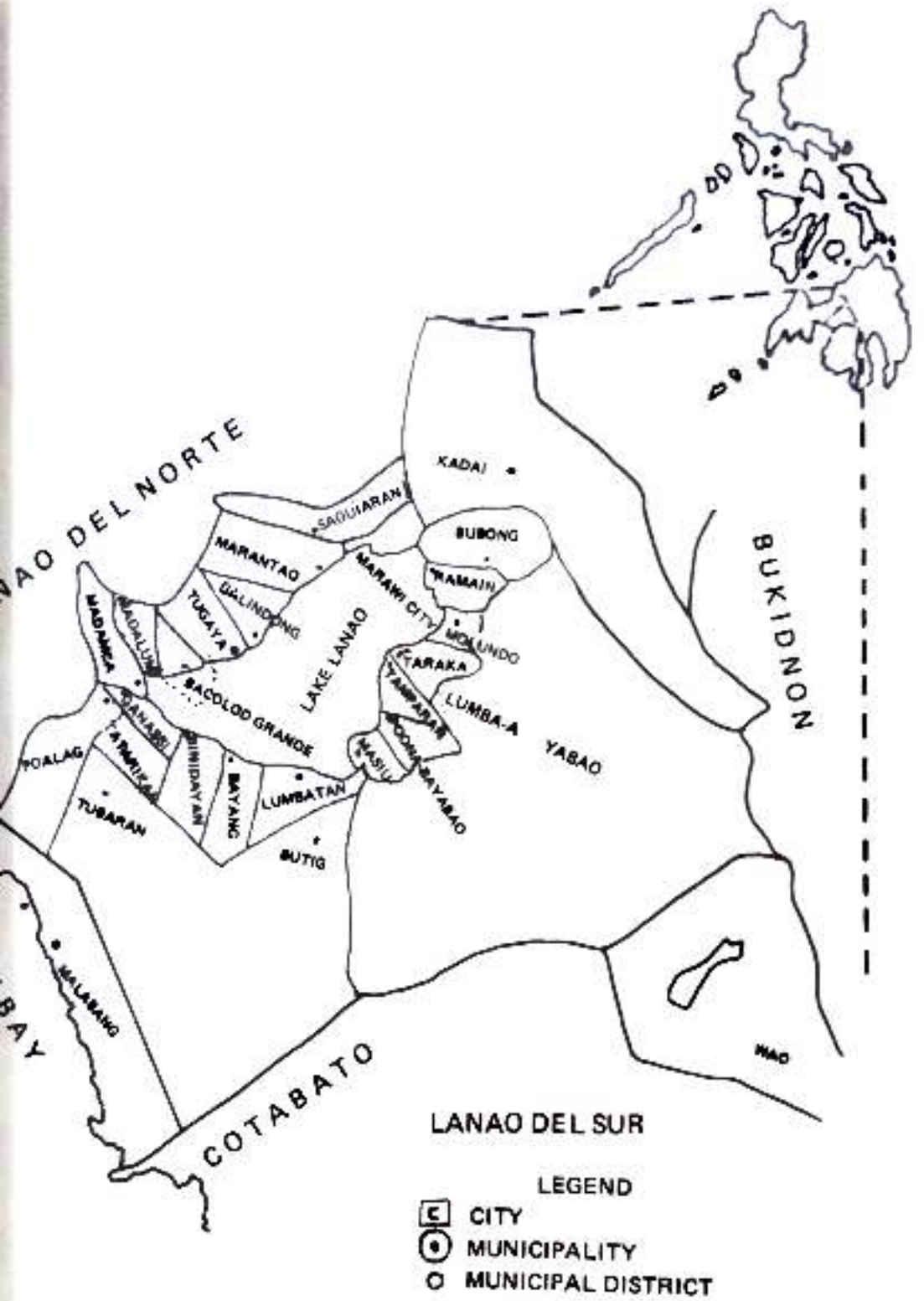

Figure 2. Map of Lanao del Sur[27]

[26]Francisco, op. cit., p. 191.

runs back and forth between individual villages and Marawi. Although a few small Toyota jeeps make routine trips down the rough road on either side of the lake, water transport is the rule.

In size, Marawi can hardly be called a city. By the same token, many a major lakeshore settlement is seemingly without so much as a crossroads to call its center.[27] In such places there are no markets but a number of miniature store fronts throughout the community where one can buy cigarettes, soda pop, penny candy, canned mackerel, and the like. People tend to grow or catch the bulk of their own food (rice, yams, corn, beans, fruit, fish, or poultry) and procure the rest in the "city."

Marawi City is a hubbub of activity. Along the waterfront assorted launches tie up facing an open area where people freely gather to buy or sell goods they have brought in. A large jackfruit is laid on the ground and is bid on. Further up are small stalls and then a large covered bazaar where one can bargain for Chinese cottons or Indonesian batik. The streets are unpaved and covered motortrikes elbow their way through the crowd to deliver their fares in a flourish of dust. To the left are shops dealing in brasswares including *kolintang* and beyond, a few people may be waiting for a jeep to go down the lakeshore. In the evening, the way is lit only by the flickering kerosene wicks of numerous vendors. The next block passes an Islamic college to where a line of four to six jeepneys await passengers to Mindanao State University, about two miles down the western shore.[28]

The lowland region along the east side of the lake is known as the *Basak* and is dominated by wet rice agriculture. In contrast, the highlands of the west shore and the region to the south of the lake differ from the above in both terrain and climate and are suitable for dry crops such as corn, coffee, cocoa, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, and abaca. This latter division will be referred to as the *Gilopa*. Dif-

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[27] Actually, the most important mosque is taken by the people as the center of a given community.

[28] M.S.U. is situated on a hill overlooking the lake and its faculty and student body include both Christians and Moslems. Of particular interest to the researcher is the Aga Khan Museum near the center of the campus, in which a number of Muranao musical instruments are on display.

ferences in the harvest calendar between the Basak and Gilopa regions have exerted an indirect influence on the respective styles of playing the *kolintang*. In the Basak region, people work extremely hard during the planting season and are then free to devote their attention to the cultivation of traditional arts until harvest time some six months later. Generally speaking, music in this area tends to be more virtuosic, and in some cases even showy by comparison. In the Gilopa crops come due at different times and the work is spread out more evenly throughout the year. Music here can be more conservative, yet some areas are so isolated from the mainstream of lake activity that their stylistic traits would appear to include some of the most atypical features. It will be seen, however, that each village sampled has its own artistic individuality.

CHAPTER TWO

MURANAO MUSIC

Muranao traditional music can be divided most simply into vocal and instrumental genres. This dual classification is reinforced by the fact that in Muranao society singers enjoy professional status while instrumentalists remain strictly amateur from a vocational point of view. Before limiting the discussion to the above two categories, however, it might be helpful to clarify a few points lest certain musical activities be taken for granted or the reader be misled by their implied absence.

The rubrics, "folk" and "art" music are of little value here. With the possible exception of singing or wailing during an act of burial, all Muranao music is considered entertainment. It permeates all segments of the society, being shared and practiced by the population as a whole. There is no written material or body of theory surrounding the music, yet it often exhibits the intricacy, degree of seriousness, and formality more commonly associated with an art music tradition. One might postulate an imported theoretical basis for Moslem chanting, but in the context of Islamic tradition, this is not lullabies and children's game songs recognized as bona fide music.

The following musically-related phenomena, then, will be excluded from further consideration as Muranao traditional music:

1) *Pangadi* — Islamic liturgical chant
2) Muranao folk and popular songs
3) Children's music
   a) Game songs
   b) Blowing on leaves or rubber bands
4) Lullabies
5) Bird catching songs
6) Singing or whistling to call the wind (for sailing or kite flying)
7) Music to drive birds from the fields
   a) *Tagotok* or *karatong* — bamboo scraper idiophone
   b) *Onioniya* — conical double-reed aerophone
   c) Cans or bottles suspended as windchimes
8) Imported music
   a) Near Eastern — Oum Kalsoum, for example
   b) Western — rock and roll, guitar, piano, etc.

Vocal Music

Vocal music differs from instrumental music in that 1) its practitioners are paid for their services, 2) its appreciation requires knowledge of special language forms, and 3) its pedagogy is based on the *guro* (guru) system.

Singers are hired for weddings, funerals, wakes, or any festive occasion. Several will be present and each sings for an hour or two without stopping.

The Muranao are fond of eloquent speech and are skilled in various forms of recitation. Oration is a necessary part of any important gathering. Each genre of vocal music is characterized by its manner of speaking and use of language. Some use the old poetic language of the *Darangun*, some a standardized form of Muranao, others a more contemporary version of the language, and some use parts of all three. Further, it is possible for a text of one category to be rendered in the metric and poetic style of another; *Mamayog*, for example, belongs musically to the Darangun category even though its text is a love story and not related to the epic itself.

Below is a list of seven Muranao vocal genres presented in the order of frequency with which they were cited by people in Lanao.

KANDURANGUN
- Based on the epic, Darangun,
- The context is fixed.
- The language of the epic is used.
- *Tintik*[1] accompaniment is used.

KAMBUYOK
- Uses aspects of all three Muranao language forms.
- Cliches are employed.
- Parts of the Darangun are used.
- The content is extemporaneous.

(KAMBUYOK)
- The style is melismatic.
- A special melodic treatment is used.

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[1] *Tintik* is a spare series of rhythmic strokes played on any handy object, preferably made of metal, to outline the stronger accents of the text. Often a *dodo-i* (bronze spittoon) is used for this purpose.

KADIKIR
A dirge
Originated in a lullaby about Mohammed.
Combines religious and moral themes.
Highly melismatic in character.

KANDOMANA — Story-telling
Derived from religious stories.

KAPRANON — Sentiment, nostalgia
Love songs, ballads.
The melody type falls between Darangun and bayok:
more rhythmic than bayok
more melismatic than Darangun.

KAPRONGRONG
Personal song.
Not heard by others.

KAPANOTOL — "Relating"
Stories derived from local myths and tales.

Instruction in vocal music is obtainable only from teachers who are themselves professional singers of the highest calibre. These *goro* may have three or four apprentices living with them and receive gifts as payment for their services. "First the student memorizes the different kinds of languages of Bayok and Darangun. These languages are written for the student. Finally he will study the different ways of singing them. The *goro* sings it first and the student imitates it."[2]

The Muranao terms, *sowara*, *logo*, *lago*, and *lagam* relate to vocal phenomena and include, to varying degrees, vocal music as well as semi-musical categories. The formalizing of these categories into a comprehensive classification of vocal music is a part of the work in progress by Mr. Usopay Cadar.[3]

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[2]Goro-sa-Masiyo in the community of Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka.

[3]Usopay H. Cadar, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.

Instrumental Music

One might think of Muranao instrumental music in terms of three general broad categories: 1) the performance of *specific rhythms* as communal signals, or to accompany dances or processions; 2) the music (including the solo use) of instruments associated with the serenade ensemble, *kapanirong;* and 3) *kolintang* music.

Specific rhythms are played on single instruments, pairs of instruments, or by ensembles. A single *agong* (large gong) suspended vertically from the limb of a tree may well represent the earliest use of gongs in Muranao culture.[4] The sound of such a gong can travel a considerable distance, especially across water, and in former times this method was employed to convey signals such as the approach of an enemy, time to attack, or the death of an important person. The agong is still used to call people to an important event.

Another common signalling instrument is the *tabo*, a long vase-shaped drum which is suspended horizontally in front of mosques. Rhythms on the tabo call people to prayer each Friday (the Sabbath) while more intricate patterns are played to signal many of the observances during Ramadan.

Boroboro and *kabalo* are specific rhythms played on the *mamalala*, a medium-size thin-flanged gong somewhat resembling those of the Magindunaon *gundingan*. For *kabalo*, the mamalala is joined by agong, *pong* (a small chinese style gong), and other older gongs simply referred to as *boronay*. Both rhythms are used to signify the death of someone, but boroboro also implies a battle, fighting, or murder, while kabalo more specifically means "to be widowed" and is used during a burial. For the latter, the ensemble can be further expanded by doubling the instruments. "When they use many mamalala, it is dignified."[5]

Most notable among Muranao dances requiring a specific rhythmic accompaniment are *sagayan* (warrior dance — for men) and *singkil* (pole dance — for women). The Sagayan features a male

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[4] Although the original was more likely a bamboo gong.

[5] Anonymous male, Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka, *BCT*, Q. 11, p. 8.

dancer with sword and shield, and is accompanied by two *dubakan*, moderately large vase-shaped drums. Two agong may be added to expand the ensemble. In singkil, several female dancers step in and out between parallel poles which are rhythmically slapped against the ground and clapped together (as in the *tinikling* of the Northern Philippines.)

Another specific Muranao rhythm is that of the march or processional music, *katugongko*. The performing ensemble includes the *tambor*, a Western style snare drum, along with two pong and a pair of medium-size cymbals, *panduopan*, which are played by the leader. An expanded version of the ensemble might include two pairs of panduopan, two tambor, eight pong, and two medium-sized agong. The absence of the conical double-red instrument, so prevalent in processional ensembles throughout Asia and elsewhere, is indeed curious, especially in a Moslem culture. Although the Muranao have such an instrument *(onioniya)* it is deemed suitable only for scaring off birds.

A more conspicuously Hindu Muranao instrument is the two-headed cylindrical drum, *gundungan*. Always played in pairs as an interlocking rhythmic duet, gundungan use a variety of different patterns including some of the above-mentioned signal and dance rhythms. However, despite this link in repertoire, *kagundung* is a separate genre bearing little resemblance in function or social character to the preceding. It would seem to be an activity between two men who play primarily for each other rather than for an audience. This more private kind of musical activity is a typical, and with the exception of the vocal genre *kaprongrong*, is unique in Muranao music. Another unusual aspect of gundungan playing is the use of the bare hands. Each player holds a stick in the right hand, but the majority of strokes are executed either by the fingers and palm of the left hand or fingers of the right hand with the stick held away from the head. Other Muranao drums, in fact all percussion instruments, are played with sticks or padded beaters, with one possible exception immediately below *(sirongagunding)*. Kagundang rhythms recorded by the writer include *kasorondayong* (see above), *kaplayam* (exclusively kagundung), and *kamburabud* (one of the *sagayan* patterns).

Kapanirong, or serenade music, forms the second major division of Muranao instrumental music and might almost be thought of comparatively as a kind of "chamber music" category. It includes the music of two melodic instruments which in scale and ornamentation bear a conspicuous relation to vocal music.

The *kotiyapi* is a boat-lute with two strings, the lower of which serves as a drove string. It can be played as a solo instrument having a repertoire including abstract pieces as well as pieces derived from vocal music.

The *insi* is an end-blown flute which like the *kotiyapi* has its own solo repertoire. The blowing edge may be in the form of either a fipple or a V-notch with tied ring.

The *sirongagunding* is an unusual kind of tube zither with a loose flap covering one end. Placed horizontally, the right hand drums against the flap while the left hand plucks the two strings running lengthwise across the top.

The kotiyapi is joined by *sirongagunding* and *kobing* (idioglott jew's harp) to form the serenade ensemble *kapanirong*. Sometimes *insi* is also included. Kapanirong is an act of courtship. The musicians themselves are not rival suitors, but usually relatives or friends who act on behalf of a particular individual (such an overture would traditionally be made by an entire family rather than on an individual basis). The serenaders approach the house of the girl and play outside. "Later, they will be called up to the house and be given betel, cosmetics — and exchange poems and proverbs."[6] They might then play together in the house. A kobing or kotiyapi player may use his instrument as a medium for what he wants to say. The kobing player can simulate speech by strumming basic points of articulation while manipulating the mouth cavity as though speaking. The kotiyapi can imply words more vaguely through rhythmic control of plucking and dampening techniques. One can imagine how subtle and delicate this mode of communication might be — particularly if the girl is hidden away in another part of the house. Also a particular piece might be played to convey an appropriate message.

The third division of Muranao instrumental music is that of the *kolintang*, a set of graduated pot gongs.

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[6]Hadji Salam Cadar, Gapa-o-Balindong, *BCT*, Q. 21, p. 9.

CHAPTER THREE

KAKOLINTANG

The music of the kolintang is by far the strongest Muranao instrumental tradition. The term *kolintang* can mean one of three things: foremost it is a set of eight graduated pot gongs; by extension, the ensemble based on the pot gong row; but could also conceivably refer to individual pots of the set.

The gongs of the kolintang set are arranged in a single row over an open-framed rack *(langkongan)* which raises them to a height of perhaps 30 inches before a seated player. The better langkongan have four legs, or more rarely a single central pedestal, while simpler versions may consist of little more than two parallel bamboo poles placed horizontally between a pair of boxes or similar objects of appropriate height. The cross-pieces of the rack are inevitably strips of bamboo placed loosely at right angles across the frame so as to separate the individual pots. Two ropes are then strung the full length of the frame and are supported by these cross-pieces, and in turn support the gongs. Fancy langkongan may be carved or painted with the Muranao *okir* motif (a wavy, vine-like, serpentine design), and have flaring wing-like *panolong*[1] on the ends.

The eight pot gongs range in size from approximately seven inches to ten inches in diameter and are arranged in gradation with the largest on the player's left and the smallest on her right. They are played melodically on the bosses with a pair of soft wooden sticks while left-hand intermediary strokes occur off the boss of pot 2 (the next to the lowest). The gongs are cast of bronze *(galang,*[2] *tombuga),* according to the "lost wax" process, and all eight are made at the same time. Cadar Romapunut al Hadj described the procedure as follows:[3]

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[1]*Panolong* are the flaring ends of cross-beams of traditional Muranao houses. These beams protrude beyond the outer walls of the house and terminate in this decorative manner. Panolong are also found on various works of art.

[2]The people often casually refer to kolintang metal as *galang,* but this term specifically means more of a brassy alloy. Maceda states that a spectographic analysis of a neighboring Magindunaon kolintang revealed an alloy of 85-86% copper, 8.2% tin, 3.5% lead, 2.3% zinc, 0.2% iron.

[3]*BCT,* Q. 30, p. 12.

This is the process of casting the kolintang: the first thing you make is the wax [model]. After that you cover it with powdered charcoal. Then you add another layer of very fine clay [red soil]. After that, you bake them [make a hole in the ground and build a fire on top – put the molds on top]. Then the wax will melt away. Then they will melt the metal and use a funnel to pour the metal. After that, you break the clay and see the result. In fact, they must put the design into the wax model first.

Several other melodic idiophones should be mentioned in the context of kakolintang inasmuch as they bear a social and quite possibly even historical relation to this genre. They are the *boronay*, *saronay*, and *alotang*.

Boronay (possibly a corruption of "Brunei" or "Borneo") is a loose term of multiple meanings and basically denotes large older (and hence, good quality) gongs from Borneo. In this sense, the term may be a carry-over from former times when a variety of medium sized, agong-type instruments were prevalent (see page 15). On the other hand, boronay also refers to a set of makeshift bossed pot gongs used primarily by girls as a practice set or inexpensive substitute for kolintang. While similar in shape, they differ from the kolintang in the following ways:

1) They are made of iron and hence are dull in tone quality.
2) They are smaller, lighter, thinner, and hence more portable.
3) They are made so that each pot can fit snugly into the next and hence can readily be stacked and tucked away in a corner when not in use.
4) They are not played on a langkongan but simply placed on the floor or tilted against a wall.
5) They are never played in ensemble with accompanying instruments.

Otherwise the technique and repertoire are those of the kolintang.

The *saronay*[4] is a bossed, slab-keyed metallophone. Its eight iron keys are freely suspended over a *langkongan*, each being "threaded" on two parallel strings. Thus, the keys in size, thickness, and suspension more closely resemble those of the Javanese *gender* than the present-day *saron*. The bosses, however, give the saronay the impression of being, at least morphologically, a step midway between the metallophone and pot gong set. Kolintang melodies can be played on the saronay, and the technique of playing is again very similar, al-

[4] Cf. *saron slentem, slento, salunding, and gambang gansa of Java.*

though the sticks are quite thin—but compared with the boronay above, the saronay would have to be considered more of a children's instrument. These two instruments, then, play an important role in kolintang pedagogy by allowing would-be players to pick out melodies by ear at an early age.

The *alotang*, a small wooden xylophone (also with eight keys and played on a frame) is virtually extinct. Kolintang melodies could conceivably be rendered on the alotang, but surely the absence of bosses would severely restrict its usefulness in developing the appropriate technique for gong playing. Perhaps, for this reason, the alotang no longer suits the needs of the Muranao as do other remnants of the past such as saronay and boronay.

When asked about the origin of the kolintang some people referred to the mythological encounter between Radiya Indurapatra (one of the heroes of the Darangun) and Potri Raynalaot (princess of the underwater kingdom), while others spoke on instruments preceding the kolintang, including some of the above. Of the latter, there was a general consensus that original segments of bamboo were replaced by wood *(boga,* or *bayog)* and that this in turn led to the alotang (perhaps the first set assembled on a single frame). This was followed by the saronay, and finally the kolintang. All of these are included to some degree in the following response of Amai-Taba, a goldsmith from Gapa-o-Balingdong, Taraka:[5]

> The origin of kolintang is Radiya Indurapatra. Radiya Indurapatra went to the head of the river of Masiyo and found Potri Raynalaot bathing. Potri Raynalaot was playing on a set of stones ("trying to let them pronounce"). Out of that they developed it – improving upon it generation by generation – until they replaced it with a set made of wood ("bayog"). Then the *next generation* replaced it with bamboo. Then after the alotang, they changed it to that set from Borneo, and finally the kolintang, and that was what descended to our ancestors in Bumburan (the kingdom of the Darangun).[6]

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[5] *BCT,* Q. 39, p. 15.

[6] Note that bamboo is placed after the use of wood. This sequence was also given by another informant, but those with better knowledge of the tradition disagreed.

The kolintang itself, of course, comes from the south, most likely from the area of Sumatra and Malaya via Borneo. There is also a second route of influence coming directly to Mindanao from the Moluccas. The origin of the word is still debatable but similar terms are found for the pot gong row among other Moslem Filipinos as well as groups on Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, and as far south as Sunda.

The Kolintang Ensemble

While the kolintang may be played alone, the result is comparatively dull and constitutes little more than a private practice session, but if joined by the drum and large gongs the kolintang can precipitate an open-ended social occasion involving the entire community. The following instruments are used to accompany the kolintang in ensemble:

The Dubakan

The dubakan is a large vase-shaped drum 2½ feet high and 14 inches in diameter across the head. In shape it is conspicuously reminiscent of a large wooden version of the Near Eastern darabuka — a shape, which at least to the degree represented here is not commonly found in the Indonesian archipelago. Taking into account the "-an" suffix of many languages in this part of the world, the name may be related to the Persian dombak — all of which suggest that this instrument may be of comparatively recent acquisition, perhaps a result of pilgrimages to Mecca. On the other hand, the alternate and lesser-used name of the drum, *dudubowan*, suggests a relationship to the *tabo*, or Mosque drum mentioned in Chapter Two. This latter relationship is further reinforced when one considers that 1) complex rhythms played on the tabo (during Ramadan, for example) closely resemble those of the dubakan, 2) in shape, the tabo could be described as a dubakan with the playing end extended cylindrically another four feet or so, and 3) both drums are used in the performance of signal rhythms as shown earlier.

Depending upon the drum and individual preference of the player, the dubakan is played with either two long slightly curved rattan sticks, or somewhat shorter segments of split bamboo. A certain degree of flexibility is required of the stick in order to achieve the proper "slapping" technique; one usually makes contact with the undersides of the sticks rather than with the ends — although the writer has observed some exceptions to this rule. Drumming essentially involves keeping up a running patter by a rapid alternating

of the sticks, with the right hand taking the lead. In contrast to Western drumming, it would seem that the stick is lifted back off the head only for the purpose of preparing another stroke. Otherwise, it is not only allowed to remain where it fell, but press further against the head, so that when gaps (rests) do occur between patterns, the last note of each is practically crisp — having been especially pinched off, as it were, by this pressure-dampening technique. The sticks are held between the thumb and middle joint of the index finger of each hand. Most players seem to hold the remaining fingers loosely against the stick, in which case the thumb acts as a fulcrum and accented strokes can be rendered with minimal effort by a mere slight clenching of the fist an instant before impact. Very little is done from the elbow, and nothing from the shoulder. One Mangolamba Badiyo in Gapa-o-Balindong exhibits a form a great deal more strenuous that described above: he holds his arms rigidly straight at his sides, and with tight fists, executes everything straight from the wrist — his forearms speak for themselves.

The head of the dubakan is made of goat skin held in place by rattan hoops wound with cloth. Some drums are very plain while others have designs painted or carved and embellished with inlaid mother-of-pearl.

The Agong

Two large, wide-flanged, bossed, hanging gongs, function together as one part even though each is played by a separate person. The lower or deeper agong is called *punanggisa-an* and is the leader of the two. The other higher or shallower-sounding agong is called *pumalsan.*

In its most general sense, the term agong signifies a gong of any kind. But like the word *ageng* in Java, it also connotes largeness or greatness and is often used as the title of a prominent person.

The agong, weighing about fifteen pounds each, are hung by ropes from rafters in the home or from tree limbs or conceivably from a specially-constructed cross beam stand.

Each agong is played with a short stick the striking end of which is padded with interwoven strips of innertube rubber. With one regional exception, the Muranao agongs are always struck on the boss once the part is established. At the beginning of a piece, however, many players give "unofficial" strokes off the boss while gauging or feeling out the ensemble in anticipation of entrance. As with the dubakan above, a certain amount of dampening pressure is exerted by the beater against the boss as a follow up of each stroke — and especially at the ends of sequences before gaps in the patterns. The

wooden butt of the stick is never used as it is among the Magindunaon.

The players stand erect with either the left hand resting on top, or holding the edge, of the broad flange or with the left arm wrapped forward over the flange — while the right hand is held parallel to the vertical playing surface. A left hand dampening technique is known whereby the left arm is wrapped around the suspension rope with the hand grasping the sides of the boss — in which case the thumb and fingers pinch the boss for lowing each stroke.

In early times the "gong" could well have been made from a large segment of bamboo. One informant mentioned such a prototype as agong during the time of saronay, and further described them as being tuned by partially filling it with water. The present writer cannot accept the concurrence of bamboo gongs (especially in implied ensemble) with a metallic melody set, but nonetheless finds the statement a welcome indication of a possible forerunner of the signal agong.

The Bubundir

The bubundir is a gong of moderate size, thirteen inches across the playing surface, with a comparatively small flange of only four inches. It is an important looking instrument, often quite elaborate, with etched designs or a triangular metal lattice piece or other two-dimensional pieces of metal sculpture strung between the gong and its hanging cord. But the bubundir is very mysterious and seemingly out of place in many ways.

To begin with, the bubundir is the only non-essential instrument in the ensemble, its part being basically redundant by definition. Secondly, it is unique among Moslem Filipinos who, to be sure, have the bubundir part in the kolintang ensembles, but no separate bubundir gong on which to render it. Thirdly, although the bubundir has a boss, it is shallow, somewhat sunken, and rarely used. Fourthly, its walls are thinner and the metal seemingly of an alloy more closely approaching brass than bronze. Fifthly, the contour of its playing surface lacks the customary bevel of a pot gong, or depression toward the rim of a hanging gong, typical of gongs throughout the greater archipelago.

The bubundir is played with two short hard sticks, usually off the boss on the front surface but often on the rim or even further down the flange. Although many are hung from the kolintang frame, the bubundir is also played on the floor or ground. Sometimes the player holds the gong in a vertical position by placing his bare left foot inside the lower flange, thus freeing both hands.

As was the case with the dubakan, the name, unique shape, and exclusively Muranao usage of the bubundir suggests that it may be a recent acquisition directly from the Near East. The general shape of the instrument does in fact conspicuously resemble that of the *bendir* frame drum of North Africa, but again, as was the case with the dubakan, there are a number of details which would be left unresolved by yielding straight-away to this explanation. Three such points are, 1) other Moslem Filipinos have a similar ensemble part with a similar name, 2) the Muranao are not the only people in this part of the world who make pilgrimages to Mecca, and 3) there are cognates representing similar instruments in Indonesia which appear to be quite old.

The Muranao themselves cite as predecessors of the bubundir the metal betel nut box *(loto-an)* and the bronze spittoon *(dado-i)*. Perhaps because of the non-essential nature of the part, Muranao currently have no qualms about using a spittoon (or anything for that matter) in the absence of an actual bubundir. In fact, a doda-i was used in the first field encounter of the present writer.

The Ensemble Structure

Musicologically, the kolintang ensemble might be said to render two basic functions, in three essential parts, on four instruments, by means of five players. The *kolintang* player is the undisputed matriarch of the group. Through her exclusive control of the melody, she literally leads the ensemble through each performance. The faster or more intricate melodies require the use of both hands, but in slower pieces the right hand can manage on its own while the left hand, never idle, fills in with accompanimental figures nearly always on the rim of pot 2. This left hand activity can be described as a combination of, or flexible interpolation between, the following two principles: 1) steady single or double strokes on the weak beats, and 2) the rthythmic filling-in of gaps in the right hand melody (as though to keep a continuous motion going). It should also be noted that the left hand, playing off the boss in this capacity, creates a timbral effect of significant contrast to that of the melody per se.

The *dubakan* player, probably the most important accompanist, exerts a great stabilizing influence on the ensemble, but at the same time is capable of creating the most excitement. His part may also be described as creatively working between two principles: 1) to provide a rhythmic undercurrent by maintaining a running patter of softer strokes, and 2) to accentuate certain strokes thus creating rhythmic

patterns which, through repetition, become a phraseo-metric unit.

The dubakan operates at a level of rhythmic activity basically twice that of the melody and so its continual patter supplies a subtle form of co-ordinative mortar between the kolintang and agong. At the same time, the drummer has the greatest degree of freedom in the ensemble and can shift accents and patterns virtually at will, or create cross-rhythmic effects against the melody. During the climax of some pieces, most notably *kapagonor*, he may render a series of explosive strokes called *kapripol* ("to do the *riffle*") which might be considered both as an expression of festivity and an attempt to unnerve the kolintang player.

The dubakan part contributes to and co-ordinates with the overall colotomic structure through the use of cyclic patterns of fixed length, while providing an abundance of rhythmic activity at the level of the smallest note values in the ensemble.

The *agong* players together outline the colotomy in broad definitive terms by playing a single pattern with limited variations. The basic pattern itself is more or less fixed for a given piece but it may be halved, doubled, or further extended by multiples of its own length.

The lower agong player, or *punanggisa*, plays the basic pattern and is totally responsible for co-ordinating the combined result with the melody. To this end, he also decides when to cut or extend the pattern, which really involves trying to outguess what the kolintang player will do next. His part is rigid, his responsibility heavy, and his options are comparatively limited and bulky. The higher agong player, or *pumals*, however, is relatively free as long as he steers clear of the punanggisa. The higher agong, then, plays between the notes of the lower gong, adding a sort of complimentary counterpoint to the basic pattern. The only rule of thumb would seem to be that both may not be played at the same time. If this should occur, it would of course be the fault of the pumuls, given the fixed nature and leadership of the punanggisa. Otherwise, the former is free to fill in the gaps according to his own taste.

The *bubundir player* renders little in the way of structural service to the ensemble and is generally free to relate to any of the three principle parts. More players probably follow the dubakan than either the agong or kolintang, but it is all really quite flexible. The principal musical contribution of the bubundir would seem to be timbral, its festive "clatter" adding color to the overall picture. It should also be noted here that the Muranao seem to place great (perhaps extra-musical) importance on maintaining a theoretical standard

of five players in the ensemble.

Before proceeding to the coordination of these ensemble parts, it might be good to make a few initial observations. First, one aspect of what might come to be called the "tactility" of Muranao instrumental technique, (i.e., the physical manner in which the instrument is "touched" when made to sound) is already apparent in the dampening techniques mentioned above. There is a definite parallel in the way a dubakan player pushes (rather than bounces) his sticks against the drumhead, and the way an agong player presses his beater against the boss. This is not true for every stroke, but is definitely the basic idea. As Mangolamba Badiyo said, "the drummer tries to keep the sound closed, but leaves it open during *kapripol*."[7] As for the agong, one would never hear the round, mellow, reverberating strokes of some Javanese gongs; on the contrary, in heated performances the players almost seem to throw the whole arm —shoulder, biceps and all — into the boss, so as to keep these great bronzes from drowning their intricate counterpoint in a sea of reverberations. The kolintang melody is played mostly with a more open kind of stroke (although dampened to accentuate phrasing), and when the left hand adopts its accompanimental role, one can further see the dampening principle at work.

Second, there would seem to be a parallel between the way the two agong parts fit together and the way the left hand of the kolintang can insert strokes between the right hand melody notes. In both cases, there is a principal part against which an "opposite" or "negative" part is improvised. By extension, one might also see the same relationship between different layers of the dubakan part, i.e. between the accented and softer beats, even though both parts are physically rendered by both hands on the same playing surface.

Third, it may be worth noting that the two functionally loose ends of the ensemble, namely the bubundir and left hand on pot 2 of the kolintang (in its accompanimental role), tend to reinforce each other in the overall sound of the group through their similarity of timbre. This, of course, results from the fact that both are played "off the boss."

In ensemble, the kolintang player chooses a melody and renders it as she sees fit. The accompanists can only follow the path she weaves through the piece. To be sure, the drummer may try to push or distract her, but must nonetheless follow the course she chooses.

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[7]Interview of July 26, 1972, Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka. Field notes, II:49.

One may speak of a colotomic structure in the ensemble, but it is a good deal more flexible than that found in Java. It does, nonetheless, serve as a co-ordinative framework between the parts. The basic or minimal phraseo-metric unit of each part is called *tukimug* or isaka-tukimug ("one-tukimug") and could, as well as not, be considered analogous to a unit of measure such as the Western bar. One could make a case for the tukimug of each part being the same length, but from a Muranao point of view, this may not quite be the case. Each player seems to think in terms of the tukimug of whatever he's playing, which is more likely done by instinct than by design. The agong, then, may have a tukimug twice the length of that of the dubakan as well as of that which the writer considers isaka-tukimug of a given melody. Isaka-tukimug on the dubakan represents one pattern cycle and consists of sixteen small beats. This unit then is matched with its counterpart in the melody. One tukimug of the agong is likewise one complete statement of its pattern — although the agong has a half-pattern (which in some cases is literally the first or last half of the complete pattern) that can be used to fit one tukimug of the other instruments. As for the kolintang, its segments of melody often fit into one tukimug, but sometimes may consist of phrases of two tukimug, or more and yet rarely imply half-tukimug lengths — but in this last case, the short series of notes is virtually always repeated to fill one tukimug. But the kolintang melody itself is far from being a fixed entity. It consists of a series of ordered melodic segments many of which can be repeated, extended, or varied before going on. With the probable occurrence in the melody, then, of repeatable segment one tukimug in length, as well as two tukimug segments and phrases (which may themselves be repeated), there is obviously a good deal of justification for the large agong tukimug. Through the additive alignment of these various tukimug, then, the parts of the ensemble are co-ordinated as the performance unfolds.

The kolintang player can repeat small segments, larger segments, or whole phrases with variations, extensions, or insertions, but virtually always by degrees conforming to the length of one or more tukimug. In addition she has at her disposal various "bridge-like" segments by which she can move back to previous sections or to a point near the beginning of the piece. She can thus extend the performance as long as she pleases. When she feels like ending it, she moves into an appropriate cadential formula, which, although of short duration, can only be approached from a limited number of points in the overall sequence.

The dubakan is fast and flexible enough that the actual co-

ordination of tukimug with the melody does not constitute a job requiring the player's foremost attention. Rather, he can go beyond that level to create excitement on his own, weave around with (or against) the rhythm of the melody, or otherwise tease the kolintang player. The agong punanggisa, with his more rigid pattern and bulkier tukimug, *does* have to focus his attention further ahead and speculate a bit before committing beater to boss. To that extent, placement of tukimug is probably his main concern. Nonetheless, he can still create a certain amount of tension by stringing out a series of incomplete half-patterns indefinitely while aiming for a well-placed resolution in terms of the melody. The agong pumals, meanwhile, is preoccupied with trying to outguess how his partner will move, so that he can improvise the tighest counterpoint without being caught underfoot.

Once the players have assembled for performance, the kolintang player may give a short arhythmic flourish around the pots to check their position and get the feel of things. The dubakan player starts the performance with a few drum rolls which immediately settle into a smooth pattern. At this point no one really knows which piece to expect. The kolintang player may accept the tempo established by the drum or attempt to alter it. In either case, she begins marking time on pot 3 with even strokes at the rate of four per tukimug. From this moment, she is in control and can adjust the tempo to suit whatever she has in mind — then move into the piece at will. The punanggisa will have by this time begun to feel his way into the group — cautiously at first, with single strokes per tukimug of melody — perhaps occasionally playing off the boss. The pumals may do similar strokes bisecting those of his partner, but more likely will not become involved until the pattern is established. There is a good deal of leeway for the players to adjust to one another. This stage may only take a few seconds, or the kolintang player may bide her time. Accordingly, the agong may be firmly established before the piece even begins, or perhaps gradually build the pattern up over approximately the first ten tukimug of the melody. The accompanists are then victims of the kolintang player's endurance and taste until the ultimate cadence which, if they are not careful, may catch them off guard. To be left flailing away by oneself after the kolintang has stopped is considered a source of embarassment.

Social Implications of the Ensemble

These ensemble relationships are not without their social over-

tones. The Muranao remain quite strict about limiting kolintang playing to women and accompanying to men. When asked why, they are likely to say that the one is befitting to women as the other to men such that if they were to switch places, they would look ugly; or that women wear the malong clenched in the armpit while standing, whereas men wear the malong tied around the waist so that both hands are free; or that women cannot exhibit refinement while standing. In any case, there is the idea that kolintang playing exemplifies positive or desirable traits in women as playing the agong or dubakan does in men. But again in the words of Cadar Romapunut al Hadj.[8]

> There is a big reason for that. During the time of the old people, single women were put in the *lamin* (a protected attic or princesstrol at the top of the house with a window from which she can watch courters). Sometimes she would join in the conversation (that is, she would come downstairs), but even then, her face would be hidden by side folds of hairdo, malong, or hand gestures—so that the suitor could never see her face fully. And if there were a kolintang, all the suitors would find a way to let the lady play. At this time, they could see her face, refinement, appearance — everything! At the same time, the lady could also see their appearance, refinement, standing posture, etc. — foot position, slouchiness, the way a man wears the malong, and the way he dresses for the occasion. That is the main reason.

One can easily imagine a large playing session to which bachelors would come, even from neighboring villages, to see the more sheltered girls in public and the way in which they would queue up to accompany this one or that one. One can imagine two agong players in spirited counterpoint for the attention of the girl. Or the drummer weaving around the rhythm of the melody: following, teasing, consoling, pursuing, and perhaps plotting a surprise move to throw her off balance. And consider how the kolintang player could

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[8] BCT, Q. 32, p. 13.

lead a merry chase through the piece: first doubling back then leading on, implying one direction at musical crossroads but taking the other and then as it were, duck behind a tree by rendering a quick cadence.

These possibilities exist in musical terms within the present ensemble structure, and have traditionally served, along with *kapanirong*, as an aid to courtship. For a personal account of these social aspects of kakolintang, see Usopay H. Cadar, "The Role of Kulintang in Maranao Society."[9]

At this point, further speculation about several details mentioned earlier come to mind in view of the preceding. First, why is it that in ensemble playing, the performance starts with the dubakan? If the kolintang player is the leader and the others followers, why shouldn't she begin the piece — and in the process circumvent the need for tempo adjustment? Could it be that, through association with courtship practice, it would be considered improper for the girl to make the first move? — that the stage should be set and the initial approach made by the male figure — and further, that she should have a chance to formally negotiate his suggested "pace"?

Second, does the practice of *anonan*, the ritual of checking the arrangement of the pots, socially represent a last-minute checking of one's appearance before stepping out publicly? There is really little musical need for the anonan. It is not long enough to function as a warm up, does not outline a mode, and it is not played before every piece but only when a new player is seated. As for the order of the pots, there are very few pieces requiring re-arrangement; and in any case if such a piece had just been played, it would be common knowledge at this point. So why the anonan?

Third, Usopay Cadar says that at a serious courtship session, the older women do all the talking while the patriarchs mill around the sidelines as silent observers. Also that during an analogous playing session, the older women play and then often sit beside the girl as she plays.[10] Do these events respectively signify a) the degree to which the suitors must deal first with the matriarch, b) motherly advice in the form of a demonstration, and c) the presence of a chaperone?

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[9] *Enthnomusicology*, XVII, No. 2 (May 1973) 234-49.

[10] From a private conversation, August, 1975.

Fourth, it is interesting to note how the writer subconsciously omitted the bubundir from the discussion on page 43. This instrument is usually played by older men while young people receive instruction only on the agong and drum. Can it be that the enigma surrounding the role of this instrument is finally resolved? In view of the above, what better way to describe the *musical function* of the bubundir than as symbolizing an elderly patriarch who literally wanders among the suitors, lending musical support to the one of his choice.

Brief Comparative Notes

The Muranao kolintang row has eight gongs as do those of the Magindunaon and the Tausug, although the latter also use a longer row of eleven pots in the Eastern districts of Jolo Island.[11] Rows of seven and nine may have been known in the past, but eight would seem to be an important number to the Muranao. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the board — which itself resembles a small langkongan — for the Muranao shell game *tidora*[12] has two rows of eight "houses", whereas a similar game in Luzon, *sungkahan*, has two rows of seven "houses."

Kolintang ensembles throughout the Southern Philippines are essentially quite similar but the style of the music varies considerably. Most consist of the same ensemble parts although the actual form of the instruments may differ from place to place.

The dubakan is used only by the Muranao and Magindunaon, that of the latter being considerably smaller and less vaseshaped. The Yakan, Tausug and Samal of Tuluksangay use the *gandang* (Muranao: gundangan) or the more European-style *tambul* (Muranao: tambor). Both these drums are found in Lanao where they function in separate genres.[13] It is interesting that the Tausug most often use two gandang (one player for each) in their *kulintangan* (Muranao: kolintang) ensembles, and furthermore sometimes place them in

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[11] Thomas M. Kiefer, jacket notes for *Music from the Tausug of Sulu* (Ethnosound: EST-8000), p. 2.

[12] An example can be seen in the Aga Khan Museum.

[13] See Chapter Two, pp. 12.

an upright position so that they function more as single headed drums like the dubakan (albeit still played with the bare hands.)[14]

The Sulu groups use three agung (Muranao: agong) divided between two people. The largest gong punctuates the main accent of each rhythmic unit while a set of two medium-sized gongs, played by one person, fills out the colotomy. While these three interlock to form a single unit, one could also point out the degree of similarity between the higher set and the two Muranao agong, given the relative inactivity of the large Sulu gong. Nonetheless Kiefer implies a somewhat different interrelationship when he states that among the Tausug "the paired set primarily functions to follow and interpunctuate the basic rhythm provided by the *tunggalan* (large gong)."[15]

The Magindunaon usually use a single agong which plays both loud open sounds and intricate dampened patterns, yet also uses the butt of the beater off the boss. In the more literal sense, it might be said that this single agong represents the combined parts of the two Muranao gongs, but in a broader sense such a comparison would have to include the unique Magindunaon *gundingan*. The gundingan is a set of four large thin-flanged gongs hung in parallel fashion with their playing surfaces at right angles to the player of the adjacent one, so as to make two pairs of gongs with their bosses only inches apart. Thus a single player can play either of two gongs with each hand. These gundingan contribute a relatively simple pattern, which would almost seem to be as much a pitch contour pattern as a rhythmic one. In any case, it represents an element of the colotomy and, if only in the broadest sense, some sort of counterpart to the second agong players of the other groups. It should be added in this vein that at least among the Tausug, the lower of the two higher agung (regionally called either *huhugan* or *buahan*)[16] is of the thin-flanged variety just mentioned. In Lanao Province, this type of gong is rarely used, but may still be found as the *mamalala* mentioned in Chapter Two.[17]

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[14] See Kiefer, op. cit., p. 3.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] (See p. 22.) There are vague indications that the gundingan may formerly have been played by the Muranao.

As indicated earlier the Muranao are the only people who have a specific individual bubundir instrument. Among the Magindunaon this part, called *bubundil*, is rendered by a separate player on the flange of the first gundingan. Among the Sulu groups, the situation is similar, but they use instead one of two of the higher kolintang pots. These pots may be on the langkongan at the higher end of the gong row, in which case the player sits more or less alongside the leader — or else an extra pot may be played on the ground nearer the other accompanists. Perhaps the differentiating factor between these two arrangements is the number of pots in the melody row. In the Sulu Islands this part is usually called *bendil*, but it is known to the Tausug as *tung-tung*.[18]

The immediate implications of this comparison are that 1) there is striking similarity in the ensemble roles and the number of parts and players involved, 2) there is variance in the forms of the instruments, but these divide along geographic lines between Mindanao and Sulu, 3) the dubakan may even be of more recent acquisition than had already been suspected, and 4) the physical form of the Muranao bubundir is probably of recent development.

[18]Kiefer, op. cit., p. 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE KOLINTANG PIECE

Thus far, little has been said of the determining part, that of the melody itself. What, then, is a kolintang piece — aside from the possible social definitions, that is ? The writer would tentatively like to approach the question from two sides by simultaneously professing that 1) a piece can be defined as an established sequence of melodic segments, which in performance is manipulated at specific points by explicit rules of option, and 2) that each piece, taken as a whole, represents only a vague and rather tentative modal, sub-modal or inter-modal framework, which is most likely in a highly dynamic state of flux.

Basic Attributes of Form

How may a piece be divided and how is it shaped? According to the first postulate above, a piece may be considered a *model for performance* which given the deductive manner by which it is derived (i.e., from actual performances), theoretically represents the *shortest rendition possible.* The large divisions of this minimal performance sequence may be deduced in two ways: first, as implied by the points to and from which bridge-like passages allow da capo repetitions, and second, by following the broad progressions through various ranges of the instrument. The minimal units of the sequence can be isolated by noting where segments are varied, repeated, or otherwise manipulated, and further by comparison with subsequent renderings as, for example, when the same section recurs later in the performance. A *minimal unit* then is one which occurs with each rendering and therefore, presumably, cannot be omitted. These units, in the great majority of cases, are isaka-tukimug in length(as defined by the drum patterns) — and in most other cases, two-tukimug in length. But all segments of melody (with possibly only one exception) can be expressed in lengths of isaka-tukimug or multiples thereof. Subdivisions of large sections are possible on the basis of content or range progression. A performance scheme for *kapmagurib* is shown in Figure 3 below. The minimal units are numbered along the left-hand side with optional additions shown to the right. A performance may unfold by progressing to the right downward, or on to the next minimal unit.

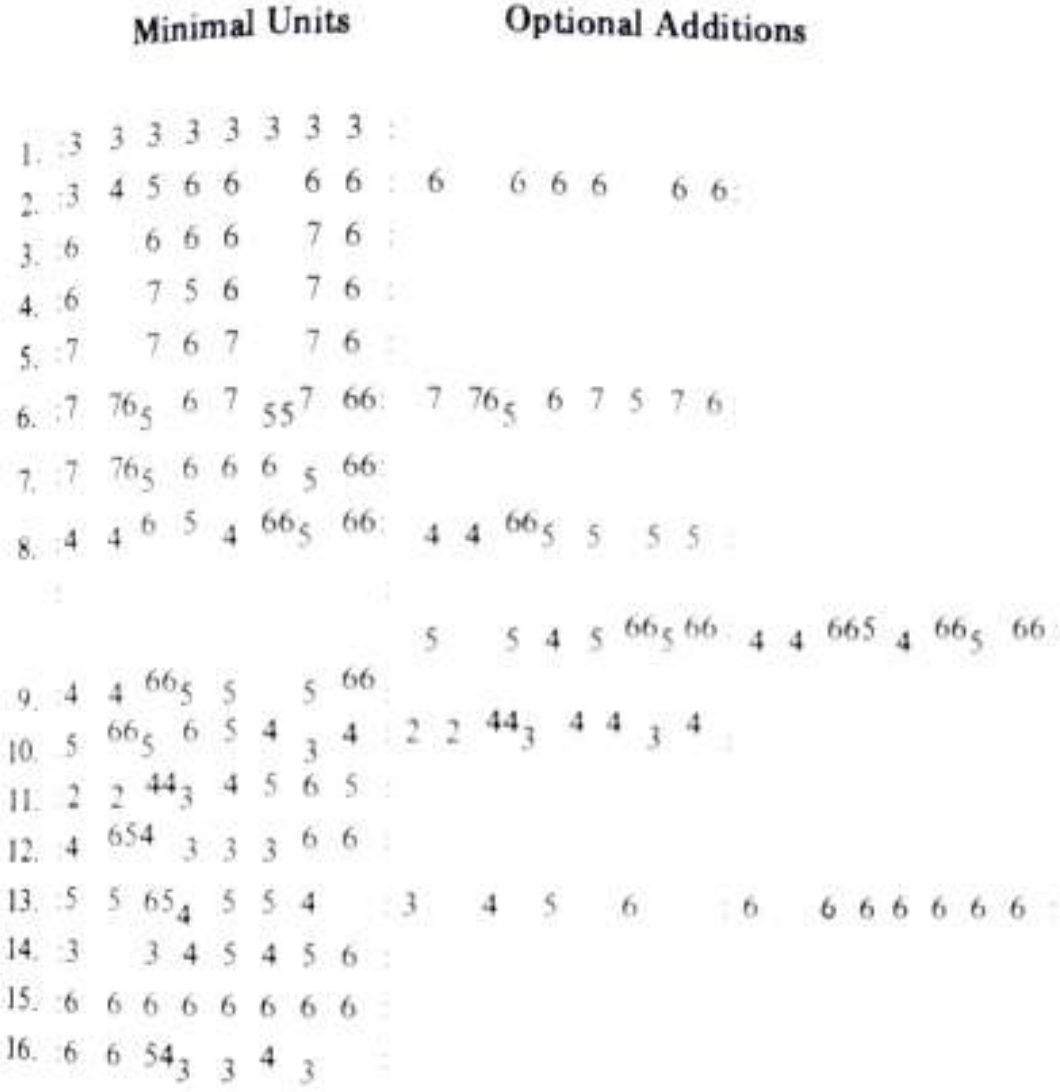

Figure 3. A performance scheme for *kapmagurib* showing minimal unit.

Before discussing the implications of range, it might be helpful to describe the names and positions of the individual gongs. The eight kolintang are arranged in ascending pitch order from left to right as viewed by the player. There are names and connotations for each, as well as terms for the upper and lower registers. Following are the gongs listed from lowest to highest with translations of the names as given by Usopay Cadar:[1]

[1]"The Maranao Kolintang Music: An Analysis of the Instruments, Musical Organization, Etymologies, and Historical Documents" (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1971), pp. 45-47.

1. KUNDONGAN – cool, soothing, relaxing, meditative.
2. MAMALS – one who pronounces, or tightens and secures something.
3. MANANGGISA – in a musical context, the gong which plays the simple or basic part.
4. SAGORONGAN – that upon which, or where, an intensifying action takes place: intense, thrilling, progressing, exciting.
5. LOMALIS – expressing a forceful feeling, executing a loud, prominent and unsubdued role.
6. ROMAPUNUT – to listen, be attentive, behave, get organized. Fulfilling a leadership role while bringing about serenity.
7. ROMINGKAR – to repeat rapidly, do a certain part in rapid sequence
8. ANONAN – thing upon which an important part is performed (from musical term *anon*, to "highlight" or "intensify").

The writer will henceforth refer to these pots by number rather than by name.[2]

The terms *kundongan* and *anonan* also refer to the lower and upper halves of the gong row respectively, and thus imply a division of the instrument into two basic range areas. As is apparent to anyone familiar with the kolintang, pieces usually start and end on pot 3 while a few can optionally begin on pot 6. These two gongs are instinctively felt as being the most stable and important points in the row – a conclusion supported by analysis of the pieces and reflected in the names given above. Most of the playing activity occurs in the center of the row between pots 3 and 6 with the higher end reserved for climaxes and the lower end devoted primarily to left hand accompaniment, but also being used melodically at times. An initial impression of the functional arrangement of the gongs might be illustrated in the following symmetrical manner.

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[2]Notice that the musical similarity mentioned on page 39 between the left hand counter-strokes on pot 2 and the interrelation of the two agong is further reflected in the above terminology. *mamals and managgisa* resemble pumals and punanggisa

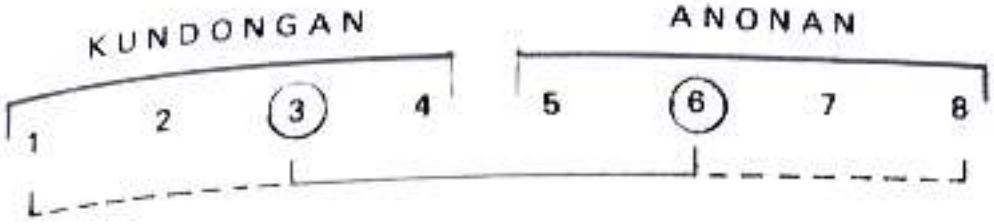

Figure 4. A functional breakdown of the kolintang row.

Pots 3 and 6, then, would seem to function as tonal centers of their respective ranges. Generally speaking, the minimal segments of a given piece either center on pot 3, move from 3 to 6, center on pot 6, use 6 as a platform from which to ascend and "bring it to its height,"[3] or move back again from pot 6 to pot 3 — occurring more or less in that order. Some examples from *kapagonor* are shown in Figure 5.

Kapagonor:	pot 3	:3		3	3	3		3	3	:	and	:3		3	3	3 5
	3 to 6	:3		3	4	5		6	6	:	and	:3	4	5	6	6
	pot 6	:6		6	5	6	6	5	6	:						
	climax from 6	:6	7	7	6	7	7		6		and	:5	6	76 5	7	6 5
	6 to 3	:6		6	6	5	4	3	3	:						

Figure 5. Some minimal units as related to range centers.

This principle, albeit here somewhat oversimplified, does serve to illustrate how a kolintang piece could be viewed as a progression between these two range centers. The writer can report that in performances examined to date, larger sections with an overall contour conforming to the above correspond to those portions of the piece which can optionally be repeated via bridge passages. Furthermore, the remaining sections usually exhibit a similar kind of contour.

[3] "Anonangka dun!" Cadar, "The Maranao Kolintang . . . " p. 33.

The Parts of a Piece

The basic parts of a kolintang piece are not numerous, but bear in mind that the overall shape of a performance hinges on the player's options. A given piece may have the following sections: 1) an initial section or introduction, 2) a main section, 3) a second main section, 4) a final section, and 5) an ending formula. This full scheme is typical of a complicated piece such as *kapag-inandung*, whereas most pieces would likely have three of the above (2, 4 and 5 or 2, 3 and 5), and the simplest pieces only two (2 and 5).

An introductory section is much like a main section except that it is shorter and only occurs once in the performance. Otherwise, its overall contour and stages of range expansion are a mini-version of the latter.

The main section is, of course, where the bulk of the material is presented and where manipulation of segments is the most pronounced. Where a second main body occurs, its material seems to be even further extended and manipulated than was the case in the previous section. Some include extensive subdivisions which occur as optional replacements of one another upon subsequent repetitions. Bridge passages allow a return to the beginning of any main section from a point either before or after the final section.

The final section is a portion added seemingly to strengthen the "denouement" of the main body. The broad shape of the former, having encompassed a progression from pot 3 to an exploitation of the high register and back again, is given a conclusive return to the lower register in a final section in which the melody descends to the lowest pots. Sometimes the melody does rise back up, touching pot 6 and returning to 3, but the predominant emphasis seems to be on the low pots. Hence this section cannot ordinarily be said to conform to the shape of the others.

The ending formula could just as well be called a cadence. In melodic content, it consists of an ascent from pot 3 to 6, a short hammering on pot 6 followed by a descent to pot 3. Thus it represents a concise, abbreviated form of the sectional contour here under discussion. There are many variations of this formula, one of which is considered appropriate for a given piece. The cadence is two tukimug in length and is most commonly rendered within that span. Sometimes, however, it is extended by one tukimug (as in the case of *kapmagurib)*, and in some pieces of greater complexity, is literally expanded and developed into a small section (as in *kapromayas)*.

Kapmamayog :3 4 5 6 6 6 6 6 :7 6 5 4 $_3$ 4 $_3$:

Katoronan :3 4 5 6 6 6 6 6 :5 6 5 4 5 4 $_3$:

Kapaginandung :5 4 5 4 5 6 7 5 :6 6 54$_3$ 22^{44} $_3$:

Kapmagurib :3 3 4 5 4 5 6 :6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 :6 6 54$_3$ 3 4 $_3$

Kapromayas :3 4 5 5 4 :3 4 4 5 5 4 6 :6 6 5 4 5 5 4 6

:6 6 5 4 $_3$ 4 $_3$ 4 :$_2$ 2 4 $_3$ 4 4 $_3$:

Figure 6. Several versions of the ending formula.

In this latter case, one feels it to be psychologically very similar to a final section — a similarity which might favorably be compared to that between a closing theme and coda in Western music. As in this symphonic analogy, the final section may occur several times in the course of the performance, but an expanded ending formula would occur only once.

Figure 7 shows the larger sections of a very simple version of *kapaginandung*:

Kapaginandung: Introduction:

1. :3 3 3 3 3 3 3 :
2. :3 4 5 4 3 5 4 5 :
3. :6 6 4 5 44$_{22}$^{3} $_2$3:
4. :1 11^3 22^{33}$_{22}$^{3} $_2$3:
5. :1^{3}11^3 ^{3}22^{33}$_{22}$^{3} 5:

1st Main Section:

6. :4 4 5 44 3 5 :
7. :4 6 5 4 3 4 5 4 :
8. :5 6 5 4 3 4 5 6 :
9. :6 6 6 6 6 6 7 :
10. :77 7 6 5 6 4 5 :
11. : 66 6 6 6 6 7 7 :
12. :77 7 6 5 6 4 5 :

2nd Main Section:

13. :4 4 4 4 5 6 54:
14. :3 3 34$_2$ 345 4 2 :
15. :$_3$45 6 54$_{33}$5 4$_2$:
16. :3^{45} 6 $_4$ 5 6 7 $_6$7:

	17.	:5 5 5 66_5 4^6 5^6 :
	18.	:4 5 5 66_5 4 5^6 :
	19.	:4 567 765 4 ^{6} 5^6 :
	20.	:$_4$ 5 $_4$ 665 4 $_3$ 3^4 :
Final Section:	21.	:3 3 3 ^{5} 43_2 1 1 :
	22.	:$_1$ $_2$ 3 3 3 4 5 6 :
	23.	:$_4$ 6 543 $_{22}3$ 4 $_3$4 :
(bridge)	24.	:$_3$ $3^4{}_{33}{}^5$ $3^4{}_{22}{}^{33}{}_1{}^3$:
	25.	:$_2{}^3{}_{22}$ 3 3 $33_{22}{}^3$ 5
	26.	:4 4 5 44 3 4 :
Ending Formula:	27.	:5 4 5 4 5 6 7 5 :
	28.	:6 6 54_3 22^{44} 3 :

Figure 7. The five sections of a piece as seen in a simple version of kapaginandung.

Points to and from which sectional repetitions usually occur are shown in the following diagram:

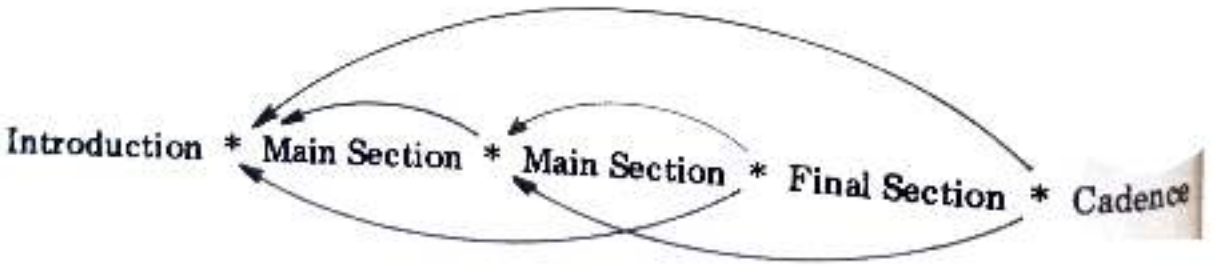

Figure 8. Points to and from which sectional repetitions occur.

These sections could be further subdivided according to their progressive stages of range expansion, or by taking into consideration other characteristics — such as general attributes of rhythm or the melodic role of the left hand — which might be shared by a group of consecutive segments. The writer, however, does not feel compelled

to further classify these inner relationships until comparative schemes are completed for a greater portion of the total repertoire. As such, the above are to be taken as guidelines which the writer tentatively feels to be valid.

In conclusion, pot 3 is the functional base of all kolintang melodies. It is usually the starting and always the ending points of a piece. As implied by the term *kundongan*, the lower register is considered to be cool or restful. Likewise the higher range, *anonan*, is intense, important, or climactic. These two ranges, then — along with respective centers, pots 3 and 6 — seem to act as counter forces to one another. This in turn implies that a progression from low to high to low may well invoke principles of tension and resolution known in Western temporal arts.

It is the writer's distinct impression that pots 4 and 5, (along the border between the two ranges) are indeed used in a very cunning manner in those segments of melody representing an ascent from 3 to 6. In some pieces, the melody weaves around considerably, even touching on pot 6 several times before actually beating out a long series of strokes on pot 6 as if to officially confirm a shift to the higher register. This weaving around and anticipation of the new range center evokes certain parallels in Western harmonic modulation.

Finally, the various sections of a piece often exhibit a noticeable change of character one from another. As indicated earlier, one sometimes gets a feeling of impending conclusion upon hearing the final section or an extended cadence. But further there may be a noticeable contrast between the two main sections. In *kapagonor* and *kapromayas*, for example, the first section consists entirely of one-handed melody but the second section starts immediately with a highly extendable two-handed segment. It is hard to imagine that even the uninitiated will not notice an abrupt change at this point.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANIPULATION OF MINIMAL SEGMENTS

If one were to ask how much of an average kolintang performance is extemporaneous melodic improvisation, the answer would probably have to be: very little. This is not to say that a major portion of the performance may not in fact be variation or elaboration, especially if considered in terms of that which would appear to be minimally necessary as deduced from a fairly wide sampling. The point to be made is that there may be considerable discrepancy between what is minimally necessary from one player to another. As will be seen in Chapter Six, kolintang pedagogy consists primarily of the ear and the immediate environment, so that much of what is heard may be taken as gospel by the neophyte whereas an earlier player may have added elements and with increasing regularity made them a standard feature of her every rendition. Thus it would seem that the bulk of the art of elaboration may be a communal product with the remainder attributable to an individual's creative sense spread over a lifetime of playing, rather than to a stroke of inspiration in mid-performance. Be that as it may, the writer remains more generally concerned with the question of what skeletal elements define a given piece than with a given individual's relationship to the local style. To be sure, some new elements may be added on-the-spot, but while discussing specific types of manipulation, the reader should bear in mind that most will represent devices built into a particular player's rendition, and that some in fact may even be minimal segments as defined by the sampling.

Some Muranao Terms of Aesthetics

Before attempting to categorize types of melodic manipulation, it might be of interest to present some Muranao terms applicable to kakolintang, several of which also pertain to points in previous chapters.

Oni

Oni generally means, "sound." In kolintang (or gong music of any kind), it means "tone" in the sense of both pitch and timbre. By extension oni also refers to the tuning of a kolintang set, but certainly more in the sense of an agreeably-matched set than one which renders a particular scale in the Western sense. In regard to the technique of gong playing, the concept of oni might mean, to expose the

nature of the gongs by letting them "sound."[1]

"To let it [the piece] *oni* when you are well-versed with it, you can take it anywhere [move it around the pots] without making a mistake."[2]

The following terms might be included under the heading of oni:

1) *Olalung* — "overtone," "coloring," "shimmering effect," i.e., aspects of timbre.
2) *Sungko-an* — *sungko* has a number of meanings (indicated below), here perhaps "expression."
3) *Ronokan* — perhaps a high ringing quality which easily sustains itself rather than decaying quickly.
4) *Bonganga* — "wide-opened mouth."
5) *Rapungguk* — "raspy," "growling."
6) *Soluk* — the sound goes underground, decays fast, "weak."

"A good-sounding agong has a good *olalung*, *sungko-an*, and *ronokan*. They are found mostly among old gongs. The new agong are *bonganga* and *rapungguk*."[3]

Anonan

Anonan is an ambiguous term because it has at least four meanings pertaining to kolintang music. As formerly indicated it means 1) the 8th and highest pot of the kolintang set, 2) the higher register of the set, specifically pots 5 through 8, and 3) the short playing around on the pots in ensemble before starting the first piece. But anonan can also mean 4) the highlights or points of climax in a performance.

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[1] It is evident from the mode of expression that there is more emphasis on the instruments than on the players: one doesn't *play* the instrument, but rather "lets the instrument sound" or "pronounce."

[2] BCT, Q. 25, p. 10, Hadji Salam Cadar. Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka.

[3] Anonymous respondents, Gapa-o-Balindong. BCT, Q. 12, p. 8.

Onayan

Onayan (from *onay*, "host") means the basic background of a fabric – the skeleton or framework of something. In kakolintang, the onayan of a piece would be those characteristics which distinguish it from another piece. "The *onayan* of inandung *[kapag-inandung]* is its *anonan*."[4]

Karkat

Karkat is the elaboration of a basic idea by adding something to it, or the transformation of an original idea into something more artistic. It encompasses the following meanings; improvisation, ornamentation, elaboration, decoration, and embellishment. In visual arts it means to make a bend, curve, or zigzag from a straight line. "A good player is rich with *karkat*." A novice cannot "put *karkat* in her playing . . . because she is not yet proficient ('malim') in it. When you play kolintang and want to add something which is not a part of it, your feeling knows when it will fit or not."[5]

Several other Muranao terms overlap with or are included in the idea of karkat, but this one term essentially covers what the writer means by manipulation of the melody. The most important aspect of karkat, differentiating it from other terms, is that it specifically excludes the basic idea itself, being rather an addition or alteration.

Sungko

Sungko can mean the following things:

1) How one colors a phrase.
2) The ornamentation of a main note.
3) The highpoint of a phrase.
4) Expression.
5) Contour, shape.

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[4]Goro-sa-Masiyo. Ibid., Q. 25, p. 10.

[5]Hadji Salam Cadar. BCT, Q. 24, p. 10 and Q. 31, p. 13.

Sungko overlaps with karkat in a generally confusing way. On the other hand, sungko seems to include the basic, traditional, expected standards of artistic feeling and expression. For example, one might play gracefully without it being considered an added feature, but rather an individual expression of standard protocol. On the other hand, sungko also refers to the striking highlights of playing. In this case, it would also be considered karkat, but the latter seems to mean elaboration in general while sungko is applied to a particularly strong diversion or climactic maneuver. Thus sungko can be a part of karkat, and karkat a part of sungko, but sungko is intimately involved in both the basic and elaborated forms of melody. "Wherever she directs it [the melody], she cannot make a mistake because she knows exactly all the *sungko-an* of her instrument."[6]

Arti

Arti is a more recent term, probably coming from English ("art" or "artist"). It means an added embellishment and is virtually equivalent to karkat, but has more the connotation of something fancy or even showy.

> The punanggisa can shorten his pattern or sometimes he prolongs it, and that depends on the player. For instance, the punanggisa shortens his pattern to match isaka-tukimug of kolintang. The one who plays a long pattern takes two tukimug of the kolintang. Also the one who plays a [still] longer pattern is doing that as an *arti*, that is what we call a *karkat*, but long or short is O.K. The one playing the long pattern is actually combining the sound ("ka-oni") [i.e combining tukimug] of the kolintang.[7]

Manipulation of the Melody

As seen above, elaboration, improvisation, and ornamentation are included in the term "karkat." The player's options in regard to large-scale repetitions have already been discussed. This leaves, then, the procedures applied to individual melodic segments.

Melodic manipulation occurs basically in three forms: 1) repetition, 2) insertion-expansion-suspension, and 3) variation. These three of necessity overlap to a certain extent. Some variations, for example, may be considered repetition with alterations, and some expansion could be called variation.

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[6] Hadji Salam Cadar. BCT, Q. 14, p. 8.

[7] The combined responses of several unknown information as paraphrased by Birowa Cadar. BCT, Q. 3, p. 4.

Repetition

Repetition is extremely common in kakolintang melody. In any piece, there will be segments, usually one and sometimes two tukimug in length, which can optionally be repeated before moving on. There are in addition an even greater number of such units which seem always to be repeated. This kind of *literal repetition* occurs once and if carried further would most probably go into variation. On the rare occasion, a pattern might be repeated more than once but the effect, as such, would be to suspend the melodic progression and thus create tension.

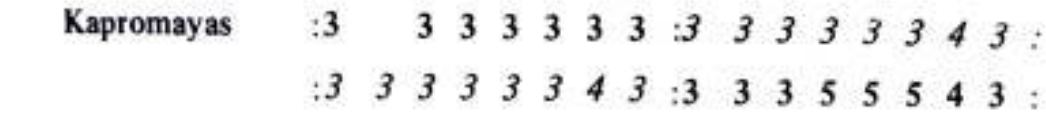

Figure 9. An example of literal repetition. (In this and subsequent examples, *underscoring* indicates portions under discussion).

Often two segments occur together which are identical except for one or two notes, or a rest. This, rather than a form of simple variation, is felt by the writer to be two statements of the same segment with either altered as a contextual preparation for what is to follow. These *inflected repetitions* usually have their first or last notes altered and sometimes occur in a series of pairs which together constitute a variation or extension of one idea. Inflected repetitions are usually found as part of the required sequences but sometimes the first is mandatory and the repetition optional, but then only if followed by further optional material. It is possible, however, that both or the latter could be spontaneously added.

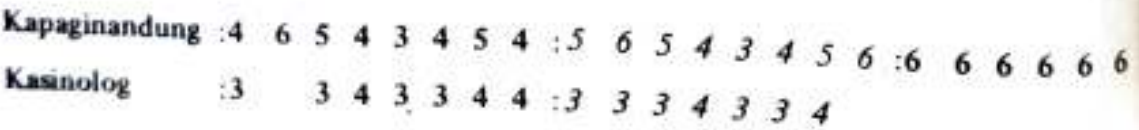

Figure 10. Examples of inflected repetition.

Extension-Insertion-Suspension

Three ideas come together in a one-tukimug addition commonly found between two minimal segments of melody. These small *insertions* sometimes border on variation, but their emphasis would

seem to be more on *suspending* the action temporarily by *extending* some aspect (contour, pots, or rhythm) of the adjacent portion of the previous unit. Two such examples are shown in Figure 11.

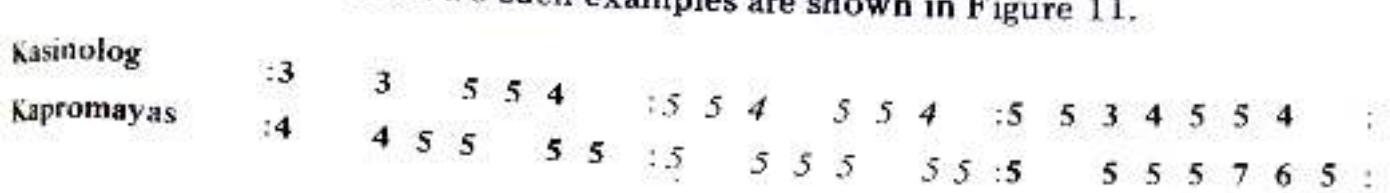

Figure 11. Examples of basic extension-insertion-suspension.

This kind of insertion occurs frequently on pot 6 when it has been reached in the course of range expansion, in which case it also serves to further establish that pot as the new melodic center.

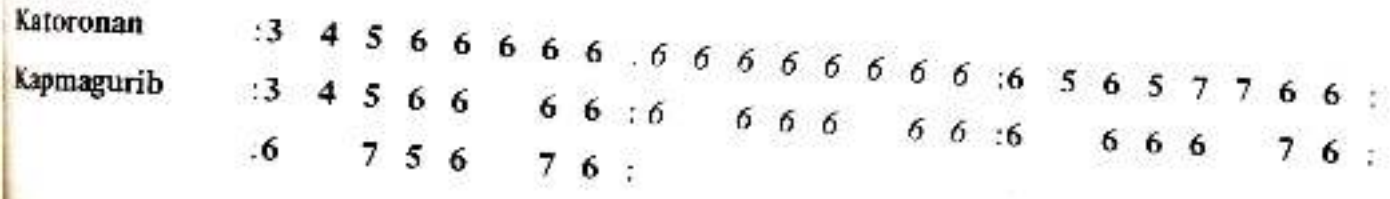

Figure 12. Examples of a suspension on pot 6.

A good example of the same idea used to create suspense and tension can be seen in the following insertion in the middle of a cadence:

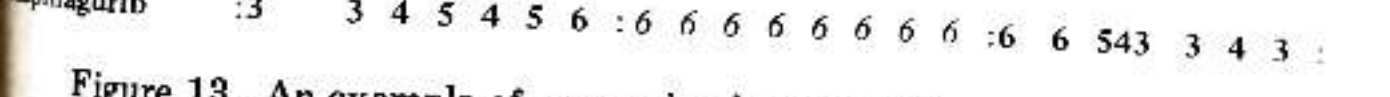

Figure 13. An example of suspension in a cadence.

In this case, suspense borders on trickery as the kolintang player is probably trying to trap the accompanists with a sudden, deceptive ending (note the way she races back to pot 3) .

These one-tukimug insertions may occur as options, but are usually spontaneous in nature.

Variation

Variation may occur as an extensive development of a single melodic segment, either as an added sideline or as a mandatory part of the piece. Simpler variations may also occur as options.

Sometimes, as a section of the piece is expanded up or back between the two ranges. the actual shift is achieved by a few key segments, while areas in between are filled in with variations on a key figure. These serve to smooth the transition and if carried further may wander back and forth creating ambiguity in anticipation of an ultimate point of arrival. Such variations can be added, but many have become frozen into the mandatory schemes of individual performers.

Kapaginandung :3 3 342 345 4 2 : *345 6 54335 4 2* :345 6 4 5 6 7 67

Kapaginandung :5 5 5 665 4 6 56 : *4 5 5 665 4 6 56*: 4 567 765 4 6 5

:4 5 4 665 4 3 34:

Figure 14. Variation while shifting between range centers.

The first excerpt represents the beginning of a section on pot 3, ascending to the upper register. The first unit establishes pot 3 as the center and includes a variation on itself expanding the range up to pot 5. The third unit takes the same variation as the basis of the actual ascent to 6 and 7. The middle unit is a perfect hybrid of the two, which smooths the transition from 3 to 6, anticipates pot 6, and develops the zigzagged ascent implied in the last half of the first unit. In the second excerpt the first and last segments and the basis of a somewhat crooked descent from 6 to 3, the climax having already passed. The two middle units are variations of the first and further develop the jagged descent including a deceptive tack all the way back up to pot 7.

In addition to the above there occur longer stretches of variation on a single pattern motif which are totally added by the player and are developmental in nature. As an example, the following minimal segments of *kapromayas.*

:3 3 3 3 5 4 3 :3 5 4 3 5 5 4 3 :3 6 6 6 5 5 4 3 :

:3 4 5 6 6 6 6 :

can be developed as follows:

:3 3 3 3 5 4 3 :3 3 3 3 5 4 3 :3 5 4 3 5 5 4 3 :

:3 5 5 4 5 5 4 3 :3 3 3 3 5 4 3 :3 3 3 3 5 4 3

:3 5 3 5 5 4 3 :3 5 5 4 5 5 4 3 :3 6 6 6 5 5 4 3 :
:3 6 6 6 5 5 4 3 :3 4 5 6 5 5 4 3 :3 4 5 6 5 5 4 3 :
:3 4 5 6 5 5 4 5 :4 4 4 6 5 5 4 3:3 4 5 6 6 6 6 :

The original represents the beginning of the second main section on pot 3 until its ascent to pot 6. Alone, it represents a situation resembling previous examples wherein the latter half of the opening segments serves as a basis for extension. The third unit anticipates the arrival on pot 6 and would probably be repeated in a simple performance to make four tukimug before the final ascent. In the development, the player mills around the beginning doing variations on the first two units including the augmentation 3 5 5 4 5 5 4 3 which has somewhat the effect, at least in terms of pot 3, of making a one-tukimug pattern out of the half-tukimug 3 5 4 3 idea. The player then moves to the third unit which is followed by hybrid variations between that and the ultimate ascent figure 3 4 5 6. Note the way the transitional variation 3 4 5 6 5 5 4 3 becomes augmented into a two-tukimug form just prior to the final ascent.

As a third example of variation, we turn to a comparatively simple piece, katoronan, which is virtually one sequence of variations from beginning to end. The entire piece consists of ten minimal units, three of which (units 2, 6 and 7), variations of each other, form the core of the piece. The others, save the last, are either inflected repetitions or concerned with ascent or descent.

Katoronan:	1.	:3 4 5 6 6 6 6 6 :
	2.	:6 5 6 5 7 7 6 6 :
	3.	:6 5 6 5 7 7 6 7 :
	4.	:5 5 7 6 7 7 6 7 :
	5.	:5 5 7 6 7 7 6 6 :
	6.	:7 8 7 6 7 7 6 6 :
	7.	:6 4 5 6 7 7 6 6 :
	8.	:6 4 5 6 5 4 5 6 :
	9.	:4 5 4 6 5 4 3 3 :
	10.	:3 4 5 6 5 4 3 3 :

Figure 15. The minimal performance segments of katoronan.

The principal option for the piece (although a suspension on pot 6 could occur following unit 1) consists of an inflected repetition of the climactic unit 6 followed by a repeat of units 4 and 5. In such an expanded performance, the piece would be almost as literally symmetrical as the final summary unit 10. The balance and homogeneity of katoronan is further apparent in the intriguing descent pattern (units 8 and 9) which can be dissected as follows: a) 6 4 5 6 comes from the preceding pattern, b) 5 4 5 6 is an inflected repetition of (a), (c) 4 5 4 6 is an inversion of (b), and (d) 5 4 3 3 completes the descent and feeling of symmetry.

Transposition

Occasionally patterns are literally transposed to a different pot level. An example can be found in *kapagonor*, shown in Figure 16, separated by a transitional segment.

Kapagonor :2 2 443 4 4 3 4 :2 3 1 2 3 3 2 3 :1 1332 3 3 23

Figure 16. Transposition of a segment.

Other short examples could be given, but for rampant transposition one need only consider the atypical kasinolog. There are only five minimal units for this version but several optional tangential routes as diagrammed in Figure 17. Similarity of material can be seen in Figure 18 by comparing points along three vertically-arranged portions of the piece.

In conclusion, the above discussion touches on a few of the more prominent types of melodic manipulation and is presented as a guideline prior to an exhaustive study of the repertoire as a whole. A definite statement as to what distinguishes a spontaneous elaboration from a prescribed option from a mandatory variation from an identifying core unit will not be possible until a greater sampling of the repertoire has been processed. A further idea of the size of that repertoire and some of the unique problems will be apparent in the following chapter.

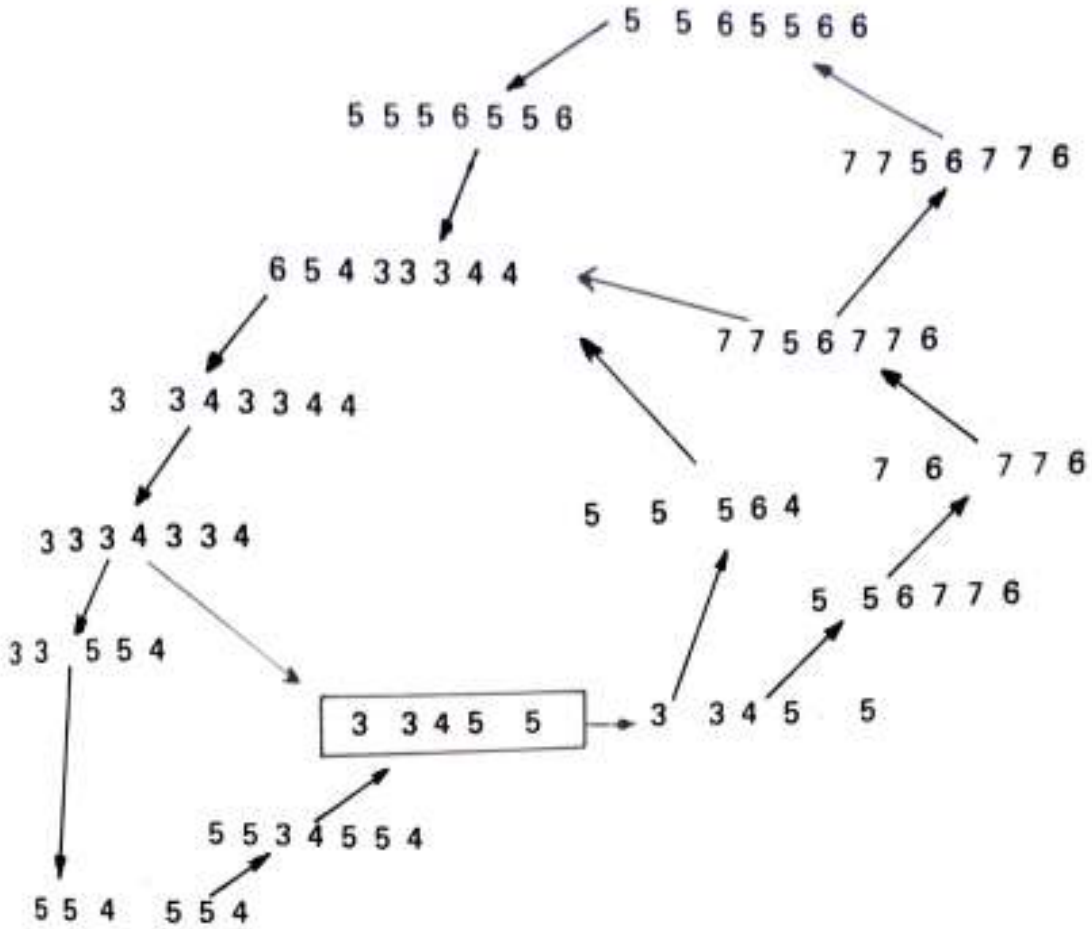

Figure 17. A diagrammatic performance scheme for kasinolog. (The starting point is boxed).

Kasinolog:

Minimal Route	*Extended Route*	*Later Extended Route*
3 3 4 5 5	*5 5 6 7 7 6*	*3 3 5 5 4*
5 5 5 6 4	*7 6 7 7 6*	*5 5 4 5 5 4*
6 5 4 3 3 3 4 4	*7 7 5 6 7 7 6 7*	*5 5 3 4 5 5 4*
3 3 4 3 3 4 4	*5 5 6 5 5 6 6*	
3 3 3 4 3 3 4	*5 5 5 6 5 5 6*	

Figure 18. Kasinolog arranged for comparison ot transposed segments in analogous positions.

CHAPTER SIX

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REPERTOIRE

In 1972 fifty-four kolintang pieces were recorded and documented by the writer in Lanao del Sur. This number is taken to represent the bulk of the present repertoire and certainly includes the important pieces, although there may yet be another fifteen or twenty very obscure works. Given the dynamics of the tradition, however, it would be impossible to establish a comprehensive number. The Muranao, for example, could argue that the number is unlimited inasmuch as a creative player can at will construct a piece based on any song or melody -- and hence, maintain that these potential pieces already exist in theory.

The thorniest problem in defining the Muranao kolintang repertoire, however, lies in trying to correlate titles with performances. It seems that the one aspect known least about, on the part of both performers and listeners alike, is what the piece is called! Obviously the titles are not of crucial importance: people play for the excitement and pleasure of the ensemble experience and chances are good that the accompanists in a given locality will find the melody familiar. Similarly, the novice learns by what she hears and needs not be concerned with labels beyond her own household. In all fairness, it should be mentioned that most people allude to titles of some sort, but getting a consensus from a room of ten people may prove yet another matter. The writer recalls playing a simple piece following a recording session in Gapa-o Balindong, and asking the seven or eight people in attendance what piece it was. In response, three different titles were given, all of which differed from that known to the player -- which is all the more astounding considering that the incident occurred virtually next door to the player who had taught him! Of course, when a player realizes that titles are important to a researcher, there is a tendency for her to just say anything or shyly withdraw from further playing if in fact she does not know a name for the piece in question.

What, then, are the implications of this situation--other than that a reasonable definition of the Muranao kolintang repertoire presents a challenge and is contingent upon analysis without overt guidelines from field informants? Could it be that the kolintang pieces themselves are in transition — a state of flux such that their boundaries are blurred or even overlapping? Consider the case of *kapaginandung* (also called *andung* or *inandung*). Andung means

"old", it is also the name of an important kolintang piece. A number of pieces under different titles sound conspicuously like kapaginandung. Likewise, some performances called andung are not recognizable as such by the writer. That a novice cannot recognize a piece, particularly from one locality to another is not an unusual phenomenon, even among Muranao, but at the very least it can be said that in terms of melody and contour there would seem to be a broad range of possibilities capable of being called kapaginandung. And the same might be said for other pieces such as *kapagonor* or *kapromayas*.

Is andung a mode? — or better still, simultaneously a piece and a mode? In which case are all pieces modes with many versions possible, or is there a hierarchical structure in which andung, the specific piece, is a member of a larger andung mode? The writer feels that both these possibilities may be true in part.

Basic Divisions of the Repertoire

There are perhaps several ways in which one could go about dividing the kolintang repertoire. In 1969 Garfias and Cadar outlined the divisions as follows: 1) pieces derived from songs, 2) onomatopoeia, or works imitating sounds in nature, and 3) abstract compositions.[1] While it is true that any given piece would fit into one of these three categories and that this clasification might be particularly meaningful to someone interested in the process of the creation of new pieces, it may not, upon analysis, reflect the most important stylistic divisions.

To the extent that andung, as a word and a title, has multiple meanings and relations to other pieces, one should perhaps consider a basic division of the repertoire into old and new pieces. Such a division would be meaningful to the Muranao, although responses in Lanao often implied a conflict between that which is chronologically old and that which is stylistically old. More specifically, there were occasions when pieces ten to fifteen years old were referred to as *andung* (meaning old), while others, mentioned as emerging in the 1930s were called *bago* (meaning "new"). So while this division seems valid, it should be thought of as stylistic rather than literal.

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[1]Usopay Cadar and Robert Garfias, "Some Principles of Formal Variation in the Kolintang Music of the Maranao," Ethnomusicology, XVIII (1974), pp. 46, 53-54.

A third division could be added to distinguish those pieces which have a non-Muranao connotation, although this is admittedly redundant inasmuch as such pieces are capable of fitting into the andung category above. But these *muragat*[2] pieces, for lack of a better term, are strikingly different in character from the others, and if andung and bago are primarily stylistic divisions, there would seem to be a contradiction in the Muranao being able to extend these categories to include theme.

The muragat pieces cannot truly be called foreign or imported. The evidence suggests that they may all have been created in Lanao by Muranao players based on impressions of visitors from Cotabato or Sulu rather than being direct imports or brought in by outsiders who have come to settle in Lanao. Although there has always been travel between Lanao and Cotabato, Muranao are more likely to settle in other areas than outside Moslems are to move to Lanao because of divergent social factors between the various Islamic groups.[3] Yet some of these pieces are so strange rhythmically that the kolintang player often has to show the drummer what to do before an ensemble is possible. If a basic element like rhythm can be that foreign, one wonders how it could be created by a Muranao. It is interesting to note that when this kind of unusual rhythm occurs, it closely resembles that of the Magindunaon among whom women often play the drum.

The Pieces

The "big three" works of the Muranao kolintang repertoire are *kapaginandung*, *kapagonor*, and *kapromayas*. These are simultaneously the most popular and most complicated pieces. For the sake of symmetry, *katitik panday* may be added, which is quite popular in certain areas and exhibits the full five sections described in Chapter Three. These four will be discussed separately before listing the repertoire as a whole.

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[2]From ragat, meaning "sea" or "saltwater," which implies the coastal lowlands, and hence, the Magindunaon, but the word more generally has the connotation of "foreign" or "outside."

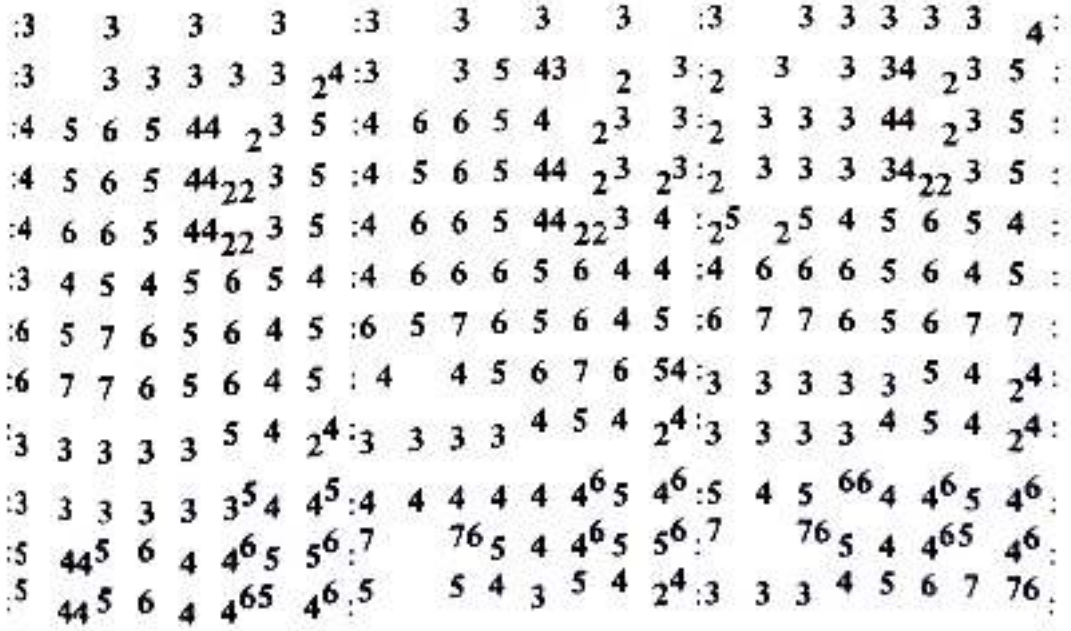
[3]See the filter system idea presented by Usopay Cadar in "The Maranao Kolintang Music . . ." pp. 4-6.

Kapaginandung

The principal work of the large andung category is, of course, kapaginandung. This piece is strongly associated with "old people's things" and is almost epical in connotation. To a people who trace their geneology and traditions from mythology, kapaginandung represents the psychological link between the present *ganding* ("instrumental pieces") and the origin of *kakolintang*. People say that kapaginandung does not include all the old pieces, but there is a strong implication that some other titles are considered, at least, to be very closely-related.

Kapaginandung is a slow piece of dignified character with five full sections. Its second main section appears, in the area of Gapa-o-Balindong, to have a second series of patterns used as an alternate core on subsequent repetitions. The piece uses the full range of the kolintang with climaxes on pot 8 in both main sections and descends clear to pot 1 in the final section. Kapaginandung is the only piece in which the kolintang player can begin before the accompanying instruments. This fact lends credence to the hypothesis that the normal procedure of having the drum start is social rather than musical. That the rules can be suspended in the case of kapaginandung would seem to acknowledge the difference between an "old" woman and a courtable girl. In fact, it is the matriarch of the clan who officially *makes the first move* in arranging a courtship.

Kapaginandung:



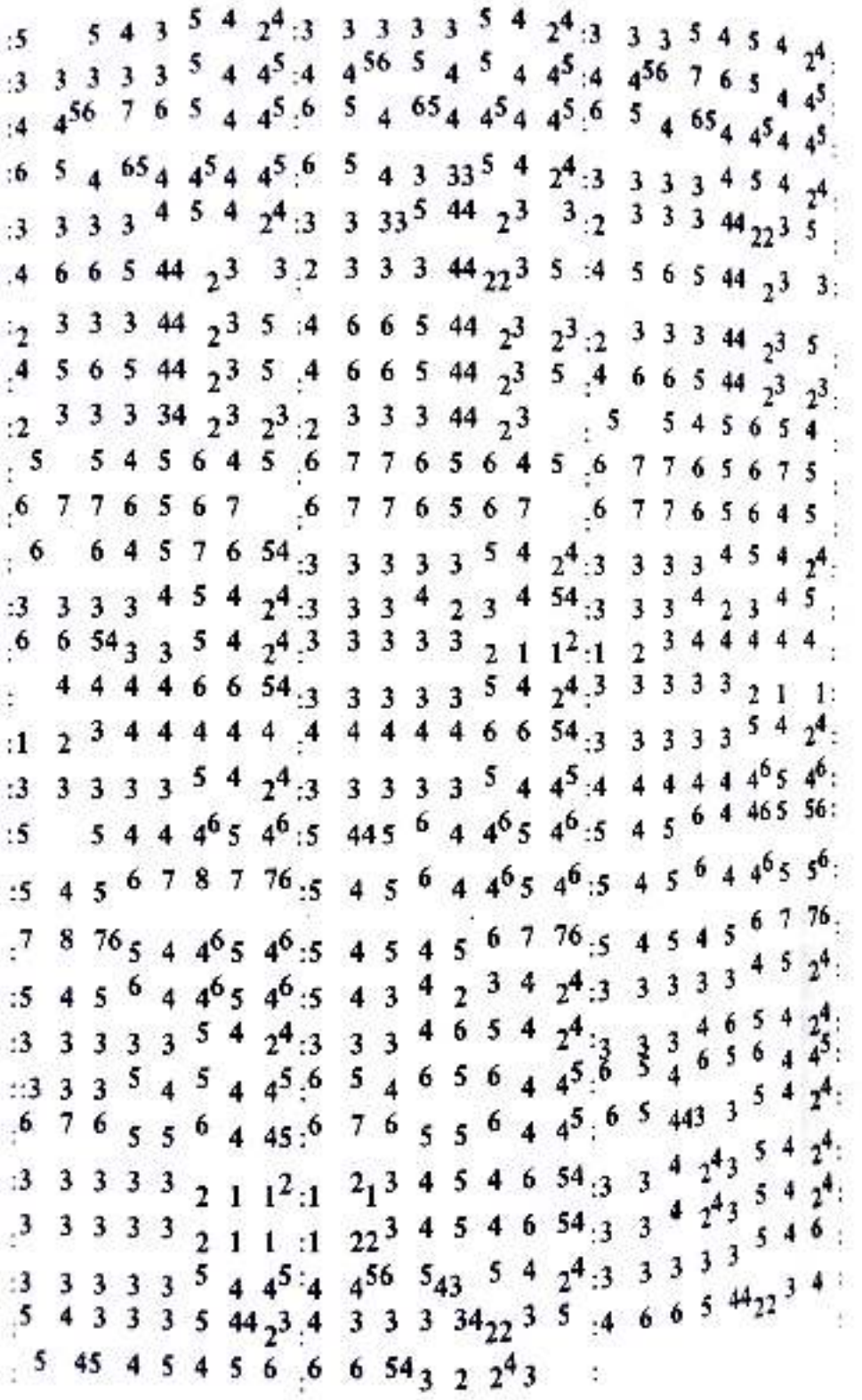


Figure 19. Kapaginandung as played by Potri Maamor in the village of Romayas. Recorded August 11, 1972.

Kapagonor

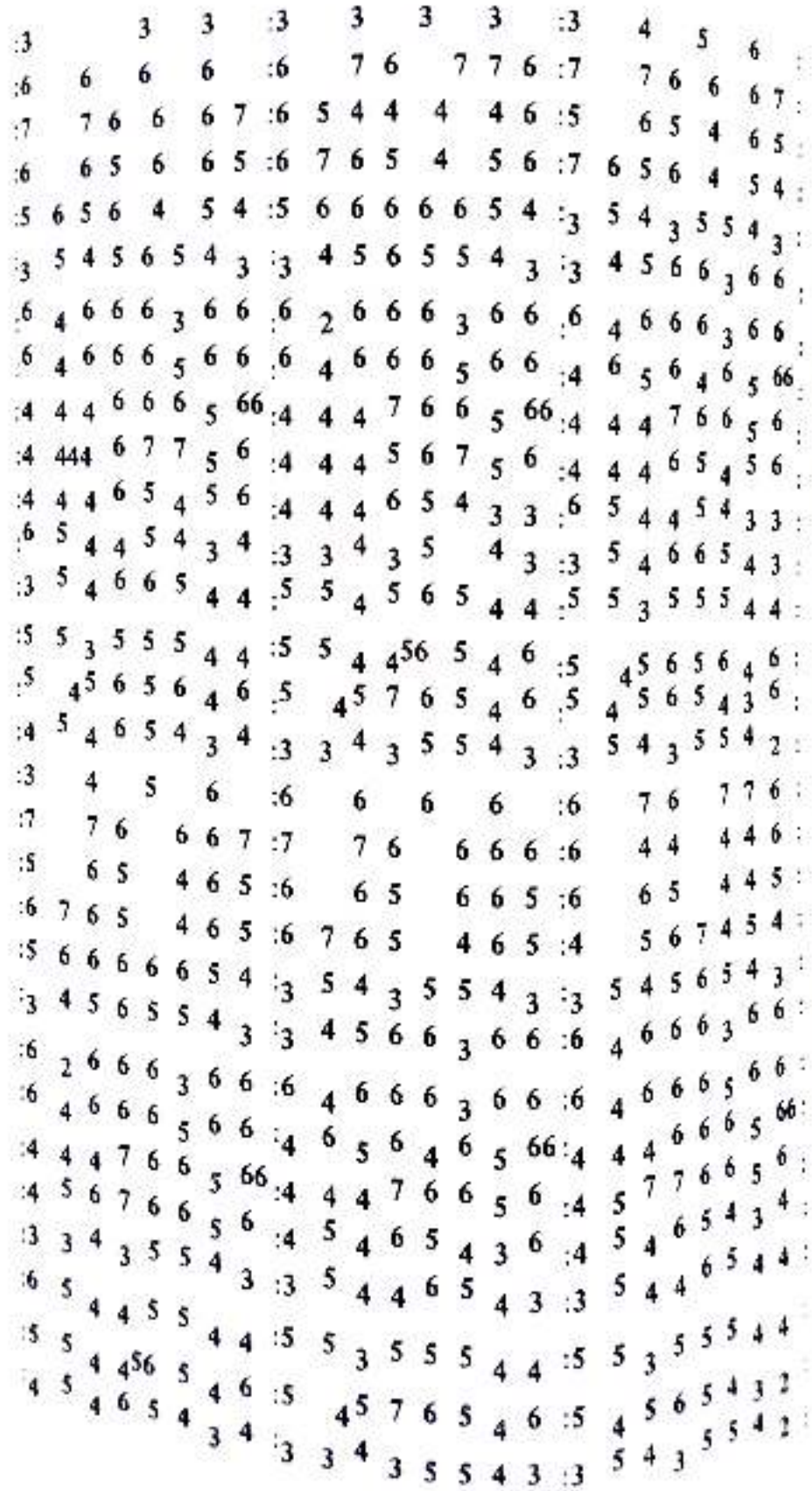
The direct antithesis of kapaginandung is kapagonor (also called *onor).* As one informant put it, anything outside onor is andung. Onor, from the English word "honor," is the epitome of the bago category. It is exciting, competitive, and all parts exhibit a feverish intensity characterized by maximal flexibility and deceptive manipulation. The piece has four solid sections, lacking an introduction. The first section is somewhat introductory in nature but moves immediately to pot 6, is repeatable, and has its own *sungko-an* or climax in the form of a tricky syncopation on pot 7.

People in the village of Romayas attribute kapagonor to their own cultural patriarch Kaka-i-Dugalangit who died in 1955. People in the municipality of Bayang also attribute the original onor to Romayas but allude to a newer version centered in Gapa-o-Balindong. People in Gapa-o-Balindong do not know who originated the piece but say that it was being played in the late 1920s by Fatima Salam who is credited with being the first to play it in that region.

The practice of *kapangolilat sa kolintang* should be mentioned in connection with kapagonor. Kapangolilat is the recent phenomenon of exhibition playing while twirling or hand dancing with the beaters, and is found only in the Basak districts. It is a combination of baton–twirling and almost Hindu-like hand gestures mixed with kolintang–playing. The full ensemble is used and the music is always kapagonor, but the piece bears little resemblance to a normal rendition. The player may start with two-handed playing and then use one hand on the kolintang while twirling the free beater. She will then switch hands or stop playing altogether and present a two-handed visual exhibition. Meanwhile the ensemble keeps the accompaniment going at a feverish pitch and the kolintang player periodically rejoins the group with a few notes or phrases.

The technique required both in playing and twirling is extremely impressive, but the whole business has become quite *arti,* to use a Muranao term, in that special multicolored beaters and tassels and fringes have been developed along with novelty beaters which turn into flags, fans, or rubberband–powered paper kite launchers and just about anything imaginable. The writer can never forget viewing the bulk of one performance through an f. 1.2 camera lens and seeing the field of vision turn white at a climactic point of the performance as just such a paper kite came sailing into the lens.

It is said that in the older style kapagonor, the player sometimes slowly turned into the beater. Apparently this has, in time, led to kapangolilat as an exhibition.



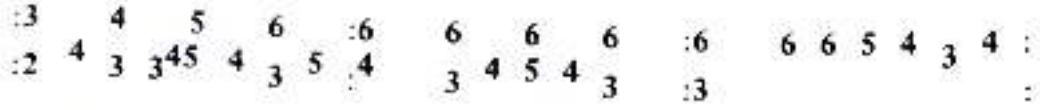


Figure 20. Kapagonor as played by Saphia Cadar in Gapa-o-Balindong. Recorded July 24, 1972.

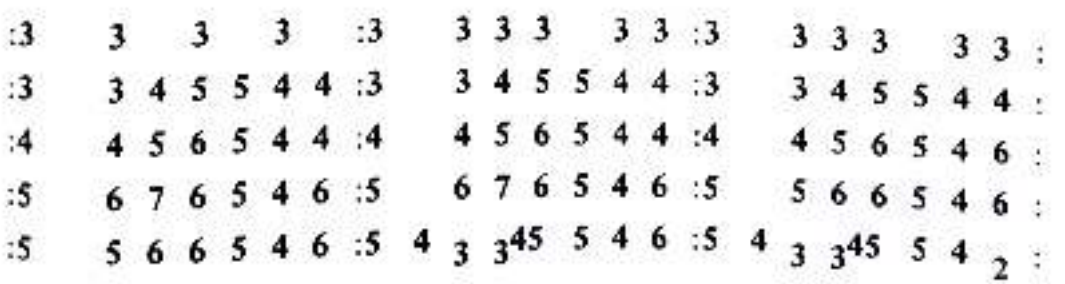
Kapromayas

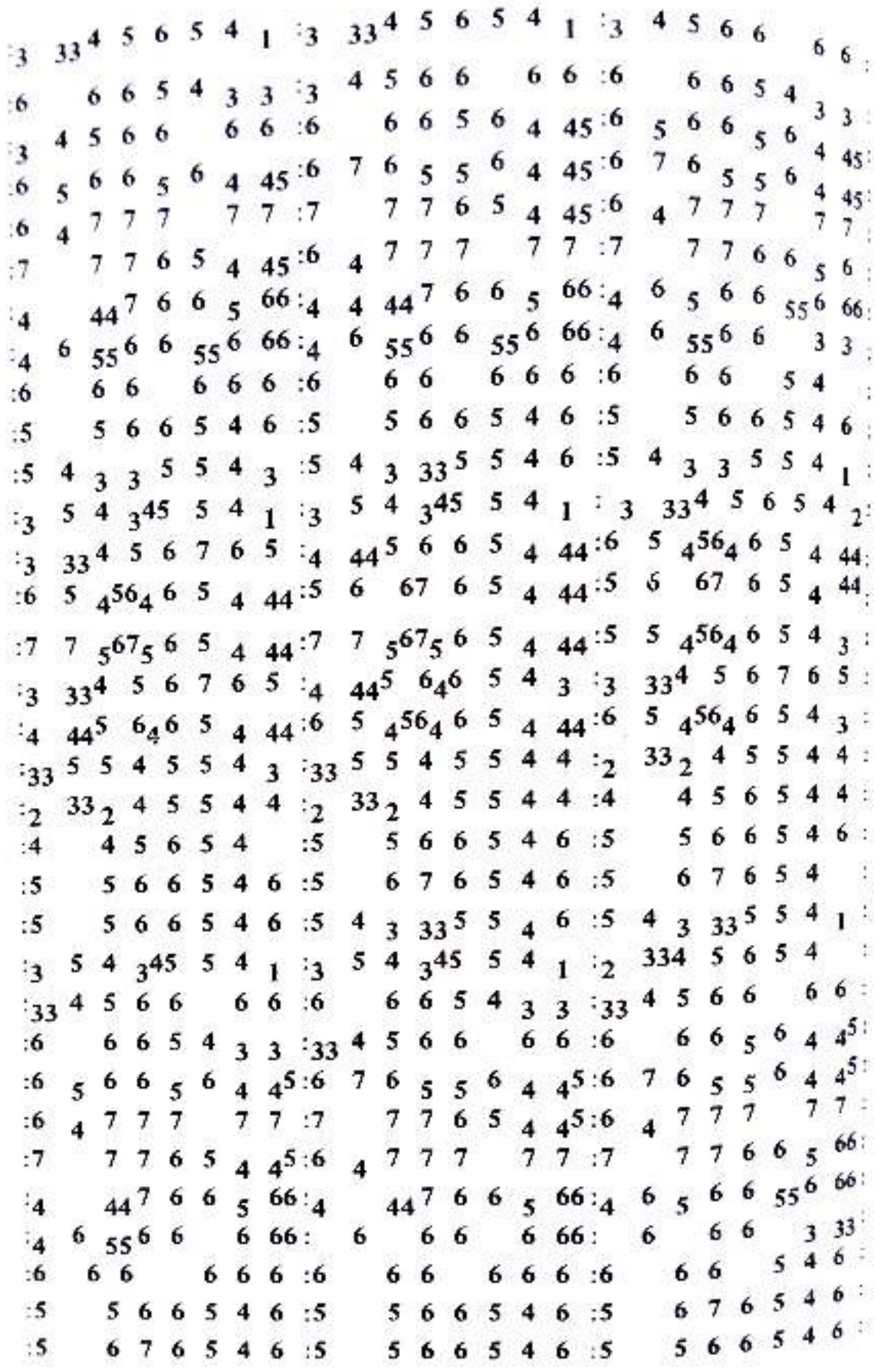
Kapromayas, from the village of Romayas, bears great similarity to kapagonor: it has the same sections, shape, and many of the same melodic patterns. It is undoubtedly a later offshoot of kapagonor which developed separately as a more sedate version of the latter. Opinions vary from the two pieces being the same, to being definitely separate entities, but all agree that they are very closely related.

Kaka-i-Dugalangit was a highly-respected leader, orator, and traditionalist in Romayas several generations ago. In the face of encroaching modernity, he invoked a reform of kakolintang and insisted that women wear traditional dresses, speeches be given before playing in formal gatherings, correct posture and stance be observed, and in general attempted to set the performance standard at a dignified level. Before he died, he requested that the adoption of modern dress be not allowed in the municipality.

It is in this context that kapromayas emerged. Some say it was conceived by Kaka-i-Dugalangit himself, while others specifically attribute it to his daughters. But it does make sense as a kind of formalized kapagonor. By comparison, the initial ascent to pot 6 is gradual and quite logical and *kapripol*, very much a part of onor, is not used with this piece in many districts (Kaka-i-Dugalangit frowned on the use of kapripol in general). Although many patterns are the same, the piece taken as a whole, is different: it is as though melodic patterns were taken from onor, but the performance features more from andung.

Kapromayas:





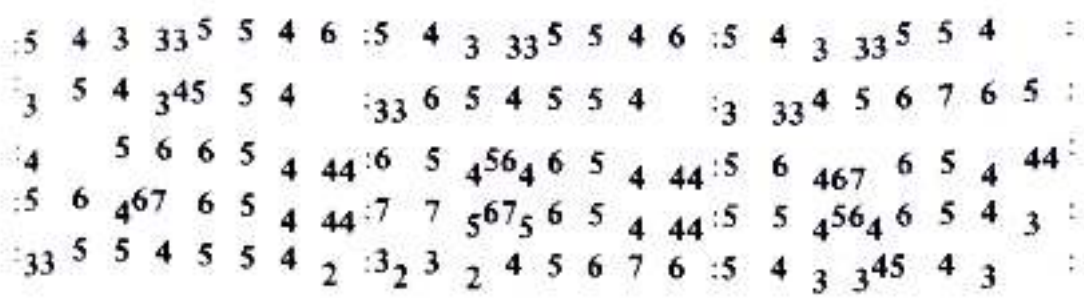


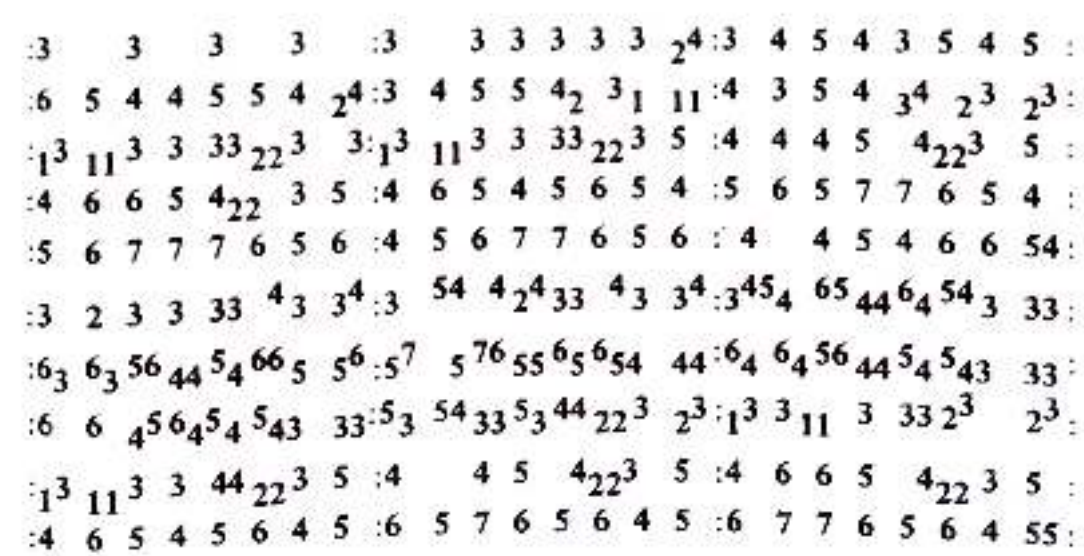
Figure 21. Kapromayas as played by Biral Macaindig in Bagoaingud. Recorded July 16, 1972.

Katitik Panday

Generally speaking, katitik panday bears a relationship to kapaginandung similar to that of kapromayas to kapagonor. Some renditions of kapaginandung are virtually identical to katitik panday and many people feel that the latter is a version of the former, but it may well be the other way around, as will be discussed later.

The title comes from the word *tintik* ("beating") and *panday* ("creative"), and is said to have originated in the mid-eighteenth century when a woman, during a quarrel with her husband, "creatively played" the kolintang to summon neighbors to intercede. Like kapaginandung, katitik panday is strongly associated with "old people's" music.

Katitik Panday:



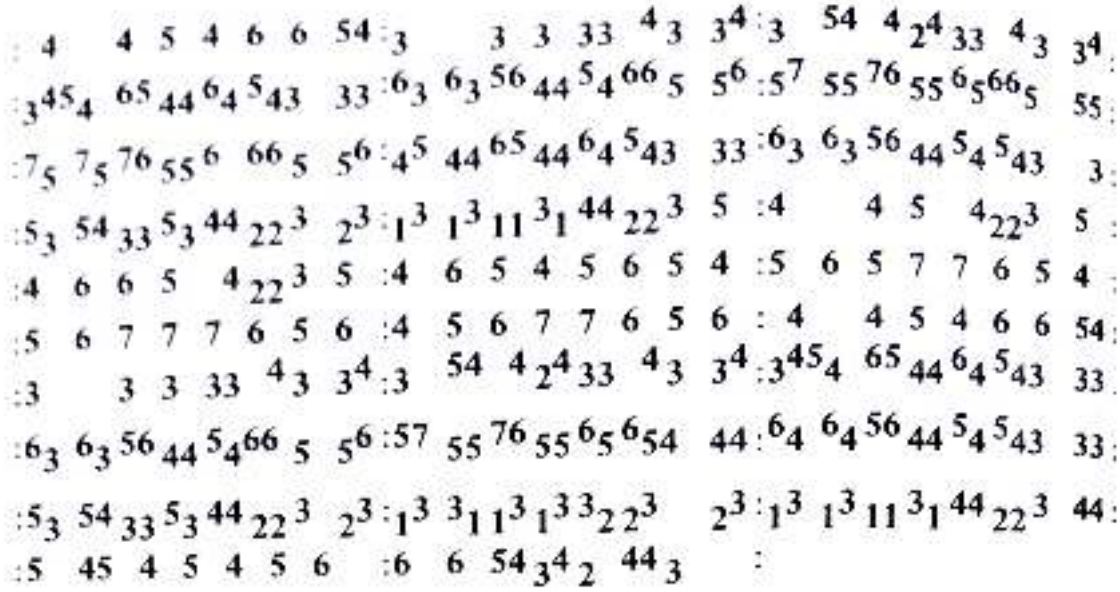


Figure 22. Katitik panday as played by Mindaya Hadji Ali Kibad in Buribid, Tubaran. Recorded August 5, 1972.

An Annotated List of the Repertoire

1. ANDUNG — Old Style Pieces:
   1. KAPAGINANDUNG — *andung*, "old."
   2. KATITIK PANDAY — *tintik*, "beating" + *panday*, "creative."
   3. KASUGORONGAN — *gorong*, "to swell."
      The piece alternates between very soft and very loud with the accompanists trying to guess when the kolintang player will shift the dynamics. Its existence as early as 1920 was mentioned.
   4. KASULADUNG — *saladung*, "deer."
      From a poem and song the words of which are, "Run, run deer, the forest is going to burn." Judging by its theme (the deer), kasuladung may have originated in the vicinity of Bayang.[4]

[4]References to Bayang should be interpreted as indicating the general southern plateau region including Buribid.

5. KANDUYODAYO — *dayo*, "friend."
The piece may be from Bayang, but it is based on a song from Buntong, near Molondo. The text is about a friend who could not be fetched when needed.
6. KASOLOTAN — *solotan*, "Sultan."
Kasolotan here represents a single piece found locally under amended titles such as *kasolotan sa Taraka* ("The Sultan of Taraka") and *kasolotan sa Wato* ("The Sultan of Wato"), but the original version is *kasolotan sa Langit* ("The Sultan of the Sky") based on a satirical song of the same name. According to the song, an arrogant young man "(Sultan of the Sky") set out for Manila claiming he could not return until he received a government position (the implication is that maybe he just wants to run around with Tagalog women). His wife says, "and I swear that if he isn't back by Sunday, I'll suggest a new candidate!" The kolintang piece is of recent works. It bears a certain musical affinity to katitik panday, but has the audacious (might one say arrogant?) feature of starting suddenly on pot 8 without the customary making time beforehand. In Gapa-o-Balindong, kasolotan sa Taraka is attributed to Oding Cabugatan.
7. KATORONAN — Toronan, a woman's name.
Derived from a love song, katoronan has become a children's piece because of its simplicity. It is associated with the Bayang area.
8. KANDONGKODONGKO — *dongko*, "to dock."
Kandongkodongko has a gently swaying or bobbing rhythm to its melody. The piece refers to the docking of a boat, and by social extension, to the meeting of the landing party by the host. The rhythm of the accompanying instruments is reminiscent of a march or procession and could be thought of as musically related to *tagongko*. The piece comes from the Bayang area, but is known in Buribid as *kanduropampang*.
9. KAPAGONDOGA — *ondog*, "hard feelings."
The following idea is associated with kapagondoga: one friend asked another for a favor but was denied — later when their roles were reversed, the opposite happened and the first person reciprocated.
10. KAMBULINTAD — *lintad*, "peace" and *balintad*, "plateau" or "spacious countryside."
This piece is from Taraka. The meaning of kambulintad is

to play the kolintang peacefully.

11. KAPRIBOGAR — *ribogar*, "unsettling" or "unnerving."
The piece refers to a social situation in a playing session when two players fight to accompany a particular girl. It can be played as a social chastisement of accompanists.

13. KAPMOTANTANG — *Motantang*, "determination," also a girl's name.
Based on a song in which a suitor, says, "I will not rest until you are mine." Attributed to Kapitan, a famous singer in Dansalan about twenty years ago.

14. KANGGINAWAGAWI'I — *ginawagawi'i*, a kind of cricket.
Ginawagawi'i literally means "the way the day breathes" and the sound of this insect is identified with the breathing of the day. It is considered a bad omen for the cricket to make noises in one's home at night. It presently appears that there may be several separate musical compositions entitled kangginawagawi'i inasmuch as the version created by Hadji Salam Cadar differs considerably from those recorded in Buribid and Romayas. The piece comes from the Gilopa region and was first played in Gapa-o-Balindong by Hadji Salam Cadar.

15. KASOLAMPID — *solampid*, "overlapping" or "criss-crossing."
The hands cross while playing the melody.
The piece comes from the Gilopa region and was first played in Gapa-o-Balindong by Hadji Salam Cadar.

16. KAPLABOLABO — *kalabolabo*, "praying mantis."
From Bayang. Kaplabolabo is also a song, but perhaps the kolintang piece came first. The piece imitates the insect and was brought to Gapa-o-Balindong by Hadji Salam Cadar.

17. KAONI-A-KAKOWAK — *one*, "sound" i *kakowak*, "crow" — "the cawing or conversing of crows."
A recent piece, composed in the 1940's by Hadji Salam Cadar in Gapa-o-Balindong.

18. KAPRINIBON — *prinibon*, "to abandon" a lover.
Derived from a song about forgetting one's lover. From the municipality of Taraka.

19. KAPUPANOK — *papanok*, "*bird*".
From a love song, "you are not fit to court this girl."
Composed in Marawi by Poling Kamana who had previously lived in Bayang.

20. KATUNATANAO — *tanao*, "to wander" or "to be alone."

The theme is to work without direction — literally, to be a vagabond or make a sojourn alone.

21. KAPLIPATAN — *lipat*, "to forget."
From a love song about a man who broke his marriage agreement.

22. KANDUROPAMPANG — *daropampang*, "under the cliff."
From Buribid, Tubaran. People from this area insist that the title is spelled without the "k". Musically this piece is the same as *kandongkodongko*.

23. KASINIRIKIT — *sinirikit*, "inseparably joined" or "formed together" like Siamese twins.
Kasinirikit is an old work currently played by only a few as a novelty piece. A short melodic phrase, two tukimug in length, is played simultaneously by two or more players on adjacent sections of a single kolintang row. The effect is rather like experiencing double vision. In Buribid, Tubaran, it was said that people used to play in such a manner. Perhaps this is evidence of the former existence of a longer kolintang row.

24. KAPMUNDA — *munda*, "to refuse" or "to be recalcitrant."
Derived from a kotiyapi love song: "Let's split up because you fooled me but I don't fool you." Originated by Bayano Labi Hamdag in Bayang.

25. KASINIRIGAN — *irig*, "to hold and swing in one's arms."
The term irig is applied when one carries a corpse around in one's arms, swaying back and forth, but could also be used to describe holding a baby while singing a lullaby. In former times the kolintang player did a slow dance while carrying and striking a single kolintang pot. This could have occurred following a point in the piece when the melody slowly ascends in the left hand while the right hand holds a rhythmic drone on pot 6. Then, when the melody reaches that pot, the player could pick it up and move away from the gong row while maintaining the drone rhythm, ultimately to return and bring it all to a climax on the highest pots. Kasinirigan is unusual in several respects. It is considered somewhat akin to the *muragat* pieces, but not enough to be fully classified as such. It's rhythmic motif could also be thought of as related to *tagongko*. The piece is centered in Buribid and is associated specifically with that general region.

26. KAPAGARIMAONGA — *arimaonga*, a folkloric monster.

The kolintang piece comes from an old folk song about the lion-monster who eats the moon during an eclipse. Like *kapmamayog*, it is a simple piece, often played by children. Oding Cabugatan in Gapa-o-Balindong claims to have created the piece.

27. KAPMAGONDAKAN — *Magondakan*, a man's name.
The piece is based on a song, "Magondakan a Dato," which describes a man who climbed the betel nut tree but forgot his holding device so he had to return to the ground (the implication is that the man wants to marry but cannot produce the bride-price). The song dwells on the boastful, arrogant nature of the man. Oding Cabugatan is credited with a kolintang version in Gapa-o-Balindong incorporating some newer stylistic features.
28. KAPAGINALANG — *inalang*, "to renege on a commitment."
From a love song about a broken engagement. "After all the trouble, you stood me up. Surely you will do it to others. You cannot blame me, I did my best." Kapaginalang is another piece credited to Oding Cabugatan mixing older and newer elements.
29. KAPLIMPAKO — *limpako*, a children's game (One-Potato, Two-Potato).
The Kolintang piece is based on the game song and is thought to have originated with Sandori Hamdag Hadji Ibrahim in Buribid, Tubaran.
30. KANDITAGAONUN — *Ditagaonun*, the name of a girl or a mutual nickname shared by two women.
Kanditagaonun is not a part of the serious repertoire and would be played only by an apprentice. It is based on a children's song and has a melody vaguely resembling that of *katoronan*.
31. KAMBONGBONG — *bongbong*, a lullaby.
Kambongbong is the name of a vocal sub-genre based on a specific lullaby. As a kolintang piece, it is not considered important and is of uncertain age.
32. KAPLABO-AY — *labo*, "to meet" and *labo-ay*, "meeting place" or "battleground."
The act of moving from one point to another for the purpose of meeting someone. This piece was not encountered in the field and is of uncertain age.
33. KAPAGILALA — *Ilala* (Arabic: *Ilallah*), from the First

Credo of Islam.
"There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet."
Like kaplabo-ay, this piece was not encountered in the field and seems to be known only by Hadji Salam Cadar.

34. KAPAGINAKO — *inako*, "my mother."
This is based on a spicy song about breast-feeding: the baby says he wants some milk, but the mother replies he'll have to wait for his turn! Oding Cabugatan claims credit for both the melody and text, but in fact *inako* is an old popular joke song known throughout the province and is still sung by children.

II. BAGO — New Styled Pieces:

1. KAPAGONOR — *onor*, English: "honor."
2. KAPROMAYAS — *Romayas*, a municipality in Lumba-a-Bayabao.
3. KAPMINITUPAD — *Minitupad*, a community in the heart of Romayas.
Probably composed by the daughters of Kaka-i-Dugalangit.
4. KAPMAGURIB — *magurib* (Arabic: *magrib)*, "west" also the Fourth of Five Moslem Prayers.
The theme is an impression of sunset. There is also a song of more recent composition, the text of which includes, "when the horizon in the west is orange." The kolintang piece may have been composed by one daughter of Kaka-i-Dugalangit when she was living in Gapa-o-Balindong.
5. KASIRONG — *sirong*, "shade" or "shelter."
Derived from a proverb (sakba) regarding the befriending of a wealthy person for security. "If you seek shelter under the big,' you will still feel the draft and get wet (i.e., you will be enslaved.)"
6. KANGGUNDINGAN — *ganding*, "an instrumental composition" or "the sound of instruments."
The piece comes from the Taraka area. (See discussion on page 68).
7. KAPMAMAYOG — *Mamayog*, a girl's name.
From a popular song about a girl who is suspicious of her lover. Composed by Romar, a professional singer in Romayas, about fifteen years ago.[5]

[5] Although people in Gapa-o-Balindong attribute the song to Kapitan.

8. KAMBINARING — *binaring* "to switch pots."
Kolintang pots 2 and 3 are interchanged before starting the piece. Kambinaring is associated with the Toka ("break" of land) area between Tamparan and Taraka. People in Buribid did not know this piece. Kambinaring was introduced by two sisters named Bulao and Konoan.
9. KATURINTANG — *Tarintang*, a woman's name.
Based on a love song composed and popularized by Kapitan. The text includes, "I'll die thinking of you." The kolintang piece is attributed to Oding Cabugatan.
10. KAPLAKITAN — *lakit*, "to take something from one place to another" (figuratively: "to propose on behalf of someone"). Based on a song in which a boy requests his mother to arrange his marriage to the daughter of the Dato. The mother replies, "I could not as they will not accept you." The boy threatens to leave home and wander saying, "You'll never see me again." The song was composed by Kapitan in 1962.
11. KAPRANON — *ranon*, "sentiment."
The meaning is to feel sentimental, melancholy, or to reminisce. Composed by Rangkamanis in Taraka. Kapranon is also a style of singing and a body of songs wherein the singer introspectively sings to himself. The texts are very personal. (See Chapter Two, page 14).
12. KANDURABAY — *darabay*, "to play fast."
The meaning of darabay is to accelerate as in a race or a chase. It would be applicable to paddling fast in a boat or fleeing from something frightening or dangerous. The piece was recorded in Molondo, but may have originated in Buribid.
13. KANDUSUDUSU — *dusu*, "to arrange things properly" also a fish that comes near the shore at certain times of the year. The piece was recorded in Molondo, but was not known in Gapa-o-Balindong. The original title may be *kandusung-dusung*, in which case it could be related to kasagorongan.
14. KAPMOLONDO — *Molondo*, a village.
The piece was thought to be related to kambinaring, but it musically shows some similarities to kapaginandung. It is unique to Molondo.
15. KUMBUKPI — *bakpi*, (English: "back pay").
The theme is waiting for a bonus after receiving one's back pay. After World War II, people went to Manila to get their

back pay. The following Christmas a bonus was given.

16. KASOMINUNGGUY — *sungguy*, "to separate" or "to put in a different place."
Composed by Potri-sa-Minitupad in Romayas. Not known in Taraka.

17. KANDIMA-AMPAO — *Dima-ampao Kalinan*, the name of a man. "Someone you cannot overtake because he has such high rank." The piece is from Romayas and is not known elsewhere.

18. KAPMADUNDING — *Madunding*, a girl's name.
The piece is based on a popular song from the 1950s entitled "Madunding a Tig." The song professes, "this is my message" and the theme of the text is teasing during courtship. Although of recent origin, the style may be considered somewhat older.

19. KAPMADINDUNG — *dindung*, "to please" and Madindung, the name of a girl.
Similar in meaning to kapmadunding, kapmadindung is based on the following poem *(pananaro-on)*:

Aidao, aidao Madindung
Na aidao Madindung ko dun
Sa kalili modan sa tao

The meaning is to be pleased and refers to a boy being teased by a girl in a crowd. In style, the kolintang piece is a fusion of old and new elements.

20. KAPMAGUNDING — *ganding*, "an instrumental composition." This title, recorded in Romayas may in fact be in error. (See the discussion on page 68).

III. MURAGAT — Pieces of Non-Muranao Connotation:

1. KAPMURAGAT — *ragat*, "sea" "saltwater" or "coastal region." Ragat specifically implies the Magindunaon region in Cotabato, but is also generalized to include Sulu or farther areas. The connotation is "foreign" or "outside." Kapmuragat is known as a piece (or a title) throughout Lanao, and is attributed to the Bayang-Buribid region.

2. KASINOLOG or KASOLOSOLOG — *Solog*, the "Sulu" archipelago. Kasinolog is somewhat of a mystery. Very few people know the piece although everyone understands the title. It is said to be stylistically old despite its highly atypical form. Hadji Salam Cadar remembers the intro-

duction of the piece of Buribid following a visit by people from Sulu.

3. KAPMAGINDUNAON — *Magindunaon*, the Moslems of Cotabato. Kapamagindunaon was recorded in Gapa-o-Balindong, but is identified with Buribid. There was a strong tendency, because of the title, for people to attribute the piece to Cotabato.
4. KAMBURORAO — *Barorao*, a place northeast of Malabang. Barorao lies along the old overland route to Cotabato. It is the point where travelers would often spend the night. The piece comes from Buribid.
5. KAMBINALIG — *bulig*, "to speak with a harsh accent." The title specifically implies a Magindunaon trying to speak the Muranao dialect. The piece comes from Buribid and is not known in the Basak region.
6. KASINAMAR or KASAMARSAMAR — *Samar*, the "Samal" people. The piece comes from Buribid, where the first title is used. The latter title, mentioned in Gapa-o-Balindong, has a stronger implication of boating.

IV. ADDITIONAL TITLES:

The following titles were mentioned in Lanao, but were neither recorded nor verified as actual kolintang pieces:

1. KAPMAGABI — *magabi*, "evening."
2. KAPMATATAR — *matatar*, "temptation." Kapmatatar is an old popular kotiyapi piece which is also played on the harmonica. It comes from a love song entitled "Matatar."
3. KAPAGINUNDUO — *inunduo*, nonsense syllables. The title may come from the phrase, "Inunduo-a-inalang" of the love song which was mentioned above as the basis of kapaginalang.
4. KATOGA-A-MALITUBUG — *toga*, "flowing" + Malitubug, a river above Taraka. "The Flowing of the Matitubug" is a well-known kotiyapi piece requiring considerable technical skill on the part of the player. It portrays the fluctuating sounds of a particular waterfall at times of greater or lesser flow.
5. KAPRAMAYN — Ramayn, a municipality on the northeastern lakeshore.

Comments on the Classification

Any classification, by definition, takes into consideration one or more factors at the expense of others. As can be seen from the list above, many pieces are based on song texts or literary models such as poems and proverbs. The relation between these sources and the kolintang pieces has not, as yet, been specifically determined. The Muranao generally say that there is little, if any, similarity between songs and kolintang pieces of the same name, although some admit a textual relationship, or as one informant put it, "they are third cousins." Knowing, however, that pieces are created from songs, thematic idea, and as such one might expect to find some basis in the metric and accent structure or tonal implication of the text. The writer has endeavored to record such songs in Lanao for future comparison.

There may also be pieces which are related by title, thematic idea, or musical similarity. A word of caution should be given regarding titles, however, before either the writer or the reader jumps to conclusions about interrelationships. Some titles may not in fact represent individual pieces but could be simple mispronounciations of other names. For example, *kambinalig* and *kambinarig* are totally separate pieces and were recorded as such in Buribid and the Basak respectively. Yet the piece *kambinarig* was also mentioned in several places. Kambinarig and kambinalig are synonymous, although some informants maintained they are separate pieces. In all probability, *kambinarig* is either an optional (regional) pronounciation of kambinalig, or a mispronounciation of kambinarig.

Similarly the existence of the piece *kapmagunding* is questioned. This piece is included in the list above inasmuch as it was recorded in Romayas and checked with people in Taraka, but it is apparent that informants were responding to the meaning of the title without knowledge of such a piece. If kapmagunding exists, it is potentially related to the piece *kanggundingan*, since both titles are based on *ganding*[6] and associated with *magunding*.[7] The recording from Romayas, however, sounds like it might in fact be *kapmadunding* which potentially renders the title *kapmagunding* merely the result of an error by the informant or notetaker in Romayas.

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[6]Ganding, the sound or playing of music, or an instrumental composition.

[7]Magunding, an allusory place name in oratory which has come, in Taraka, to mean that area specifically.

Often such differences are purely regional. *Kanduropampang* from Buribid in the southern highlands is musically identical to *kandongkodongko*. Although the titles might initially seem to be unrelated, there are certain parallels in meaning considering the geographic differences between the areas in which each title is used. *Pampang* means a cliff or steep contour of land but also implies rolling countryside. *Daropampang* might be construed to mean progressing over hill and dale, while *dongkodongko* refers to a boat docking. These two terms have in common an implied up and down motion which is reflected in the contour and gently swaying or bobbing rhythm of the melody. Different uses of the word *pampang* further demonstrate the potential relation to *dongkodongko: pampang* also can mean the bank of a stream, and in the verb form, *kapamampang*, can mean going against the current or the wind. Buribid is far enough from the lake that many people there have never traveled by launch, yet Buribid lies in rolling countryside.

There are some regional differences concerning *kapaginandung*. In Romayas they say that it is the same as *katitik panday:* in Bagoaingud katitik panday is unimportant and kapaginandung is played fast; Oding Cabugatan says that katitik panday is slow and kapaginandung is faster; others in Gapa-o-Balindong claim that all varieties of andung originated from katitik panday; while in Buribid people feel that both are related but neither is parent nor offspring.

All told, the folllowing pieces have been mentioned as types of andung (in the sense of — or approximating — kapaginandung):

1. Katitik panday — in Romayas, Molondo, Buribid, and Gapa-o-Balindong.
2. Kasugorongan — in Romayas.
3. Kasuladung — in Romayas and Buribid.
4. Kapagondoga — in Gapa-o-Balindong.
5. Katoronan — in Gapa-o-Balindong.

The following were said to be kapaginandung or katitik panday when heard on tape:

1. Kapagondoga from Romayas.
2. Kapagondoga from Gapa-o-Balindong.

Performances of kapaginandung from the following places were called by another name:

1. Gapa-o-Balindong — kasolotan.
2. Bagoaingud — kanduyodayo.

In addition, performances of the following pieces were thought by the writer to exhibit points of similarity to kapaginandung:

1. Katitik panday
2. Kasolotan
3. Kapagondoga
4. Kangginawagawi'i
5. Kaplabolabo
6. Kasirong
7. Kapranon
8. Kaplimpako
9. Kanduyodayo

Further relationships may exist between the following pieces, based either on reactions of informants to performances in Lanao, or the writer's initial impressions:

1. Kapmunda and katoronan
2. Kasuladung and kapupanok
3. Kangginawagawi'i and kapmatatar
4. Kapupanok ang kasolotan
5. Kanduyodayo ang katoronan
6. Kapmuragat and kasinirigan
7. Kapmuragat and kapmadindung
8. Kapagonor and kapramayn
9. Kasinolog and katitik panday
10. Kasinolog and kasuladung
11. Kasinolog and kasinamar ("kasamar")
12. Kasinolog and kapmagabi
13. Kambinalig and kasinamar
14. Kasolotan and kapmuragat
15. Kaplakitan and kapmamayog

The pieces of the *muragat* classification, by definition, bear similar thematic ideas. Some pieces exhibit a kind of jerky fast rhythm, in which case a special person, usually a woman familiar with the melody, will have to play the dubakan.[8] Kapmuragat, kambinarig(?), and the kasamarsamar are considered muragat in the above sense in Romayas, but kasinolog in unknown there. In Gapa-o-

[8]This deviation from the standard sex role may serve to indicate the "foreignness" of some of these pieces. (See pp. 121-22 below).

Balindong, kapmuragat, kamburorao, kasamarsamar, and kapmagindunaon are known, in addition to which kasinolog and kambinalig are played by those who have experienced prolonged contact with the Tubaran area. Kambinalig, kasinolog, kasinamar, kamburorao and kapmuragat are important pieces in Buribid, whereas there was no evidence of such piece in Bagoaingud. By implication of the titles, *ragat* (of kapmuragat) can refer to the coastal Magindunaon, but carries the strong connotation of faraway places. *Bulig* (of kambinalig) implies more specifically the Magindunaon whose closely-related language could strike the Muranao as strongly "accented." Kamburorao (named for a place) and kapmagindunaon refer to similar people, but kasinolog implies the Tausug of Sulu and kasinamar, the Samal or possibly the Badjao. There is reason yet to suspect that several of these titles are overlapping in terms of musical content. Kapmagidunaon could be called kambinalig, and where that title is obscure might be dubbed kapmuragat. In Buribid, Romayas, and Gapa-o-Balindong, there was indication that kasinirigan is sometimes similar to kapmuragat, but in all cases they were considered separated pieces.

The above titles and their interrelations represent only points along the performance spectrum. The system is so flexible that titles such as *andung-a-onor, andung magaan* ("fast andung"), and *katitik pandayan-a-kapagon-doga-andung* are allowed. This kind of hybridization can be taken as an indication of both the flexibility of performance and the difficulty in isolating individual pieces from a minimal sampling. Perhaps one of the most sophisticated techniques of performance skill is to manipulate the piece so as to incorporate elements of closely-related pieces, but it must be carefully controlled in the Muranao sense of "*malim.*" On the otherhand, players sometimes get confused in mid-performance and slip into a different piece entirely. One such performance was recorded in which the player began with kasolampid and ended up in kapagonor. This would seem to be a radical switch as kasolampid is unquestionably of the andung category.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

The repertoire listed above is based on recordings from six locations in Lanao del Sur: the villages of *Bagoaingud* in the northwestern highlands, *Buribid* on the southern plateau, *Gapa-o-Balindong* and *Molondo* on the eastern lakeshore, *Romayas* toward the eastern slopes, and *Marawi City* on the northern tip of the lake. The kakolintang material, however, represents only five locations as the recordings in Marawi, devoted primarily to kapaginsi and other genre, include a kolintang player from Gapa-o-Balindong.

The Basak and the Gilopa

As mentioned in Chapter One, the Basak region includes the marshy lowlands along the east side of the lake, and the Gilopa encompasses the steep highlands rising from the western shore as well as the plateau area south of the lake toward Malabang and Cotabato. These geographical differences in turn cause considerable variation in climate and agriculture between the two areas which result in greatly contrasting harvest cycles. During the long period between planting and harvest in the rice paddies of the Basak, people have a chance to cultivate the arts in more depth than is possible in the Gilopa. Accordingly, the kakolintang of the Basak tends to be more virtuosic and innovative. The Gilopa is essentially more conservative, yet encompasses some of the most atypical features.

Kakolintang in the Basak is vital and competitive. One gets the impression that this region, if any, represents the center of the playing tradition. While older pieces are respected, new compositions are abundant in both the andung and bago categories. Moreover, a major aspect of the Basak identity lies in the creation of successful pieces such as kapagonor and kapromayas. A surface manifestation of the active creation of new pieces, as well as the individuality and competitive spirit of municipalities, can be seen in pieces reflecting place names such as kapromayas, kapminitupad, kapmolondo, and kapramayn. To the writer's knowledge, there is no parallel to this in the Gilopa. It is not the phenomenon itself, but what it represents that is important. While many aspects of kakolintang in the Basak, such as *kapangolilat*, may seem superficial to the purist, they are based for the most part on a body of solid tradition and may well be extensions of deeper principles. Kapangolilat is meant to be light-

hearted but nonetheless demonstrates a sense of technique which may be taken as an indication of *malim* (awareness, technical control) on the part of the player.

Some parts of the Gilopa are isolated from the mainstream of activity and have preserved a strong sense of, and respect for, the older pieces. Nevertheless, newer pieces are known and played, although, interestingly enough, in both the older, original form, or the newer, present style. To so distinguish between time-valued versions of kapagonor, for example, would seem to be unique in the province. In other cases isolation has led to a singular style of playing which has seemingly lost sight of tradition. A more complete picture of the Gilopa as a whole would have been possible had attempts to record in Tugaya and Bayang been successful. In the case of the former, the contact family was harboring illness and seemed unwilling to refer us to someone who could provide even a superficial sampling. In the latter case, people were so tense over the political conflict that the prospect of hosting a playing session presented an intolerable possibility of public censure. While both villages are important vis-a-vis the lake community as a whole, neither was considered critical in terms of kakolintang, Bayang being of the same general playing tradition as Buribid and life in Togaya having become oriented more and more towards the brassworks industry.

It is probably safe to assume that a portion of the population does not distinguish between playing styles from one side of the lake to another. In the Basak, however, most feel that their kolintang is *mabugar* ("strong," "vigorous," "intense," "formal," "elaborate," "frequent") compared with that of the Gilopa. This is true as long as one understands "strong" in the sense of serious, active, vital, competitive, and even loud or abrupt in a positive sense; "elaborate" in terms of flexible forms with many options; and "formal" in the sense of observing fixed codes of performance regarding dress, stance, and procedure — but not necessarily strong, formal, and elaborate in terms of clear, balanced, well-constructed, or traditional in the sense of old or classical.

Creativity was found , to the writer's mind, in all the villages studied, but in Muranao terms "creativity" is virtually synonymous with "change" and in that sense the Basak area is undeniably the more "creative." As one man put it,[1]

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[1] BCT, Q. 4, p. 3.

In the old days, when they travelled to other districts, the way of playing in the Gilopa region was *inandung* (very slow). That is why it was difficult when a youth from Gilopa went to Basak and was surprised by the ever-changing kakolintang . . . for instance the kakolintang of the Basak used to be slow, but it got slightly faster because they invented things like *onor* – that is why he finds it hard to accompany.

It is evident that change is slow in the Gilopa compared to the Basak.

In Romayas, it was said that in the Basak area 1) there is a tradition of each player performing only twice, except upon request, 2) the drum starts before the kolintang, and 3) they have an older style which started in Romayas. The same people proclaimed that in the Gilopa, 1) people play as long as they can, and 2) the kolintang plays before the drum. In practice, however, none of these points was verified. Players in all regions played four to six times, the drum starts before the kolintang except in *kapaginandung*, and the older style is better preserved in the Gilopa. Moreover within the Branch area older styles are observed in Gapa-o-Balindong, but certainly not in Romayas. This statement would seem to be an extension of the Kaka-i-Dugalangit image which forbade Western dress and the performance of *kapmamayog* because it is modern, but in kakolintang andung-type pieces are nonetheless performed faster and without an appropriate old-style accompaniment.

The Basak Villages

Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka, Masiyo

Gapa-o-Balindong is a community of houses strung for several miles along the meandering Taraka River before it empties into the east side of the lake. Recordings were made in the area of Marohon-adil in the houses of Cadar Romapunut al Hadj and Mr. Birowa Cadar.

Playing traditions are very strong in the area, although parts of the immediate neighborhood had been in mourning for several years during which time kakolintang activities had been suspended. Of the 63 recorded performances, 11 were devoted to kapaginandung and katitik panday, 10 to kapagonor and kapromayas, 20 to other andung pieces, 12 to other bago pieces, 6 to muragat pieces, and 4 to rare or obscure works. This would seem to be an extremely well-balanced representation of the repertoire.

Due in part, perhaps, to the extensive sampling procured in this area, Gapa-o-Balindong showed the greatest variety of accompanimental patterns and performance tempos, as well as repertoire. It could be that this particular segment of the Basak reflects greater than usual diversity because of the singular influence of Hadji Salam Cadar who, besides being innovative, grew up in Buribid and Bayang before moving to Taraka. Intermarriage between these areas is rare and Hadji Salam, already an accomplished player before she came, was undoubtedly responsible for bringing a number of Gilopa pieces into the region. Moreover, she claims stylistically to have influenced even people in Romayas. Her story is quite interesting.[2]

> When I was small, I started learning from Miss Ipur in Buribid – she was my mentor. One put a cup on one's head to be graceful. At the age of twelve, I came to Gapa-o-Balindong and introduced this graceful style of playing, which was picked up by Fatima Salam. Before that, Fatima Salam played things like kapagonor in a fast, square style. Kapromayas had not been invented at that time. The daughter of Kaka-i-Dugalangit came to Gapa-o-Balindong to hear Fatima Salam. Then they took it. I stopped playing then because I got married

Further elaboration of this personal account will serve, at the least, to give some useful insights into this important transitional period of kakolintang in the Basak. Evidently there was considerable rivalry between Gapa-o-Balindong and Romayas. Although the two villages are only about eight miles apart, Romayas lies in the municipality of Lumba-a-Bayabao which belongs to a separate major division. Gapa-o-Balindong was the seat of power for the division of Masiyo and as such enjoyed a certain innate prestige. In fact, the entire Kaka-i-Dugalangit reformation could be viewed in terms of competition with Gapa-o-Balindong but in all fairness, his story belongs under a separate heading.

"During that time, the people who visited each other to play were Kaka-i-Dugalangit, Ama-Binaning, Dato Lawi, and Ama-i-Makalawan. The most famous kolintang player of Romayas was Sinaogan; our counterpart was Fatima Salam. In the entire province of Lanao, these two women were most famous."[3]

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[2]Field notes. Gapa-o-Balindong, Taraka. August 19, 1972.

[3]Dato-sa-Taraka. BCT, Q. 41, p. 15.

It said that sometime in 1934, when Hadji Salam visited her sister in Gapa-o-Balindong, she found herself staying directly across the river from the house in which the Dugalangits stayed during visits from Romayas. A short ways upstream was the house of Cadar and further around the bend the house of Fatima Salam. They all met at local *kalilang* (festivals, playing sessions) where the events described above took place. People around that area still feel that *kapromayas* was created by the daughters of Kaka-i-Dugalangit shortly after that time in an attempt to compete with Fatima Salam who may have been *playing* kapagonor in a more "graceful" fashion. Hence, from this personal account, there may be a correlation between the *change of spirit* represented by the Dugalangit reformation and the more graceful style of playing mentioned by Hadji Salam Cadar.

There may also be a connection between this graceful style of playing and *kapangolilat-sa-kolintang*. It was said at one point that in the older style kapagonor, the player would slowly turn the sticks. According to Hadji Salam, when she first arrived in Gapa-o-Balindong Fatima Salam was playing onor in a fast, almost masculine fashion. Hadji Salam attracted great attention by gently rotating a stick from one boss to another during gaps in two-handed melody playing. This was, to her mind, adding gracefulness *(pi'il)* to the manner of moving between pots. Hadji Salam once told Usopay Cadar that this was perhaps her most significant contribution to the area. But her idea was never to lose sight of the music. Kapangolilat, on the other hand, has become more of a hand and arm dance with long periods in which the kolintang is silent.

Oding Cabugatan should be mentioned as an example of someone working on the fringe of the tradition. Oding is approximately sixty years old and is a homosexual. At an early age he wanted to learn the kolintang but being a boy, no one would teach him. Determined, he learned by observation, created many pieces, and ultimately developed a style of singing along with the kolintang while playing. Later, other people picked up some of his tunes, and women begged him to teach them his curious way of singing — but he refused! In fact, this attention merely urged him on to develop a fast, intricate playing style along with exhibition devices such that no one could imitate him.

Oding was never taken seriously, but as a novelty he was in great demand at big *kalilang* for which he demanded a minimum fee of 200 pesos. He became rich and famous by playing and baking fancy little cakes, yet he now lives in a tiny hut beneath a large house having spent his wealth on boyfriends. He even gave away his last

kolintang set.

Oding was at his peak forty years ago and doesn't remember all the things he used to do, but he still claims to be able to play twenty different versions of kapagonor. He has not played publicly for many years and only the older people can remember ever having heard him, so when he agreed to be recorded, the house were beseiged by spectators who covered their faces at the spicy texts and effeminate gestures. As a climax in kapagonor, he inserted an abrupt hands-together passage in symmetrical contrary motion which sent the crowd into hysterics.

Oding's style of singing while playing is strikingly peculiar. Not only is such a combination unlikely to begin with (i.e., the mixing of vocal and instrumental idioms — professional and amateur media), but the voice has little melodic autonomy: it parallels the kolintang part — but pitched a fourth lower. Each verse is rendered in this fashion with interludes between each verse.

Romayas, Lumba-a-Bayabao, Bayabao

The municipality of Romayas lies eight miles east of Gapa-o-Balindong near the foothills. Recordings were made in the subsection of Minitupad, in the central square opposite the decorative tomb of Kaka-i-Dugalangit.

The kolintang, belonging to Dato-sa-Paropada, seemed strange in several respects, but was very popular with the people, who said they liked the *oni* of this set. The heterogeneity of its respective pots was most striking. Pot 5 had an ear-shattering timbre which threatened to sabotage attempts at recording. Furthermore, they were arranged such that pot 8, virtually identical in pitch to pot 6, was lower pitched than pot 7. Likewise pot 1 was higher-pitched than pot 2. Although it is often easy to suspect the Muranao of a certain lack of pitch-consciousness, the immediate assumption was that the resulting larger gaps between pots 2-3 and 6-7 were preferable. This assumption was strengthened by the observation that pot 8 was never played and pot 1 very rarely and only on the rim.

This set was also said to be new and the pots were bigger and louder than those of other areas. While it would seem likely that a bigger sound might be desirable for the newer pieces, particularly kapagonor, there is a possible point of contradiction regarding size in terms of age. There is in general some reason to suspect that the older pots may have been larger. In fact, it was in Romayas that the writer was told of an old set of nine large pots that had belonged to the mother of Kaka-i-Dugalangit. These pots were supposed to

have been arranged in a circle, but were so large that only five were played, and then presumably in a straight or slightly curved row. It was, in any case, clear that they were never played in a complete circle with the player in the center — that is, not within the memory of the past four or five generations.[4]

The two *agong* were also comparatively large. The Romayas style of agong playing, however, is so different as to be impossible to manage by anyone from surrounding areas. The two start out seemingly very cautiously with basic single strokes, and then suddenly burst forth with rapid, intricate flourishes which seem hardly capable of being coordinated. It is as though the two *agong* play together and then break apart at these points.

The *bubundir* was very active in the Romayas recordings and it was noticed that the instrument was usually held with the left foot. The *dubakan*, also fairly large, was active but presented a more uniform textural presence — that is, without sudden bursts or shifts of pattern — than might have been expected. Also, in terms of volume, the drum was less conspicuous in relation to the rest of the ensemble than was noticed elsewhere.

In terms of repertoire, the andung pieces were well represented in Romayas, although in many cases the patterns of accompaniment or style of rendering was modern compared with that a Gapa-o-Balindong. This would imply that regional emphasis of the old or the new is more a matter of local approach and style than of repertoire per se. Kolintang playing is faster in Romayas and this is particularly apparent in the andung pieces. From the point of view of Gapa-o-Balindong, the accompaniment often does not fit the piece, or as Hadji Salam Cadar said of one performance, "It is too fast to do it justice — the syllables are missing."[5]

As for *kapromayas*, the people say, "Everything we play is kapromayas, by definition!" So it is — and such an expression might be expected of people who have seemingly spent the better part of two generations' propagating an individualistic identity.

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[4] Cf. *ponggang* in Kunst., *Music in Java*, 11, 437.

[5] This comment provides a valuable insight into the relationship between a piece and the song from which it is derived.

Romayas is a village of contrasts. On the one hand, it is known for atypical social behavior — scandals, shocking love affairs, and the like — yet those who would speak of such things point with pride to the achievements associated with that region.

The legend of Kaka-i-Dugalangit has become a crucial ingredient in the identity of kakolintang in the Basak. That something very creative, especially in Muranao terms, occurred in Romayas cannot be denied. Throughout the Basak, people say that Kaka-i-Dugalangit was one of the most creative figures in the history of kakolintang, but perhaps he emerged as a social leader at a convenient time to crest a wave of changing traditions.

In the words of Birowa Cadar,[6]

> You can imagine the story about him — even the way people stand when they play the agong or dubakan, he gives some subtle comments on it. If one stands with the right foot forward, he would ask, "What do you think is the difference between your father and your mother?" Actually he is implying that undesirable position of the player's feet. Many people could not answer (meaning that they admit their mistake and just correct it). Even the way people hold the agong — when one walks with it (pulls it out of line), he would say, "Please tie the carabao because it is about to get loose." He seriously removed the flaws of kalilang-playing (kapupakaradiya-an).

In Romayas, the granddaughters of Kaka-i-Dugalangit said that before their grandfather, everything was "like the new generation." They described how in performance, he demanded that 1) women must wear traditional dresses, 2) speeches be given before playing in formal situations, 3) dubukan players must not be allowed to use *kapripol*, and 4) the accompanists must observe the correct stance and posture.

Kaka-i-Dugalangit is credited with the fixation of rules governing kakolintang and is said to have formalized, intensified, and put dignity into the kalilang of Romayas. Such might be judged in regard to the immediate past of that time, that is to say, there may have been a trend towards modernization which resulted in sloppiness and even a certain amount of fooling around in kalilang sessions. But surely all of the points given above had long been well-established as principles of kakolintang, and it is hard to imagine any significant period of time in which the practice of oratory would have been omitted from occasions of importance.

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[6] *BCT*, Q. 4, p. 3.

The most talked about aspects of the Dugalangit reformation, then, are limited to social or procedural standards, and represent, at best, a renaissance of tradition in the face of modernity. It may be more significant to think of Kaka-i-Dugalangit as a host or patron of kakolintang whose presence served as a catalyst for an upsurge of playing activities, while at the same time creating stability in invoking a degree of seriousness to the art.

Romayas is also associated with the pieces kapagonor and kapromayas which taken together symbolize both the essence of the *bago* repertoire and the spirit of the Basak. In Romayas, both pieces are credited to Kaka-i-Dugalangit, but this attribution seems doubtful. Inasmuch as a man would not normally be playing kolitang, kapromayas, as said in Taraka, was probably created by his daughters according to their father's taste. But kapagonor is another matter. If Kaka-i-Dugalangit had created kapagonor, then what would be the need for kapromayas? These two pieces are so generally similar yet specifically different that the latter could easily be construed as a local version of the former, and that kapromayas could be described as a traditionalized kapagonor would seem to be consistent with the position attributed to Kaka-i-Dugalangit. If kapromayas represents a parallel to and reaction against kapagonor, it would also be consistent with the personal account of Hadji Salam Cadar regarding events in Gapa-o--Balindong. In both cases, there is indication that playing styles had become modern, fast, and mechanical at the expense of the traditional virtues of grace and feminity. In Gapa-o-Balindong, playing took on a more graceful character, possibly from the Gilopa, while in Romayas, the Dugalangit reform re-instated some of the traditional elements of the kalilang which were disappearing. These two simultaneous events may bear witness to a trend which lies at the heart of kakolintang in the Basak. First, creative innovation produced a new style which threatened to evolve away from the social roots of the system; then the tradition checked itself with a trend of neo-traditionalism that lent strength and stability to the area which still retained its creative vitality.

People in Romayas described their style as more formal and more traditional than that of other municipalities. In the writer's opinion, this is basically not true except possibly in the area of procedural principles, but even then, in practice the standards seem to be conspicuously below those prescribed by Kaka-i-Dugalangit. One drummer, himself a Dugalangit, purposefully threatened to sabotage the entire recording session by his flippant attitude while playing. He was severely reprimanded both during the piece, by the

kolintang player who accelerated the tempo until she buried him, and afterwards when people commented, "You don't know how to play the drum!"

In Romayas, it was said that the *dubakan* part should be continuous and not mixed (that is, one should not shift between patterns), and that the two agong are not supposed to play together (i.e., not be completely coordinated). The subdued drum style would seem to be an outgrowth of Kaka-i-Dugalangit's decree forbidding the use of *kapripol* (an effect primarily associated with kapagonor), yet the agong style has apparently evolved to include the unique expletive outburst described above, which would seem to have substantially the same effect on the other players as kapripol. Perhaps this situation further suggests that the original mandate was aimed more at competing with kapagonor as it was being played elsewhere, than at creating a truly conservative style.

Other comments by people in Romayas included, 1) there is not a prescribed ending *(ayatan)* for each piece — every player may do it differently, 2) there is no relation between vocal pieces and kolintang pieces of the same name, 3) they do not like *kapmamayog* because it is modern, 4) andung and onor must have separate drum patterns, 5) kapromayas and kapagonor are the same, and 6) kakolintang has been called "kapromayas!" Concerning the other graduated melody instruments, they said that the *alotang* was the round iron practice set, the *saronay* the metallophone with bossed keys, and the *boronay* an old round kolintang from Borneo (cf. pp. 19-20 above).

In the writer's estimation, the playing style of Romayas is dynamic, intense, and quite serious in its own right.

Lumbak, Molondo, Masiyo

Molondo is located about six miles northeast of Gapa-o-Balindong along the lakeshore and slightly inland. The area visited is called Lumbak meaning "center." Recordings were made in the home of Mrs. Hadji Sobayda H. Ali on instruments belonging to Hadji Solayman Cadar. Many basic similarities exist between Molondo and Taraka as there is considerable intermarriage between the two municipalities. The people of Molondo are currently trying to establish a reputation for kakolintang and are openly competing with Romayas to that end. Accordingly, the writer was given quite a show in Molondo at considerable expense to the host.

Despite the theoretical similarity of traditions to those of

Gapa-o-Balindong the particular instruments and players recorded exhibited many differences to the writer's mind. The ensemble as a whole was very light, tight, and precise. The players very seldom rotated and seemed to prefer to remain in their best working positions. In a sense, the normal social tradition was sacrificed in favor of presenting a more professional ensemble.

The kolintang had a light, bell-like ringing sound, an effect probably augmented by the lightweight, soft strikes being used. When played on the bosses, the sound was soft and ringing. When played on the rim, a contrasting harsh brassy sound was produced which would easily be confused with that of the *bubundir.*

The *dubakan* was small, narrow, and almost shaped more like an hourglass than a vase. it was played with extremely light, narrow, and flexible sticks which seemed particularly conducive to crisp, intricate playing. The *bubundir* was hung from the ceiling and the instrument itself had a bronze hanging piece shaped like a *sari-manok* (a mythical bird symbol prevalent in Muranao artwork) attached to the gong. The bubundir part seemed less active than in other communities, but one probably cannot get the same effect as is possible when the instrument is held with the foot or suspended from the langkongan.

The two agong were large, but made of iron with bronze bosses, which like the other instruments seemed to produce a clear but weaker sound.

In some respects the tradition as shown in Molondo was modern and a bit showy, but it was worthwhile to experience a highly coordinated ensemble. The performance repertoire tended to be heavy in the *bago* category and *muragat* pieces were totally absent. Of all the communities visited, only Molondo presented *kapangolilat-sa-kolintang* (see p. 55). The afternoon *kalilang* also included performances by the Molondo Dance Troupe, a group of children aged 9 to 13 years, who despite the modernistic costumes and theatrical effects, exhibited a degree of budding talent which should, in time, prove a valuable asset to the community.

These special features, including performances of *sagayan, singkil,* and *tagongko,* provided useful insights while demonstrating the competitive spirit of the Basak. Above all, the people of Molondo were exceptional hosts and showed intricate ensemble coordination at its best.

Buribid, Tubaran, Onayan

Buribid is a small, rural sparsely-settled area in the Municipality of Tubaran about fifteen miles' walk south of Bayang on the southern plateau. Recordings were made in the home of Somamban Kibad Imam-sa-Buribid on instruments belonging to Pendaolan Hamdag.

The kolintang set was old with a beautifully-painted *langkongan* which had a three-dimensional *sari-manok* on' one end. The langkongan was also distinguished by having a central swivel base on which the entire gong frame could rotate horizontally. The tuning of the set was also unique in that it included a narrow interval between pots 4 and 5. Intervals of a minor second or less do not usually occur in the central portion of the row, and if so, it is likely to be between pots 3 and 4. The *dubakan* and *agong* styles differ from those of the Basak and will be dealt with forthwith. The *bubundir* was not used during the first four pieces.

The most fascinating and unique aspect of kakolintang in Buribid is the striking number of characteristics suggesting influence from the Magindunaon. It must be understood that this observation is made within the context of Muranao kakolintang; in no way can the overall style of Buribid be confused with that of the Magindunaon. But it seems that Buribid, which lies along the old popular overland route to Cotabato, is more muragat-conscious than other areas. First, the sampling of repertoire from Buribid included by far the highest percentage of pieces of the muragat category. Second, the dubakan often had to be taken by a woman player. And third, the agong players made use of special strokes not found in other areas.

In the course of routine pieces the two agong would sometimes be played off the boss. This was observed during the performance of kapagonor, after which they said the agong had been playing in *Lumbak* style. This term had little meaning to people in the Basak, but Lumbak is the name of another small barrio farther along the route of Cotabato (not to be confused with the Lumbak of Molondo, p. 80). At a later point the agong were said to be playing in *ginawagawi'i* style. This also made little sense to anyone outside the area. Although the piece, *kangginawagawi'i*, is known in the Basak, it is quite different from that played in Buribid. In the performance of *kanduropampang* the *pumalsan* added a stroke off the boss on the empty fourth beat of each *half-tukimug*, thereby adding a touch of interest and enchantment to the undulating, repetitive melody.

During the performance of *muragat* pieces, however, the most striking deviation of all took place: only one agong was used. The player again used many strikes off the boss, and in a performance of *kambinalig* (said by some present to have been *kasinamar),* the player used both the pad and butt of the stick simultaneously. It was in these same pieces that the character of the drum part changed and women were summoned to play it. All of these muragat performances (kapmuragat, kasinolog, kambinalig, and kasinaman) bore greater resemblance to Magindunaon kakolintang than to that of any Sulu group, despite the implication of their respective titles. This observation, however, should not be generalized to include performances of some of these pieces in other areas.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Magindunaon traditionally use only one agong. Furthermore the butt of the stick is sometimes used, and women often play the dubakan. It should also be pointed out that the atypical tuning of the set used in Buribid more closely resembles those of Cotabato shown by Maceda (most specifically number 2)[7] than those of any other set encountered in Lanao.

The rest of the repertoire performed in Buribid was virtually divided equally between *andung* and *bago* pieces. As was the case (in reverse) in Romayas, where andung pieces were more than adequately represented but often accompanied in a more modern style, the bago pieces in Buribid often had old-styled accompaniments. Moreover, each rendition of *kapagonor* was specified as being either the *old* or the *new* version. Actually there is no old kapagonor, that is, in the sense of *andung* as classified above: the players in Buribid seem to be distinguishing between the original kapagonor, which would seem to have been preserved there, and a version heard later, possibly from Hadji Salam Cadar inasmuch as they attribute this latter-day revision specifically to her. To people outside this area, kapagonor would seemingly be viewed as a piece in continual evolution and therefore not feasibly divisible in such a manner. These points would collectively seem to indicate that Buribid represents an older more conservative facet of Muranao kakolintang than any style

[7]Jose Maceda, "The Music of the Magindanao in the Philippines" (Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1963), 11, 4.

encountered in the Basak. It is also of interest that when asked to list the really old pieces, they responded with, 1) kambinalig, 2) kasinolog, and 3) kapaginandung. Other local comments on the repertoire include the following:

1) Kapmuragat and kapmagindunaon are the same.
2) Kapmuragat and kasinirigan are sometimes similar.
3) Kambinalig is common to Malabang and Cotabato.
4) Old kapagonor is the original from the village of Romayas.
5) Kapmotantang originated locally with the mother of Hadji Solayman.

Bagoaingud, Sagiyaran, Masiyo

Bagoaingud, meaning "New Settlement," is located approximately five miles due west of Marawi in an area which could generally be described as lying behind the hill on which Mindanao State University is located. Access to the area is via the Marawi-Iligan highway, then southwest along a heavily-rutted dirt road. The kolintang players recorded were either raised in this area or in Balo-i near the Iligan airport. The instruments used were relatively plain in decor. The kolintang frame consisted of two poles placed between benches in the village square. The bubundir part was missing until requested by the writer. The suggestion was made to "just get a tin can," but the people replied, "no, it won't give a ringing sound," and so a bronze spittoon was procured for the purpose.

The repertoire presented was uniformly strange: nearly every piece was some sort of a hybrid between kapaginandung and kapagonor. Of eight performances half were titled "andung" (meaning *kapaginandung)*, one "andungmagaan" (fast andung), one "onor," while no name was given for the last piece. All were played fast. One of the "andung" turned out to be *kanduyodayo*, another began as *katitik panday* but as it unfolded, elements of *kapagonor* were included in the middle. The performance of "onor" could melodically be described as *kapromayas* although the drumming was closer to that of *kapagonor*. The "andung-magaan" was an irregular version of *kapagonor*, and the untitled piece bore a vague resemblance to *kandong-kodongko*. But the prize for hybridization goes to "andung-a-onor" which besides being a combination of the two, struck at the heart of *kapmuragat*— in a single performance, one could hardly be more inclusive than that.

As mentioned earlier, creativity was found in each village

sampled. Some performances in Bagoaingud struck the writer as particularly interesting in terms of melodic manipulation and drumming. But the people seem to have lost sight of individual pieces. Perhaps, as the "New Settlement," there is a communal desire toward a faster, more modern style, yet in that quest they find themselves too far-removed to gain any significant repertoire stimulation from the Basak. The result would seem to be a proclivity toward a singular playing style of uniform tempo and accompaniment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: LOOKING AHEAD

As implied throughout the text, a kolintang piece may be approached via a composite of performances yielding a scheme of minimally necessary melodic segments. From this may be deduced the nature of optional material leading to a study of *karkat*. According to the sampling such schemes could be constructed for a given player, family, neighborhood, village, and so forth. The immediate goal is to come as close as possible to what the Muranao would call the *onayan* -- the skeleton, framework, or distinguishing characteristics — of a given piece.

But what about the flexibility of the tradition? The kolintang repertoire is far from being a fixed entity, and attempts to realize its definitive codification may be impossible beyond a point. New pieces are continually being proliferated by such people as Hadji Salam Cadar and in a tradition dating back centuries, "old" pieces are spoken of in terms of mere decades.

Individual performances might best be thought of as points along a continuum on which there is considerable overlap and blurring of categories. Although a piece may be defined at a given point in time as a composite of performances, such a tabulation would at best have to be continually revised.

The general lack of concern with labelling performances and inconsistent use of titles would suggest that the repertoire is in a state of flux in which a performance represents something between a set piece and an established mode. Accordingly, a title may either indicate a general melodic type with many versions possible, or be a member of a larger modal category in a repertorial hierarchy.

"Andung" and "onor" are unquestionably the most distinct titles of the repertoire. They are acknowledged as such throughout the province and are taken as direct opposites. "Andung" implies the old, slow, dignified, subtle, balanced, and well-pronounced. "Onor" is associated with the showy, expressive, fancy, radical, and obvious. There is also the historical implication that the latter refers to the faster style of playing as developed in the Basak. Since "onor" as a word has a narrower meaning than "andung," the term "bago" has been substituted for this larger general category. These two then must serve as the starting point in thinking of large modal categories.

As previously mentioned, there is a wide variety of performances capable of being called *kapaginandung*. Moreover, other

titles are considered to be closely-related: namely *katitik panday*, *kasuladung*, and *kapagondoga* (one performance by Hadji Salam Cadar was entitled "katitik pandayan-a-kapagondona-andung"). Many Muranao presently view katitik panday as a form of kapaginandung, but in Gapa-o-Balindong — where performances of two are virtually identical — it is said that the latter came from the former. There is here the distinct impression of a hierarchical interrelationship among titles and further that a specific old piece, katitik panday, may be in the process of losing its identity to a larger, more generalized framework denoting "oldness".

The village of Romayas has gone its own way but certainly not in isolation. *Kapromayas* is consistently thought of as closely related to — but a separate development of — *kapagonor*. It was also said that while kapromayas took melodic portions of kapagonor, it took some performance features from kapaginandung. Presumably, this refers to the more conservative dubakan part although the gradual, balanced ascent of its first section should also be mentioned. On the one hand, the Romayas way of playing kapaginandung is said to be too fast with an inappropriately modern agong part, while their historic emendation of kapagonor (i.e. kapromayas) is by preference conservative. It seems that by comparison, Romayas has evolved somewhat toward a homogenous playing style which has been publicly propagated in the form of a new piece bearing its name. Perhaps their comment, "Everything we play is kapromayas" has potential modal implications.

Of course Romayas is too close to the mainstream of the competitive Basak to be allowed to drift very far from the standard repertoire. But what about Bagoaingud? Here all titles have seemingly been forgotten save "andung" and "onor" and even these most basic distinctions are becoming ambiguous. Hadji Salam Cadar said of Bagoaingud, "This area has less variety and they prefer newer styles. All pieces are of one group — they just vary it."[1] Does this singular playing style represent an initial stage in the formation of a new mode? Could one return in fifteen years and encounter a similar program presented as eight versions of "kambagoaingud?"

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[1] July 20, 1972. Field notes, 1:26.

Perhaps greater attention should be given to style as a potential factor of modality. In dealing with titles, there was never the overt indication that a piece could at will be performed in either "andung" or "bago" style — but the following cases bear further scrutiny. In Buribid renditions of kapagonor were specified as being either "the new" or "the old". This was understood by the writer to indicate a differentiation between the present version and that of the 1930's, rather than cognition of the latter as an "andung." In fact, they defined this piece as being "the original from the village of Romayas." A third performance of kapagonor was presented under the amended title "kapagonor (kapromayas)" meaning in the style of that village. Similarly in Gapa-o-Balindong a recorded performance was said to be "andung in the style of Romayas" meaning, "the way they do it up there."

No attempt has yet been made to relate the Muranao kakolintang to other gong traditions and the writer will not formally do so until the Muranao tradition is fully understood in its own terms. Nonetheless, in the context of looking ahead, certain points must be mentioned.

It is said that kolintang performances among the Magindunaon consist of a nonstop sequence of three rhythmic modes: *duyug, sinulug,* and *tidtu;* in addition there are two playing styles: *danden* and *binalig* — no further titles are used.[2] One interpretation of the present data might be that the more isolated Muranao are in a sense "behind" the Magindunaon — that the repertoire is evolving from specific pieces toward more generalized modal categories. Rhythmic characteristics are pertinent to titles, but no more than melodic contour, among other considerations. As for a prescribed order of three performance events, no such procedure was observed among the Muranao. If anything, each kolintang player should perform twice to allow the agong players to trade places.

Concerning Magindunaon performance styles, Maceda writes,[3]

> In playing improvisations on the *kulintang*, two styles of performance are spoken of by the Magindanao. One refers to an older practice

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[2]Jose Maceda, "The Music of the Magindanao in the Philippines" (Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1963, pp. 70 and 74.

[3]Ibid., p. 74.

called *danden*, and another concerns a newer rendition known as *binalig*. The ancient style is generally slow, although there are examples with relatively faster rhythms. A *binalig* melody, on the other hand, is not merely an example of fast playing. The young man (sic) who experiment in this style employ different rhythmic and melodic formulae not generally used with the old patterns. A *binalig* manner of playing offers a certain freedom in the choice of gongs and in their arrangement and permutations. The *danden* permutations are more stereotyped and less bold in developing non-traditional gong combinations.

That *danden* and *andung* are one and the same idea — *if not the same word* — seems beyond question, while *binalig* represents the "bago" category and is attributed traits reminiscent of *kapagonor*.

As previously indicated, the *muragat* pieces can be classified within the broad andung category. They were given a separate designation because of their strikingly different character and relative obscurity in certain areas. Even in Buribid, the playing of such pieces occurred only after the more common repertoire had been exhausted. Nonetheless, when asked to cite the really old pieces, the people of Buribid responded with "*kambinalig*," "*kasinolog*," and "*kapaginandung*" — titles relating to three of the five Magindunaon designations!

All the same, most Muranao would probably reject the notion that muragat pieces are the oldest in the repertoire. *Kambinalig* — said to be "common to Malabang and Cotabato"[4] — is unknown in the Basak where *kasinolog* is played only by Hadji Salam Cadar who comes from the southern Gilopa. Her version, moreover, is completely different from that recorded in Buribid, the latter sounding conspicuously more Magindunaon.

It could be that shifts in patterns of contact over the past sixty years have served to differentiate the Muranao and Magindanaon traditions. In former times, Cotabato was the primary Muranao contact with the outside world. Subsequent to the development of towns along the north coast, however, the main channel of interaction from the lake region has been via Marawi and Iligan. Meanwhile, the Muranao of Malabang may often go to Cotabato and rarely if ever see Marawi. Thus the Muranao heartland has been further removed from both the Magindunaon and people of the Illana coast than was the case in the past.

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[4] Buribid, Tubaran. Field notes, II:85.

The Magindunaon, in the interim, have been subjected to ever increasing pressure from the influx of Christian settlers and their traditions may be under considerable strain. The Muranao currently view kakolintang in Cotabato as informal, lax and undignified.

One may speculate, then, that the two traditions may have formerly had more in common and that the repertoire of the latter has become codified at a very general level. Yet Maceda states further that "there are other examples of *binalig* and *danden* performances that do not fit exactly the descriptions above. In particular, the *binalig* manner has as many idioms as there are individual performers, who cavort in the relative freedom of modern *kulintang* practice."[5] Obviously there is a good deal more vagueness and flexibility to the Magindunaon system than would be implied by the hegemony of three rhythmic modes.

As for the Muranao repertoire, regional style, old versus new, and titles of specific denotation all remain vital as performance designations.

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[5]Maceda, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

GLOSSARY

ALOTANG Muranao wooden xylophone, nearly extinct

ANDUNG 1) Old. 2) A piece (kapaginandung). 3) A division of the repertoire.

ANONAN 1) The 8th and highest pot of the kolintang set. 2) The higher register of the kolintang. 3) A short playing around on the kolintang before the first piece. 4) The highlights of a piece.

"ANONA NGKA DUN!" "Bring it to its height! "An exclamation of excitement during performance.

AYATAN The ending formula, cadence of a piece.

BAGO 1) New. 2) A division of the repertoire.

BASAK The paddy-oriented lowland region on the east side of Lake Lanao.

BORONAY 1) Larger, older gongs from Borneo. 2) A practice set of kolintang made of iron.

BUMBARAN The ancient, mythological kingdom of the Darangun.

DANSALAN The former name of Marawi City.

DARABUKA A vase-shaped folk and cabaret drum of the Near East.

DARANGUN The Muranao epic.

DATO Datto or dattu, a high-ranking leader such as a chief or mayor.

DODA-I Bronze spittoon, often used as tintik or substitute for the bubundir.

DOMBAK A Persian drum.

DUBAKAN Muranao drum used to accompany the kolintang.

DUDUBOWAN Lesser-used name for the dubakan.

GANDING 1) Instrumental composition(s). 2) The sound of instruments.

GAPA-O-BALINDONG An area of Taraka.

GENDER Javanese metallophone with thin keys suspended over individual tube resonators.

GILOPA The highland areas to the west and south of Lake Lanao.

GORO Guru, teacher.

GUNDINGAN Magindunaon set of four hanging thin-flanged gongs.

INSI Muranao end-blown flute.

ISAKA-TUKIMUG One metric or colotomic unit.

KADUBAK Dubakan drumming.

KAGUNDUNG Gundungan drumming.

KAKOLINTANG Kolintang music.

KALILANG A playing session, merry-making.

KAMBINALIG (Binalig) A kolintang piece of the muragat category.

KAMBUYOK (Bayok) A vocal genre.

KANDONGKODONGKO (Dongkodongko) A kolintang piece.
KANDURANGUN (Darangun) A Muranao vocal genre based on the epic.
KANDUROPAMPANG (Anduropampang) A kolintang piece from Buribid.
KANDUYODAYO (Dayodayo) A kolintang piece.
KANGGINAWAGAWI'I (Ginawagawi'i) A kolintang piece.
KAPAGINANDUNG (Inandung, Andung) A major work of the kolintang repertoire.
KAPAGONDOGA A kolintang piece of the andung category.
KAPAGONOR (Onor) The major kolintang work of the bago category.
KAPANGINSI Insi music.
KAPANGOBING Kobing music.
KAPANGOLILAT-SA-KOLINTANG The art of twirling the beaters and hand dancing while playing the kolintang.
KAPANIRONG The Muranao serenade ensemble.
KAPMAMAYOG (Mamayog) A kolintang piece based on a well known song.
KAPMURAGAT (Muragat) A kolintang piece of the muragat category.
KAPRANON 1) A Muranao vocal genre. 2) A kolintang piece.
KAPRIPOL A series of explosive strokes on the dubakan.
KAPROMAYAS (Romayas) An important kolintang piece from the village of Romayas.
KAPUPAKARADIYA-AN Larger-scale or more formal kalilang playing.
KARATONG Another name for tagotok.
KARKAT Elaboration, ornamentation.
KASAYAO-SA-SINGKIL Singkil pole dancing.
KASINIRIGAN (Sinirigan) A kolintang piece.
KASINOLOG (Sinolog) A kolintang piece of the muragat category.
KASUGAYAN (Sagayan) Warrior dancing.
KASUGORONGAN (Sagorongan) A kolintang piece.
KASULADUNG (Saladung) A kolintang piece.
KATITIK PANDAY(AN) A major kolintang piece of the andung type.
KATUGONGKO Tagongko music.
KOTIYAPI Muranao two-stringed lute.
KULINTANGAN The kolintang of Sulu and Borneo.
MAGINDUNAON The Moslems of Cotabato Province.
MALIM Technical proficiency, control.

MAMALALA Single large thin-flanged gongs.

MURAGAT 1) A kolintang piece (kapmuragat). 2) A division of the repertoire consisting of pieces of foreign connotation.

LAMIN A protected attic room with a window from which an eligible girl can watch suitors.

LANGKONGAN A rack or stand on which the kolintang pots are played.

LOTO-AN A metal betel nut box.

LUMBAK 1) Center. 2) An area of Molondo. 3) A barrio along the route of Cotabato. 4) A style of playing agong according to people in Buribid.

OKIR MOTIF In general, the Muranao serpentine design used in artwork. Sometimes floral, vine-like, wavy, or figure-S.

ONAYAN 1) Framework, basic structure. 2) The Gilopa. 3) A major division or State of Lanao.

ONI Sound, tuning, timbre.

ONIONIYA Conical double-reed aerophone used to scare birds from the fields.

PANANARO-ON Poem proverb.

PANGADI Islamic liturgical chant.

PI'IL Grace, gracefulness.

PUMALS The higher agong player.

PUMALSAN The higher agong.

PUNANGGISA The lower agong player.

PUNANGGISA-AN The lower agong.

RAMADAN Moslem Holy Week.

SAKBA Proverb, poem.

SARI-MANOK Muranao bird symbol.

SARON Javanese metallophone with thick keys over a single trough resonator.

SARONAY Muranao metallophone with thin bossed keys.

SIRONGAGUNDING A bamboo tube zither with a flap on one end; simultaneously drummed and strummed.

TABO Mosque drum.

TAGONGKO March or processional music.

TAGOTOK Bamboo scraper idiophone for scaring birds.

TAMBOR European-style snare drum used in katugongko.

TINTIK A sparse rhythmic accompaniment played on any handy metal object; used mostly in vocal music.

TUKIMUG The minimal complete phraseo-metric or colotomic unit of each part in the kolintang ensemble.

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