Hans Brandeis

Boat Lutes in the Visayan Islands and Luzon – Traces of Lost Traditions

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Introduction

The guitar, including all its close relatives, from the Spanish guitar to the electric guitar, is the most popular instrument in the Philippines today. But centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards it already had Asian prototypes on the numerous islands of the archipelago: long and slender lutes in many regional variations. This can be assumed on the one hand from the wide variety of lute types still existing in Mindanao and Palawan today, at least 23 lute types used by at least 36 ethnic groups, and on the other hand from the occurrence of indigenous terms for these boat lutes in the languages of those regions where no boat lutes can be found anymore, namely on the main island of Luzon in the northern Philippines and on the Visayan islands of the Central Philippines. However, no one can be sure if the same name for a boat lute in two different regions applies to the same instrument, a similar instrument or a totally different instrument.

The word *kudyapî*,[1] the most important term for Philippine boat lutes, can still be found in modern dictionaries of the languages Tagalog and Kapampangan (Central Luzon), Hiligaynon (Visayan islands of Panay and Negros) and Waray (Visayan islands of Samar and Leyte) as a term for an "ancient native guitar" (Panganiban 1972: 310; Santos 1986: 404) or for an "old Filipino stringed instrument" (Makabenta 1979:57). An accurate picture of the types of instruments meant here is actually unclear from these definitions.

The two historians Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso represent a popular opinion when they write: "The kudyapi, which the later Tagalog adopted as the symbol of poetry, seemed to have been a popular instrument, for it was found almost throughout the country – from the north to the south" (1960: 54). This statement implies that the *kudyapi* of the Tagalog must have been basically the same *kudyapi*, allegedly only one type of boat lute, as used in the Southern Philippines today. The ethnomusicologist José Maceda adds:

> "The Negrito groups ... scattered all over Luzon in the provinces of Camarines Norte, Albay, Quezon, Bataan, Zambales, Isabela and Cagayan ... have adopted the musical instruments of their neighbours ... the kuryapi (two-string lute) is still remembered though it has long since disappeared from this region" (Maceda 1980: 637).[2]

The objective of this paper is to contribute to the clarification of the question if the *kudyapi* instruments mentioned in the historical sources said to have been distributed over the entire Philippine archipelago were indeed boat lutes or were other types of stringed instruments. How did these historical *kudyapi* look like? In the Spanish colonial literature, they are usually compared to European musical instruments so that we will also dedicate a short chapter to the latter. As we cannot expect all the historical *kudyapi* to have been boat lutes, a short review of Philippine string instruments will be provided as well. These descriptions, however, are only to summarize some of the basic facts, for clarification of the terms used in the comparisons and for better understanding of the instrument designs.

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1 The use of accents in Philippine words used in this article, especially if they are quoted from old Spanish sources, is not always clear. As a general rule, we might say: if there is no accent on the last syllable, it means that the penultimate syllable is stressed; an acute accent ´ indicates a stressed syllable, a grave accent ` on the final vowel indicates a final glottal stop and a stress on the penultimate syllable, a circumflex accent ^ on the final vowel indicates a final glottal stop together with a stress on the final syllable.

2 Maceda does not state where his sources came from. The author knows only of a single Negrito group where boat lutes are being used: the Mamanwa in Surigao, Mindanao, but this tradition appears to have been adopted from the neighboring Agusan Manobo.

Sources

The earlier notion of the distribution of boat lutes in the Central and Northern Philippines should not be seen as documented because the sources for the use of these instruments during the Spanish colonial times are too rare and, in most cases, too ambiguous. Only in the beginning of the 20th century, since the beginning of American influence was there a continuous increase of ethnological literature. But the first ethnomusicological publication presenting a detailed description of a boat lute, particularly of the *kutiyapi (kudyapi)* of the Islamic Magindanaon in Mindanao, of its construction and its repertoire, including a detailed analysis of the music, was delivered by Jose Maceda only in 1963.

Printing in the Philippines during the colonial times was to a large extent owned by the Catholic church: "... in general everything that appears in one of the languages of the country, [is] published by the care of the religious, who have at their disposition the printing house of Santo Tomas, and who have the means of meeting the expenses of the printing, which the Indians could not do" (Mallat 1846: 271). The printing of the first known book in Tagalog, the *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua española y tagala*, was already approved in the year 1593 by Gouverneur Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (Blair and Robertson, Vol. 9: 68).

Above all, two types of sources form the basis of the present work: on one hand are the few *descriptions of lute instruments in colonial literature,* all of which can be found in the reports of the Spanish missionaries to their superiors in the 17th century; on the other hand are *Diccionarios* and *Vocabularios*[1] of the missionaries, which are usually hard to find in libraries. The difficulty of basic research becomes obvious in the small number of sources from the 16th century up to the beginning of the 20th century that were available to this author:[2]

	Dictionaries	Other colonial literature
Mindoro	0	1
Tagalog	8	4
Cebuano	3	2
Panay	1	1
Samar & Leyte	2	2
Bikol	1	1
Pampanga	1	0
Pangasinan	1	0
Ilocano	2	1
Ibanag	2	0

Following the royal decree from April 27, 1594, the monastic orders, aside from Tagalog, were permitted to include two, three or even four additional indigenous languages into their linguistic studies. Nevertheless, they focused on the Tagalog language, which was favored by all the orders and which was spoken in the area of the most political power, in Manila and the adjacent regions (Sánchez

1 There seems to be no clear rule why some works are called *Vocabulario* and again others *Diccionario.* In both cases we are, just the same, dealing with works of several hundred pages, hence not with short word lists but with comprehensive and voluminous dictionaries. Antonio Quilis (1997) compiled a bibliography of most dictionaries and grammar books of Philippine languages that have appeared until 1898.

2 The few dictionaries before 1900 that this author found in German library catalogues were registered as spoils of war. Almost all of the dictionaries used in this present work were downloaded from the internet. This essay, therefore, represents only a first attempt that should be supplemented through the missing sources. On the other hand, it does not appear imperative to look through all the missing dictionaries, as many of them were published in several editions within a span of 300 years.

Fuertes 2006: 2). Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the dictionaries available for the present study refer to Tagalog-speaking regions.

In the following chapters, we will examine these dictionaries, compiled since the early 17th century, for entries referring to string instruments. Terms which nowadays, are known in the southern Philippines as regional designations for boat lutes repeatedly appear in *Vocabularios*. However, for a realistic evaluation of these entries, the following aspects have to be considered:

- It appears as if the authors of the *Vocabularios* were using previously compiled word lists as a starting point, into which they integrated their own entries. In this process, the Spanish friars showed no consideration for regional variants, as the dictionaries were only meant as auxiliary tools for their mission work: in case a missionary could not catch the meaning of a specific word during a conversation, he had to find out its meaning by any means, usually by looking up the term in a *Vocabulario*. We may assume that, as a result of the "recycling" of older word lists, a good number of words crossed the borderline into the dictionary of another Philippine language.

- We may not assume that all the authors of the *Vocabularios* were experts of musical terminology. Whenever the authors compare Philippine lute instruments with Spanish string instruments, they might not always have been very accurate with their terminology.

- If, for example, the term *codiapi* is listed in a Tagalog dictionary, this does not automatically imply that boat lutes could actually be found within the settlement area of all Tagalog-speaking people. Eventually, it was only used in a specific part of this area.

- If, for example, the same terms for string instruments were listed for the Tagalog and Visayan-speaking areas, this does not imply that the instruments referred to actually belonged to the same lute type. On the islands of Mindanao and Palawan, we still can find at least 24 different types of boat lutes, all referred to with terms, which either derive from *kutiyapi (kotapi*, *piyapi* etc.) or *kuglung (hegelung*, *faglung* etc.).

Distribution of Boat Lutes

Stringed instruments, classified as "boat lutes," usually have nothing to do with boats. They only bear that generic name because of their slender overall shape. In fact, their symbolic meaning usually refers to animals, e.g. crocodiles and monitor lizards, birds, dogs and horses or some mystical creatures like dragons, sometimes also to the human body.

The origins of the Southeast Asian boat lutes are definitely connected with the Indian subcontinent, as the instruments show certain features in their construction, which are typical for Indian string instruments. Among these are movable frets made out of body extension's wax, the musical principle of melody and drone, and the plectrum tied to the player's hand. But, first of all, many names for boat lutes in Southeast Asia derive from the Sanskrit word *kacchapa*, which, on the one hand, means "turtle," on the other hand, refers to a certain kind of tree whose wood is often used for making string instruments.

The only **Indian** lute which reminds of the modern boat lutes of Southeast Asia is the lute *nanduni* of the Kerala region in southern India. From this area, the technology might have spread along two ways, first along the seashore to mainland Southeast Asia, where certain features melted into different types of zithers, namely the *mí-gyaùng* of **Burma**, the *chakhe (jakeh*, *jakhay)* of **Thailand** and the *takhe* of **Kampuchea**, all representing the crocodile, but maybe also directly across

Plate 1: Present-day distribution of boat lutes in the Philippines.

the sea, from southern India to the islands of today's Indonesia, where boat lutes can still be found in present times: **Sumatra** *(hasapi, kucapi, kulcapi)*, **Borneo** *(sapé', sapeh, sambé, sundatang, sendatong, blikan, biula)*, **Sulawesi** *(kasapi, kacapi)* and **Sumba** *(jungga)*.

In the **Philippines**, boat lutes can mainly be found on the southern islands of Mindanao and Palawan, partly also on Mindoro, as the most northern point of their distribution, in former times also in parts of the Visayan islands in the Central Philippines, namely on the island of Panay. There is no sufficient evidence, however, that boat lutes ever existed in Northern Philippines, on the island of Luzon. The tribal people in the remote mountain areas of Luzon, like the Kalingas, Ifugaos and others, retained their living traditions, but none of them uses string instruments, which do remind of boat lutes in any way.

There are at least 23 different types of Philippine boat lutes, which can be found among at least 39 different ethnic groups (see map, Plate 1). On the island of Mindanao, aside from the islamic Maranao and Maguindanaon *(kutiyapi)*, boat lutes can be especially found among the peoples of the Manobo language family (Bukidnon *piyapi*, Talaandig *katiyapi*; Higaonon *kutiyapi*, Matigsalug-, Tigwa- and Ata-Manobo, Tagakaulu *kuglung*; Agusan-Manobo *kudiyung*, Bagobo, Dibabawon *kuglung / kudyeng*, Mangguangan *kudlung*, Tasaday and Blit Manobo *faglung*) as well as among other ethnic groups, the Tboli *(hegelung)*, Blaan and Ubo *(faglung)*, Mandaya and Mansaka *(kudlung)*, Tëduray *(fëgërung)*, Subanen *(kutapi)*, and probably still others. On the island of Palawan, they are used among the Pala'wan *(kusyapi, kudlungan)*, Tagbanwa (*kudlung, kudyapi*) and Batak *(kudlung)*. There is also evidence for the existence of boat lutes on the island of Mindoro, at least among the Alangan and Iraya Mangyan. These latter instruments show structural features, which point towards a relationship with the boat lutes of Palawan rather than with those of Mindanao. To demonstrate the diversity of boat lute designs, photographs of eight instruments from different Philippine ethnic groups are shown in this paper (Plates 2 and 3).

Boat lutes definitely represent some of the most sophisticated musical instruments in the Philippine islands:

- they show the most refined technology of all Philippine musical instruments;
- they combine the highest number of different materials (wood, bamboo, fern, bee's wax, rattan, hemp, steel strings, and others, in different combinations);
- they show a great diversity of different designs, ranging from 90 to 250 cms in length.

Construction of Boat Lutes

Philippine boat lutes are basically carved out of one single log of wood, including the head, neck, resonating body and extending decorative carvings at their upper and lower ends.

Regarding their overall shape, there are mainly three types of boat lutes: those with slender, *boat-shaped* bodies and those with *rectangular box-type* resonating boxes. Aside from these two very basic types, there are those lutes with *mixed* features: with a smooth, organic transition between neck and body, but with a square, box-type lower end of their resonating bodies. This transition point or area between neck and body we will call the "neck-base."

All Philippine boat lutes have two strings (with one exception, the one-stringed lute of the Alangan Mangyan of Mindoro): one string, with underlying frets, is used for the melody, while the other one, without frets, produces a drone sound and provides the rhythmic accents. Before the introduction of guitar steel strings, certain vines *(bislig)* from the rainforest were used for the purpose.

The lutes are usually played with a plectrum made out of rattan, fern wood or simply plastic, which is tied to the index or middle finger of the right hand. (Exceptions are the Pala'wan of Palawan island and the Agusan Manobo of Mindanao, who are using their bare fingers).

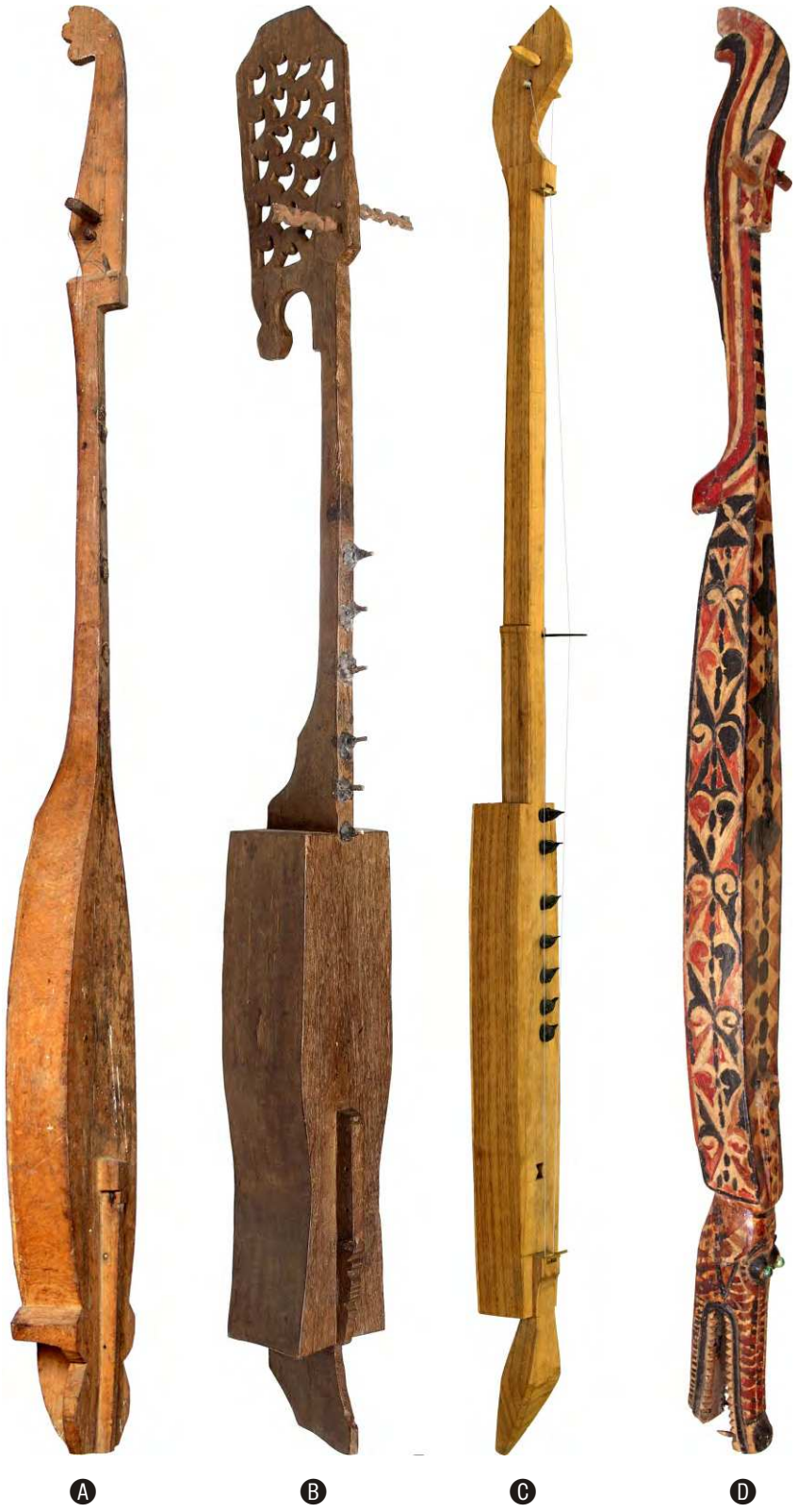

Plate 2:
[A] *Kusyapi* of the Pala'wan. Quezon, Palawan. Palawan Museum Collection, Puerto Princesa.
[B] *Kusyapi* of the Pala'wan. Sitio Tamlang, Amas, Brooke's Point, Palawan. Palawan Museum.
[C] *Piyapi* of the Higaonon. Mt. Balatukan, Misamis Oriental, Mindanao. Brandeis Collection.
[D] *Kutiyapi* of the Higaonon / Talaandig in the shape of a crocodile. Rogongon, Iligan City, Lanao del Norte, Mindanao. Francisco Englis Collection, Iligan City.

Plate 3:
[A] *Kutiyapi* of the Maranao, symbolic representation of a crocodile. Lanao del Sur, Mindanao. Brandeis Collection, Museum for Ethnology Berlin.
[B] *Hagelung* of the Tboli. Lake Sebu, South Cotabato, Mindanao. Brandeis Collection.
[C] *Kuglung* of the Tigwa-Manobo. Sitio Kisayab, Bonacao, San Fernando, Mindanao. Brandeis Collection.
[D] *Kudlung* of the Mandaya. Tagum, Mindanao. In the possession of the musician.

The resonating bodies are generally hollowed out from the back and covered with a wooden board or lid, which is often attached to the body by means of bindings wound around the body, made of rattan strips, rope or wire, but they are also fixed with glue or nails. Many of these back covers show one or more soundholes, usually approximately in their middle. These holes are round, oval, rectangular, or in the shape of an hourglass-like hexagon, and often arranged in a typical pattern, like a cloverleaf, a cross, or a circle.

At their head and at the lower end of their bodies, most of the lutes are elongated with additional carvings, often heads of animals, which usually serve a merely decorative purpose (we call them "upper/head extension" and "lower/body extension," respectively). As the lutes of the Bukidnon and Maranao often represent crocodiles and those of the Manobo monitor lizards, they possess carved heads of these animals at the lower ends of their resonating bodies. The lutes of the Agusan Manobo show the highly stylized head of a rooster, those of the Maguindanaon often the head of a heron.

All Philippine boat lutes have two lateral tuning pegs, protruding from the opposite sides of the head (with one exception: in one village of the Tigwa Manobo, the tuning pegs are generally inserted from the back side of the head).

There are basically two types of fret arrangements: the small lutes have most of their frets fixed on their neck, as we know it from western guitars, while on the bigger instruments, the frets are attached exclusively to the sounding board, as is generally the case with zithers. In this latter case, the highest fret or nut (we call it "fret zero" or "zero-fret") is located at the neck-base, the transition point between neck and body, and there is not a single fret to be found on the neck.

With the big lutes, their rather high frets are mainly made out of small clots of black bee's wax, in which small pieces of buffalo horn, bamboo, coconut shell or fern wood are so deeply inserted that only the upper edge can be seen. The frets of the small lutes are, for their major part, made out of wood or bamboo and glued to the lutes' neck on a trace of black bee's wax, smeared on the wooden surface.

The string holder which, at the same time, functions as a bridge, is usually carved out from the sound board as a long protruding structure. The strings are attached to the string holder and to the head in an almost identical way: there is a cuboid cutout, where the ends of the strings run into small holes or channels in the corners of the cutout, guiding them towards the sides of the head or of the string holder, respectively. Coming out on the sides of the string holder, the strings are fixed in different ways, e.g. by tieing their ends to a button, a small piece of wood, a nail etc.; coming out on the sides of the head, they are attached to the tuning pegs. Where the strings enter the described cuboid cutout, they run over an underlying small strip of rattan, sometimes also a nail or a piece of wood ("string support"). This whole structure of fixing the strings is typical for boat lutes from the Philippines and can only be found there, mainly on the large island of Mindanao. Lutes from Palawan and Mindoro, however, often lack this very characteristic structure for attaching strings.

Philippine lutes use different methods for fine tuning their strings, which usually serve a double function, as they are also pulling down the melody string and pressing it on the zero-fret. The Muslim Maguindanaon use a woolen thread as a tuning loop going around the neck and the melody string; by moving the loop along the neck, the player can tense or release the string and, thus, change its pitch. Some Manobo groups (Ata, Tigwa, Matigsalug and others) often use rattan rings for the same purpose. The Tboli, Blaan, Tasaday and neighboring groups use another, very sophisticated method for fine tuning: Between the head and the zero-fret, which are located close to each other, below the melody string, they drill a channel right through the neck, towards the back of it. A loop, made of a thread, goes through this channel and around the melody string; it is secured in the back of the neck by an attached tassel. By turning the tassel and, thus, twisting the thread, it is shortened and tightened and pulls down the melody string.

To end this general description, it should be mentioned that many tribal groups in the Philippines heavily decorate their instruments. Some of the Maranao instruments are painted with ornaments in the colors green, red, yellow, black and white. The Tboli, Ubo and some Manobo groups stain their instruments black and incise light-colored geometric ornaments into the dark surface.

And, finally, many Tboli, Blaan and Manobo lutes are decorated with a lot of thick tufts of horse hair, often all along the back of their necks and around their heads.

Comparing boat lutes with other traditional musical instruments in the Philippines, it is obvious that boat lutes play a special role as "cultural identifiers": while, for example, certain types of flutes or bamboo zithers are used among many ethnic groups almost identical in design and construction, boat lutes, on the other hand, show very specific designs, a fact, which distinguishes each of them from the lutes of other tribes. As a consequence, in most cases, it is easy to determine, from which ethnic group a specific boat lute originally comes from, or, from which tribe its owner, visiting another village, might come from. He carries the instrument along just like a "badge," a "cultural identifier," which is usually not the case with other Philippine musical instruments.

Performance Practice

One string of a boat lute is used for a rhythmic drone, while the other string runs over movable frets, which make it possible to play melodies in different scales. In some Philippine boat lute traditions, there are two pentatonic scales, one of which is hemitonic, the other anhemitonic. The coexistence of distinct repertoires based on two different pentatonic scales occurs in the lute music of the Magindanaon (hem. *binalig*, anhem. *dinaladay)* (Maceda 1963: 111, 114f; 1988: [7]), Matigsalug Manobo (hem. *kalindaan*, anhem. *baligen)* (Brandeis 1995: 105; 2000: 196), Pala'wan (hem. *kulilal*, anhem. *bagit)* (Maceda 1988: [6]), and Subanen (ibid.). The used melodic patterns are often similar to those found in *kulintang* melodies.

Among several ethnic groups, the boat lute is clearly a solo instrument, not used to accompany singing, e.g. among the Agusan Manobo, Bukidnon, Talaandig, Higaonon, Mandaya, Tasaday, Blaan and Tboli; extraordinary lute virtuosos live among the Magindanaon of Cotabato. In other traditions, however, the boat lute, often combined with a polychordal bamboo tube-zither accompanies singing, e.g. among the Ata, Tigwa and Matigsalug Manobo, Bagobo, Mansaka and Pala'wan. In these cases, it is usually a man playing the lute and a woman playing the bamboo zither, while either man or woman sing alone. Among the mentioned Manobo groups, the singing style is characterized by frequently interspersed yodeling sounds, a sudden change between chest and head voice. During the instrumental interludes, the musicians often dance, side by side. These songs with instrumental accompaniment represent the favorite musical repertoire of the Manobo.

In rare cases, there are also combinations of a boat lute with a *kutet* (one-stringed violin) or *tumpung* (duct flute). An ensemble of four can consist of a lute, a jaw harp, a violin and a flute (Maceda 1980: 647). In former times, the Maranao favored an ensemble called *kapanirong*, where young men joined forces in serenading an adored young lady. This ensemble consisted of a boat lute *(kutiyapi)*, a bamboo ring flute *(insi)*, a bamboo slit drum *(kubing)*, a two-stringed bamboo tube zither or drum zither *(sirongaganding)* and a brass bowl *(tintik)* (Saber 1980: 111).

String Instruments in the Philippines[1]

Obviously, Filipinos are born singers, or better: they are born into singing societies. It is therefore not surprising to state that, even in the traditional music of the Philippines, the most important musical

1 The present chapter summarizes information from three sources (Romualdez 1932/1953; Maceda et al. 1980; Maceda 1998), as well as data collected by this author. For reasons of better readability, to avoid a high number of references, individual references are omitted here.

genres can be found in the field of vocal music: ceremonial songs, which connect the human with the spirit world, and epic songs, which, considered as orally transmitted historical knowledge, help to bridge the gap between the past, the present time and the future.

Less important for the survival of a cultural community are musical instruments, which, nevertheless, because of their association with social functions, are deeply rooted in traditional culture. The different inventories of musical instruments among the individual Philippine tribal groups show many striking similarities, and it is obvious that the similarities between neighboring peoples, e.g. in the northern part of the archipelago, in the Cordillera region of Luzon, or on the southern island of Mindanao, are more significant than those between ethnic groups living far away from each other. There are also types of instrumental ensembles, which are typical for particular regions or ethnic groups, e.g. the *kulintang* gong ensembles of the south, the flat gong ensembles of the north, or combinations of a drum with a gong or a boat lute with a bamboo zither.

The simplest string instrument in the Philippines is the **musical bow** (Ilonggot *gulimed*; Negrito *gitaha*, *bayi)*. Among the Agta and Dumagat Negrito of eastern Luzon, it is made from the vein of a palm leaf, both ends of which are connected by two strings made from a thin vine plant. For amplifying the resonance of the string sounds with his pharyngeal cavity, the player holds the body of the bow with his teeth. Sometimes, a tin can is used as an additional resonator, against which the body of the bow is pressed, and which is resting on the chest of the player, as another resonating body.

Bamboo tube zithers constitute an important class of chordophones in the Philippines, because their two main types can be found in northern Luzon as well as on Palawan and Mindanao.

The idiochord bamboo **tube zither with suspended platform** (Kalinga *dungadung;* Isneg *pasing;* Negrito *tabengbeng;* Maranao *serongagandi;* Hanunoo *kudlung;* Banuwaon, Talaandig *takumbê;* Mandaya *takumbo;* Subanen *tabobok;* Tagakaulu *katimbok)* has two parallel strings, between which, in their middle, a trapezoid bridge or platform is clamped. The strings are plucked with the left hand and the suspended platform is hit with a stick by the right hand to produce deep-pitched, gong-like sounds (Plate 4). The zither of the Maranao, in some cases, **heterochord with tuning pegs**, shows a half-open internode at one end, which is beaten to produce a sound that contrasts with the sound of strings and platform.

The **polychordal bamboo tube zithers** of traditional construction are **idiochord**, i.e. the strings are carved out from the bamboo surface. They are elevated and stretched by means of small bamboo or wooden bridges (Kalinga *kolitong*, *kulibit;* Ilonggot *kolesing;* Isneg *kuritao*, *uritang;* Bagobo Tagabawa *tugo;* Tëduray *togo;* Blaan *sluday, sloray;* Tboli *sludoy;* Mansaka *takol;* Mangguangan *tangko;* formerly also found among the Bukidnon *tangkel)*. There is usually a slit cut into the zithers that reaches from one end of the bamboo tube to the other and that is pointing towards the performing woman, while she is playing. The zithers have 5-11 strings, which are arranged on both sides of the slit and plucked with the fingers of both hands (two thumbs plus two or three of the neighboring fingers). Both ends of the zithers are braided with rings of rattan that are meant to protect the strings from breaking off from the bamboo surface. In some tribal cultures, bamboo zithers also carry symbolic and ritual meaning. Among the Agusan Manobo, both ends of the zither *(tangku, tangko, tangkew)* are carved into a crown-like shape, with triangular protrusions representing the wide open jaws of a crocodile (Plate 7 and 8).[1] Among the Tëduray and Blaan, the same zither can be played by two women: the first one, holding one end of the tube, plays a melody on three strings, while the second woman, holding the other end, is playing a drone on another two

1 The photograph shows an idiochord bamboo tube zither of the Agusan Manobo. It was collected by the author in 1985/86. At both ends, the bamboo tube is closed by its nodes. The protruding parts beyond the nodes are carved into crown-like shapes with five points representing the open mouth of a crocodile. A resonating slit is cut into the zither that reaches from one node to the other. The six strings of the instrument, carved out from the bamboo surface, had originally been elevated by little sticks of bamboo, at both ends. These little bridges are now all lost. The resonating slit is pointing towards the player, and three strings are located on the left and right sides of the resonating slit, respectively. Another broken bamboo string has been completely removed. Regarding the use of the instrument, cf. the chapter "Symbolism – Crocodile, Lizard and other Reptiles – Agusan Manobo."

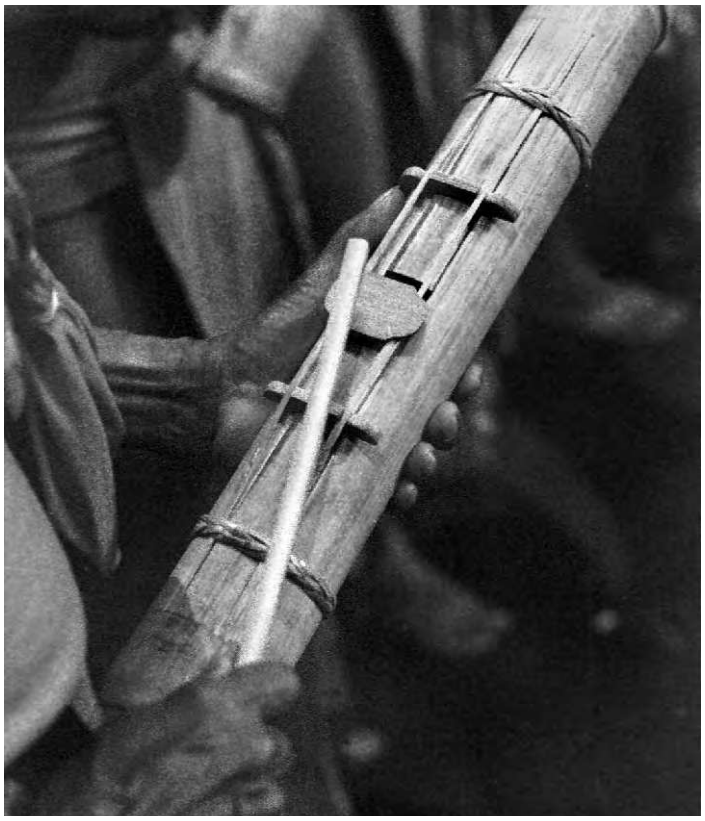

Plate 4:
Two-stringed bamboo tube zither with hanging platform *dungadung* of the Kalinga. Abra and Kalinga-Apayao, northern Luzon. Akademie der Künste Berlin, June 5, 1988.

strings. The oldest photograph of polychordal bamboo tube zithers used by the Bagobo Tagabawa of Mindanao, named *tugo*, was made by the American photojournalist Jessie Tarbox Beals in the year 1904 (Plate 6). The closely related zithers of the northern Philippines, e.g. the *kolitong* of the Kalinga (Plate 5) show almost the same construction features.

Among several ethnic groups, however, bamboo zithers are heterochord, with strings made from steel wire (Ata, Tigwa, Matigsalug Manobo *salurey*; Pala'wan *pagang*; cf. Plate 10 and 11). In some cases, tube zithers with tuning pegs can also be found, e.g. among the Pala'wan (Plate 9). From a chronological point of view, we can assume that idiochord bamboo zithers in the Philippines (Plate 5) developed into heterochord instruments with steel strings and, finally, into instruments using tuning pegs. A similar change might have happened to the boat lutes of the mentioned Manobo groups, which, in former times, used wooden strings made from the roots of a forest vine. The sound aesthetics of the past, therefore, seem to have been based on wooden sounds instead of on the metal sounds of today.

Among some ethnic groups of southern and central Mindanao (Ata, Matigsalug, Obo Manobo, among others), heterochord bamboo tube zithers called *salurey* are traditionally often played in combination with a boat lute *kuglung*. For this reason, we will take a closer look at one of these instruments (Plate 10). In 1997, at the time of its documentation, it was owned by Gina Manyawron, a musician, singer and dancer of the Ata Manobo from Marilog District, Davao City. The instrument is made from a section of thick bamboo tube, with internodes left at both ends. The upper end is decorated with strips of red cloth and golden plastic foil. At the lower end, a round wooden disc is made fit into the opening of the tube (Plate 11). The instrument has a resonating slit and 5 strings, with 3 strings on the right side of the slit and 2 strings on the left side. The slit is very narrow and ends at a distance of some centimeters from each of the internodes. Guitar steel strings are used, with their ends wound around nails that are hammered into the bamboo tube (Plate 11). At one end, the nails pierce the bamboo tube, with their points sticking in the wooden disc and thus keeping it in place. At both of their ends, the strings run over very roughly made wooden bridges. Between the bridges and the corresponding fastening nails, all the strings are pressed down together by a ring of iron wire.

Plate 5:
Benny Sokkong plays the polychordal bamboo tube zither *kolitong* of the Kalinga, Abra and Kalinga-Apayao, northern Luzon. Akademie der Künste Berlin, June 5, 1988.

Where the tension of the strings is not sufficient to achieve the desired pitch, additional small pieces of wood are inserted between the iron ring and the respective fastening nails, thus raising the pitch.

Traditionally, the heterochord bamboo zither *pagang* of the Pala'wan, with steel strings and tuning pegs, is often played as part of an ensemble as well, either with one or with two of the very big boat lutes *kusiyapì*. Plate 9 shows two views of an 8-string *pagang* from Samariñana, Brooke's Point, southern Palawan. It was documented in 2006 during a recording session of the author with *kusiyapì* player Masino Intaray, holder of the title "Gawad Manlilikha ng Bayan" ("National Living Treasure Award"), and it was played by his wife Salmuna Intaray. As it is common with bamboo zithers, this instrument is made from a piece of thick bamboo, projecting the internodes at both ends for some additional centimeters. The resonating slit is not cut into the bamboo, but results from splitting the internode at one end so that the tube gapes open, up to the internode at the other end. While playing the instrument, the slit is always pointing upwards. On its right side, there are 6 strings, while on its left side, there are only 2 strings. Both ends of these 8 steel strings are led, right beside the internodes, through small holes into the hollow tube. At the upper end of the tube, the strings are attached to small tuning pegs made out of bamboo. Just like with the Ata Manobo zither described above, the strings are elevated by means of small wooden bridges, which, in this case, are carefully carved into shape.

The Ifugao use different types of zithers, most of them with three strings (but all called *tadcheng, taddeng),* idiochord **half-tube zithers** out of bamboo or **heterochord board or box zithers** with metal strings, which are gently beaten to imitate gong sounds. The related instruments of the Ibaloi *(kaltsang)* have four metal strings, which are plucked (Plates 12-A and 12-B).

Plate 6: Two Bagobo women pose with their idiochord bamboo tube zithers *tugo (togo, tagong, tawgau)*. Photograph made by Jessie Tarbox Beals during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904.

The Ilonggot have a **three-stringed violin** (called *kulibao*, *gisada* or *litlit),* which is characterized by a more or less rectangular resonating body, a pegbox with three bilateral tuning pegs and a bridge, modeled on a European violin bridge (Plate 13). The three-stringed violin *(gitgit)* of the Hanunoo Mangyan on the island of Mindoro is a bit smaller and has a guitar-shaped resonating body and tuning pegs mounted from below (Plate 15). Both violins – similar to boat lutes – are carved out of one single piece of wood. The three-stringed violin of the Negritos on northern Luzon, on the other hand, has a body made from a bamboo tube, the hard outer skin of which has been scraped off. Its neck is tied to the tube by means of a cord. The strings consist of *abaca* hemp fibers *[Musa textilis]* (Plate 14).

The **one-stringed spike fiddle** (Mandaya and Cotabato-Manobo *duwagey;* Tboli *dwegey;* Agusan-Manobo *kogut;* Bukidnon *dayuray, dayuday;* Subanen *kotet;* Blaan *diwagay)* can be found in two main variants. The first type shows half a coconut shell as its resonating body, pierced by a bamboo stick, the protruding part of which is inserted into the actual neck, a long and thin bamboo tube (Plate 16). The second type has a resonating body made from a three-quarter coconut shell or cala-

Plate 8:
Detail of the lower end of an idiochord full tube zither *tangku (tangko, angkew)* of the Agusan Manobo. The two fivefold serrated ends of the bamboo tube represent the wide open mouth of a crocodile.

Plate 7:
Idiochord full tube zither *tangku (tangko, tangkew)* of the Agusan-Manobo. Brandeis Collection, 1985/86.

Plate 9: Two views of an eight-stringed heterochord full tube zither *pagang* of the Pala'wan. With tuning pegs. Sitio Cabangaan, Barangay Samariñana, Brooke's Point, Southern Palawan (2006).

Plate 10: Heterochord full tube zither *salurey* of the Ata-Manobo owned by Gina Manyawron. Marilog District, Davao City, 1997.

Plate 11:
Detail of the lower end of a heterochord full tube zither *salurey* of the Ata Manobo.

Plate 12:
Above: Box zither *tadcheng* of the Ifugao. Ifugao Province, northern Luzon. Brandeis Collection. (Item number: MI86-189). *Below:* Board zither *kaltsang* of the Ibaloi. Benguet and Nueva Vizcaya, northern Luzon. Brandeis Collection. (Item number: MI97-019).

bash, directly pierced through by the bamboo neck. Sometimes a tin can is used as a substitute for the resonating body.

The Philippine **boat lutes**, their construction and distribution among at least 36 different ethnic groups have already been discussed in detail in the present work.

This is a short review of the traditional string instruments of the Philippines. Additional to these, some of the traditional ethnic groups of the Philippines have adopted **musical instruments of European origin**. Adaptations of **violins**, for example, are played by the Tausug *(biola)* and Kalinga *(biyolin)*.

Modeled on Spanish **guitars** are the instruments of the Negrito *(gitara*, 5 strings) of northern Luzon, the Tagakaulu *(kitara*; 4 strings, 2 or 4 frets) and the Blaan *(kintra*, *gitara*; 4 strings, 2 frets) of southern Mindanao. The body of a Blaan *kintra* (Plate 22) documented by the author is very small. Its four strings are attached to a stringholder made from the sheet metal of a tin can, similar to the stringholders found on some jazz guitars, ran over a wooden bridge with lateral feet (Plate 23) and were tied around tuning pegs mounted from below into a flat peghead, which was slightly tilted back (Plate 24). Another documented instrument of this type, a *gitara* of the Tagakaulu (Plate 17) shows a very similar construction with only slight differences: four instead of two frets (Plate 18) and a bridge without feet (Plate 21). The four friction pegs correspond to those of a Spanish guitar (Plates 18 and 19). Soundboard and back are mounted with a large number of iron nails (Plate 20).

Concerning the *kintra* of the Blaan, a peculiar playing technique can be observed, which the Blaan also make use of with their boat lutes: while the guitarist plucks the strings in the usual manner, a second person kneels in front of him or her, beating some rhythm on the vibrating strings of the *kintra* with one or two thin bamboo sticks, thus dampening the vibrations and producing additional rhythmic accents. This manner of playing has been observed by the author with the guitars *kintra* of the Blaan and *kitara* of the Tagakaulu (cf. Jager 1977: 43), just as with the boat lute *hagelung* of the Tboli (Plates 04DVD_Tboli_001 and 04DVD_Tboli_002). It has to be stated here that the Blaan

Plate 13: Three-stringed *kulibao, gisada* or *litlit* of the Ilongot. Nueva Vizcaya, northern Luzon. Brandeis Collection. (Item number: MI97-020).

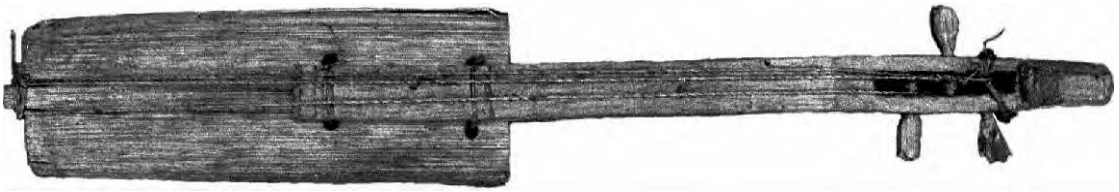

Plate 14: Three-stringed bowed lute of the Negrito. Probably from Zambales, Luzon. Baguio Museum Collection. (Item number: AC15).

Plate 15: Three-stringed *gitgit* of the Hanunoo Mangyan. Southern Oriental Mindoro. Quezon City, Feb. 22, 1994. (Photograph: Ekkehart Royl).

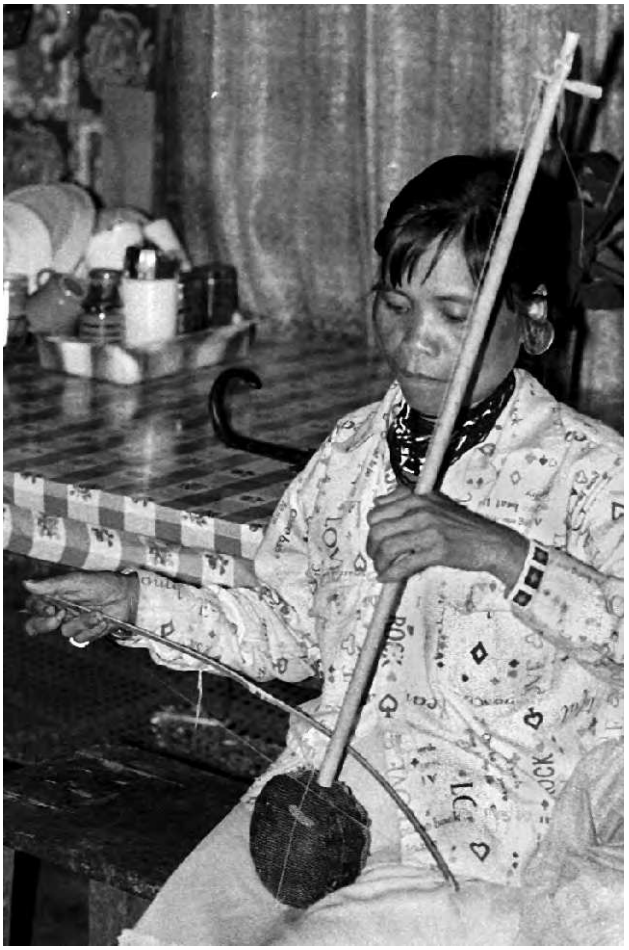

Plate 16: Rufina Pinasahil plays on a one-stringed spike fiddle *dayuday* of the Higaonon. Claveria, Misamis Oriental, Mindanao, Febr. 21, 1984.

and Tagakaulu have both, guitar adaptations as well as traditional boat lutes. It is, therefore, not the case that the traditional boat lutes have simply been replaced by the imported guitar; in any case, elements from the traditional performance practice of boat lute music have been adopted into a newly established guitar tradition.

Considerably smaller than the above mentioned guitars are ***ukelele*-like guitars and bowl lutes**, which can be found in parts of the Visayan islands, still nowadays. In some of these lutes, significant design features of the small *kudyapi* of pre-Spanish times might have survived, and we will, therefore, take a closer look at these instruments. We can roughly classify them into two groups: first, there are those lutes, modeled on the Spanish guitar, although smaller, with a wooden resonating body in the shape of an "8" using parallel soundboards for top and bottom. The second type, however, developed from an older Philippine lute type, with a body made from half a coconut shell or calabash, on which a wooden soundboard has been attached. With the goal of creating the illusion of a guitar shape, this soundboard is often cut into the shape of an "8", where the coconut resonator is

Plate 17: Four-stringed plucked lute *gitara* of the Blaan. Mindanao, Philippines. February 10, 2011.

Plate 18:
Gitara of the Blaan, peghead, upper side.

Plate 19:
Gitara of the Blaan, peghead, bottom side

Plate 20: Part of the soundboard, fixed with nails.

Plate 21: Bridge and stringholder made of sheet metal.

Plate 22: Four-stringed guitar *kintra* or *gitara* of the Koronadal Blaan. Upper Lasang, Sarangani Province, Philippines. November 1997.

Plate 23:
Body of a four-stringed guitar *kintra* or *gitara* of the Koronadal Blaan.

Plate 24:
Head of a four-stringed guitar *kintra* or *gitara* of the Koronadal Blaan.

only placed below the bigger portion of the "8", while the smaller part of the "8" projects without any underlying resonator, being merely a dummy.

Six of these small lute instruments, all from the 19th century and all stored at the *Museo Nacional de Antropología Sede Alfonso XII (Antiguo Museo Nal. de Etnología)* in Madrid, with inventory numbers 2784, 2776, 2775, 3959, 2054 and 2781, will be presented here, as paradigmatic samples. The first two are necked box lutes and can rightfully be called very small guitars, the remaining four are necked bowl lutes. In the museum catalogue (Ibáñez 1999), they are merely referred to as *guitarra*, which does not make clear if the same term was originally also used in the Philippines or if a Spanish word is used here as a generic term for this type of string instrument.

Their overall lengths amount to 550 / 800 / 583 / 478 / 538 / 523 mm, the lengths of their vibrating string portions (scale lengths) amount to 377 / 600 / 388 / 342 / 393 / 335 mm. If we compare these measurements with those of boat lutes, it is obvious that these string instruments are considerably smaller than the smallest boat lutes documented by this author (except for children's toy instruments, of course): Mansaka 860 mm, Pala'wan 871 mm. Furthermore, these differences in size make clear that small lutes like these cannot just simply have replaced boat lutes, but rather point to the possibility that small lutes, maybe of a slightly different design, might have been used before the introduction of Spanish guitars (which, by the way, are also much bigger than the small lutes).

The first instrument (Plate 25) is a necked box lute from Paminuitan, Bohol, that can rightfully be called a very small guitar. The whole instrument (length 550 mm) is carved out of one single piece of wood, and its shape shows the outline of an unusually narrow guitar (width of the soundboard / upper portion, waisted middle, lower portion: 43-32-70 mm; maximum height of the resonating body: 52 mm). On the soundboard, there is a sound hole in the shape of a half moon and a high wooden bridge standing on two feet. Around the neck, one single fret out of some plant fiber is tied. The six strings are attached to rear tuning pegs of differing shapes (Ibáñez 1999: 137, No. 251).

The second instrument (Plate 26) is a small four-stringed guitar of the Tagalog of Central Luzon. It is a bit longer (800 mm) than the one just described and wider too (width of the soundboard: 125-85-150 mm). Resonating body and neck, up to the peghead, are again carved from a single piece of wood. The resonating body is 68 mm high in its middle, on its back slightly arched. On the soundboard, there is a sound hole of 26 mm diameter and a bridge in the shape of a cross-bar. Around the neck, a single fret of knotted plant fibers is tied and traces of another three lost frets can be seen (ibid.: 136, No. 248).

The following four instruments all belong to the necked bowl lutes. Lutes 3, 4 and 6 have resonators made from half a coconut shell, lute 5 from half a calabash. In all cases, the neck, from the peghead to the end block at the neck-base, is made from a single piece of wood.

The third instrument (Plate 27), collected in Calbayag, Samar, is 583 mm long, its coconut resonator 75 mm deep. The wooden soundboard is cut into the shape of a guitar (width of the soundboard: 110-95-153 mm), with no resonator under the upper portion of the "8". The strings run over a bridge with two feet resting loosely on the soundboard. Three frets are inlaid onto the fingerboard. In the flat peghead, which is slightly tilted back, four rear tuning pegs are inserted (ibid.: 140, No. 257).

The fourth instrument (Plates 28 and B, showing front and back), with a coconut resonator, comes from Iloilo, Panay. Fingerboard and soundboard are cut out of one wooden board of 2.5 mm thickness, which seems to be glued to neck and resonator. On the fingerboard, starting from the nut, there are three metal frets, followed by traces of three lost wooden frets. Four strings consisting of plant fibers are held by rear tuning pegs of differing designs (ibid.: 141, No. 258).

The last two lutes of this type described here are of special significance, as they come from an area of northern Luzon close to the settlement area of the mountain tribes. The fifth instrument (Plates 30), from Municipality of Bangued in Abra, has a resonator made from half a calabash. The wooden soundboard, about 1.5 mm thick, shows a small round sound hole. The bridge is designed in cross-bar style. One complete fret as well as remnants of additional frets can be seen on the neck. The

Plate 25: Six-stringed guitar. Paminuitan, Bohol, Philippines. 19th century (Foto: Elena Martín, in: Ibáñez 1999: 137, No. 251).

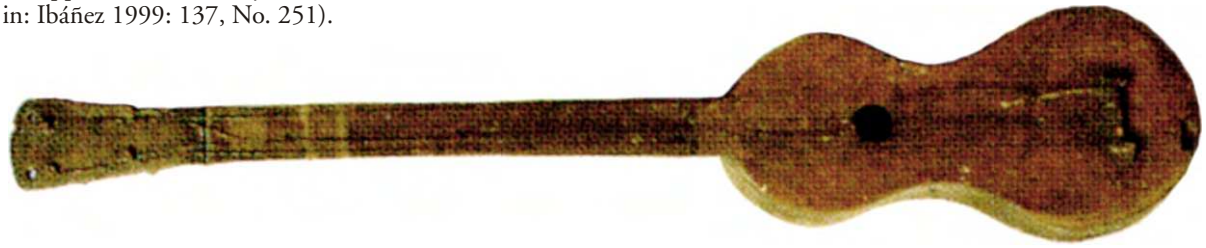

Plate 26: Four-stringed guitar of the Tagalog in Central Luzon, Philippines. 19th century (Photo: Elena Martín, in: Ibáñez 1999: 136, No. 248).

Plate 27:
Four-stringed lute with coconut resonator. Calbayag, Samar, Philippines. 19th century (Photo: Miguel Ángel Otero, in: Ibáñez 1999: 140, No. 257).

Plate 28 (above) and 29 (below):
Four-stringed, originally six-stringed lute with coconut resonator, front and back side. Iloilo, Panay, Philippines. 19th century (Photos: Elena Martín, in: Ibáñez 1999: 141, No. 258).

peghead is flat and slightly tilted back. Merely one of five wooden tuning pegs has been preserved. Strings and frets were made from twisted plant fibers (ibid.: 139, No. 255).

The sixth instrument (Plate 31) was collected in the Mountain Province of Luzon. The reference "Visaya" in the catalogue might point to the possibility that this instrument was eventually imported by immigrants from the Visayan islands of the central Philippines. Soundboard and fingerboard are carved out of a single piece of wood of 2.5 mm thickness. The soundboard, with a bridge in cross-bar style, is cut in the shape of a guitar, the front part of which protrudes beyond the coconut resonator. There are traces of three inlaid wooden frets on the neck. The peghead with its V-shape is eye-catching. There are four tuning pegs left as well as remnants of three strings made from plant fibers (ibid.: 141, No. 259).

In 1932, Norberto Romualdez described a small lute from the Visayan islands, which belongs to the same line of development as the above mentioned instruments. It also has four strings and half a coconut shell as a resonator: "There is in some regions of the Bisayan islands a guitar called *buktot*, a word in the Filipino dialect generally meaning a hump-backed person, to which the instrument resembles in its resonator which is usually a coconut shell and sometimes a gourd" (1953: 84f). The instrument has a tilted-back and rounded peghead with lateral tuning pegs, which is obviously inspired by a European violin. The unclear illustration presented by Romualdez shows at least 6 frets, which seem to be tied around the neck (cf. Plate 32).

Today, more modern versions of these small lutes, most of them manufactured in Cebu, are offered for sale in many souvenir shops in the Philippines, likewise with four strings and with a coconut shell resonator (Anonymous 1975: item 162). In many cases, their asymmetrical head shapes, modern machine heads for tuning and a fingerboard with metal frets and round inlays clearly remind of electric guitars of the American brand *Fender* (cf. Plate 33; cf. also Grumbt 1975: Item 162). They also have, as it is common with guitars, big round resonating holes in the center of their soundboards.

Summary: In the Spanish dictionaries of Philippine languages and other sources compiled or published between the 16th and 19th centuries, definitions of indigenous terms for traditional Philippine musical instruments are usually based on comparisons with instruments, which were widespread in Europe, at that time. The purpose why we are dealing with Philippine string instruments here lies in finding out which of these instruments might be suitable for such a comparison.

Musical bows are clearly limited to the Negrito groups of Luzon. In their shapes, they remind so much of hunting bows that such a comparison certainly would have been made in the Spanish sources, if such an instrument was actually referred to. This, however, is not the case so that musical bows have no significance for our discussion.

Although the design of a polychordal plucked tube zither shows no similarity with a harp, its manner of playing might appear similar: the instrument is held in front of the player's chest, and its strings are plucked using the bare fingers, while the hands are positioned on both sides of the instrument. It is also remarkable that the traditional bamboo tube zither is exclusively played by women, and it seems to be women who preferably play the harp so that the harp might have somehow replaced the bamboo tube zither. Therefore, if a Philippine musical instrument is compared to a European harp, this might refer to a tube zither, not a lute.

The bamboo tube zither with hanging platform is usually beaten with a stick, for which reason a non-expert might easily compare it with some kind of drum. Therefore, if an instrument is described as a *tambor de caña* (Bergaño 1860: 176), like in Pampanga, this comparison, at least in some cases, might refer to a beaten bamboo tube zither.

The Philippine half-tube, board and box zithers are only used within a relatively small area in northern Luzon and, therefore, not of interest for the present study.

Of special significance, for our purpose, are all strummed, plucked or bowed lute instruments, for the most frequent comparisons of the traditional Philippine *kudyapi* to be found in the literature are those with lute instruments of 17th to 19th-centuries Spain, which are, on the surface, played in a similar way. The question to be answered here, first of all, is what was the actual shape and design of

Plate 30:
Side view and front view of a five-stringed lute with calabash resonator. Bangued, Abra, northern Luzon, Philippinen. 19th century (Photo: Miguel Ángel Otero, in: Ibáñez 1999: 139, No. 255).

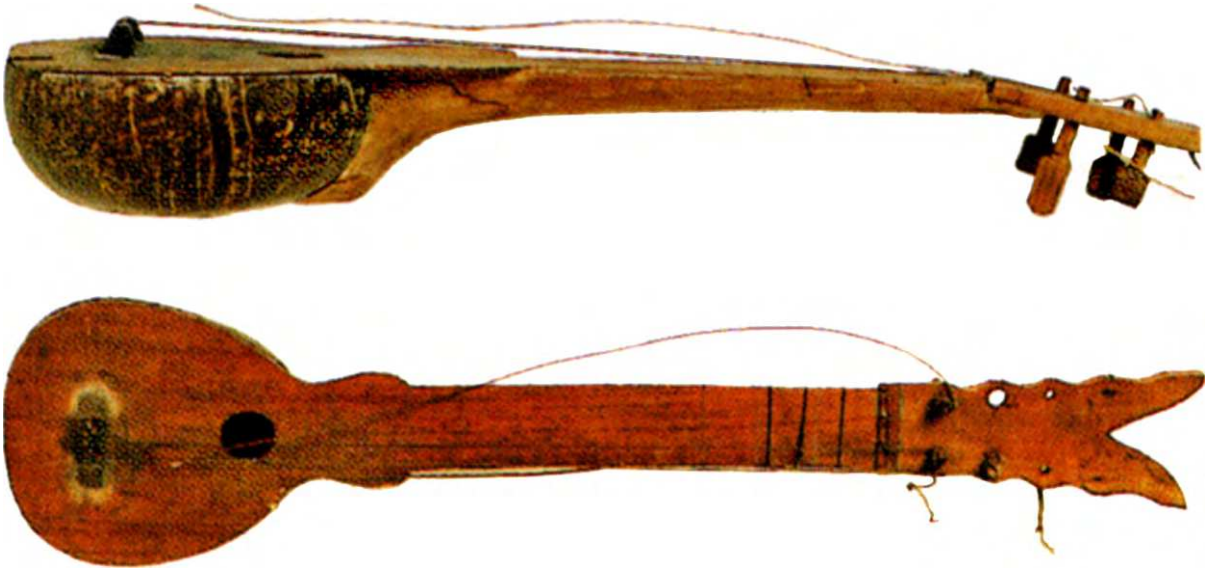

Plate 31:
Side view and front view of a four-stringed lute with coconut resonator. Mountain Province, northern Luzon, Philippines. 19th century (Photo: Miguel Ángel Otero, in: Ibáñez 1999: 141, No. 259).

Plate 32 (right):
Lute *buktot* from the Visayas region, four-stringed, with coconut as resonator (Romualdez 1932/1953: 84f).

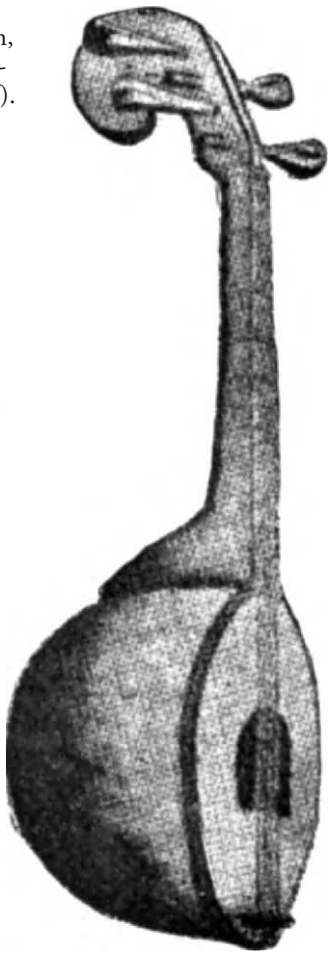

Plate 33 (below):
Modern small lute, called *ukelele (yúki)*, probably from the Visayas region, four-stringed, with coconut as resonator.

those instruments called *kudyapi*, i.e. i.e. whether the comparisons actually refer to boat lutes, to the described one- and three-stringed fiddles, or to lutes of other designs.

Spanish String Instruments

Jean Mallat, in his book *Les Philippines*, summarizes which Spanish string instruments were used in the Philippines in the middle of the 19th century:

> "Scarcely had the Spaniards conquered that archipelago than its inhabitants tried to imitate the musical instruments of Europe, and the *viguela*, a kind of guitar having a very great number of strings, but which is not always the same, soon became their favorite instrument. They manufactured it with a remarkable perfection. And besides, they themselves made the strings.
>
> The *bandolon* is another guitar, but smaller; having twenty-four metallic strings joined by fours. They are very skilful in playing that instrument, and they make use either of one of their finger nails, which they allow to grow to a very great length, or of a little bit of wood. We do not know from what nation they have borrowed that instrument, which we have never seen in Spain.
>
> The music of the villages ... is generally composed of violins, of ebony flutes, or, even of bamboo in the remote provinces, and of a *bajo de viguela*, a large guitar of the size of a violoncello, which is played with a horn or ebony finger expressly made [for that purpose]" (1846: 273).

Nowadays, the guitar in all its shapes is the most popular string instrument in the Philippines, and we therefore tend to believe that it was exclusively the Spanish guitar that, during colonial times, might have superseded the boat lutes or any other traditional lute instruments in the northern and central Philippines. However, in the *Vocabularios* and *Diccionarios* of the Spanish friars, for the definition of the terms *kudyapi*, *kuryapi* etc., it is not only the Spanish guitar, but also other string instruments from the Spanish cultural area, which are referred to, for comparison:

Lutes, plucked or strummed:

guitarra	Cebu, Samar and Leyte, Bikol, Tagalog area (3 references), Ilocos
vihuela, viguela (bigüela)	Bikol, Tagalog area (2 references)

Lutes, bowed:

rabel	Tagalog area (2 references), Ilocos
cítara	Samar and Leyte
lira	Tagalog area (2 references)
viola (vielle)	Cebu, Tagalog area
violon (ouiolon, biolon)	Tagalog area (2 references), Ilocos

Harp, plucked:

harpa (arpa)	Pampanga

Aside from these comparisons, there is hardly any further information on the *kudyapi* given in the dictionaries. Therefore, by studying the design of string instruments in Spain during the colonial times, we should try to understand which similarities the missionaries, at that time, believed to see and to gain some information on the possible design of formerly existing Philippine boat lutes. At the same time, we have to be aware of the fact that the development of string instruments in Spain has to be seen in connection with the rest of Europe as well as the Middle East. Their correspondingly very complex and diverse lines of development can only described here in a very simplified way. The following descriptions, therefore, shall only help to understand which instruments might have been referred to in the Philippine dictionaries.

The term **guitar,** derived from the Spanish word *guitarra*, is frequently used to refer to all kinds of string instruments, which are merely plucked or strummed in a similar way as guitars but show a design that has nothing to do with Spanish guitars. In the stricter sense, the term is used for a string instrument with a body composed of several wooden boards and an attached neck. Its resonator has flat parallel top and bottom, with side walls at right angles to them. The resonator is incurving or waisted in the middle so that its outline, seen from above, reminds of an "8." Typically, the Spanish guitar has a big round sound hole in the middle of the body top, a tilted-back peghead with six tuning pegs inserted from below, six individual strings as well as frets.

The early history of the guitar is, to a great extent, unknown. Egyptian, Hittite and Greek-Roman origins have been assumed. At least, there is evidence that the instrument, in its present basic design, already existed in 13th century Spain and, in the 16th century, spread all over Southern, Western and Central Europe. The shape of the guitar changed, in the course of time. However, the early variants had all four courses of string pairs, until the first five-course guitars appeared, in the middle of the 16th century. It is unknown when the first guitars with the modern stringing of six individual strings were developed. Regarding Germany, it is at least proven that six-string guitars were known starting from around the year 1800 (Sachs 1913: 168, b, 169, a).

While, in 16th and 17th centuries Spain, the guitar with four courses of string pairs was popular in folk music, the **vihuela** (derived from *viola)* was mainly used in art music. As a basically Spanish national development, the *vihuela* is a cross between a guitar (with a guitar-like waisted body shape and straight body sides) and a lute (with an arched bottom of the body and six courses of string pairs) (ibid.: 409, b, 410, a; cf. Plate 38). There are three variants of the historical *vihuela*: *vihuela de mano*, plucked with the bare fingers; *vihuela de pendola*, played with a plectrum (quill); *vihuela de arco*, played with a bow (Krumscheid 1957: 490; Wikipedia 2008b).

The term **rabel** or *raben* stands for *rebec* in old Spanish (Sachs 1913: 313, b). In Portuguese, *rebeca* means "violin" (Sachs 1913: 318, b). According to Sachs, *rebec* (cf. Plate 34) is

> "... the name, indirectly derived from arab. rebâb and used in a number of variants in Western Europe, of a small, often three-stringed instrument, the wooden bellied body of which reaches, constantly tapering off, up to the headstock ... It seems that, in the 14th century, the old lyra type merged with the elegant design of the rebâb. The pegbox is tilted back; here and there, the stringholder is replaced by a cross-bar, and, very often, the top [of the resonating body] is subdivided by a step, by which the portion after the pegbox is heightened ... yes, often, a small rosette is cut through the upper part. With this design, the rebec survived until the 18th century, known as the P o l i s h v i o l i n and built in three different sizes" (ibid.: 318, a-b).[1]

In cases where a Philippine string instrument is compared with a Spanish *rabel*, such a comparison does not provide a clue to the actual design, shape and construction of this instrument. Those *rabeles* that can be found in Spanish museums nowadays were usually not made in the 17th century, but rather in the second half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the wide range of significantly differing designs that are all associated with the term *rabel*. Five of these instruments will be described here as examples, showing 1, 2 (twice), 3 and 4 strings. The overall lengths of these *rabeles* amount to 478 / 520[2] / 530 / 520 / 530 mm, the lengths of their vibrating open strings to 342 / 280 /

1 Translated by the author. Original German text: ".....der mittelbar aus arab. rebâb entstandene, vom 13.-18. Jh. in verschiedenen Formen in Westeuropa vorkommende Name eines kleinen, meist dreisaitigen Streichinstruments, dessen bauchiges Holzkorpus in stete Verengerung bis zur Wirbelplatte reicht ... wie es scheint im 14. Jh. [hat] eine Verschmelzung des alten Lyratypus mit der eleganten Form des Rebâb stattgefunden. Der Wirbelkasten wird nach hinten geknickt, hier und da ersetzt den Saitenhalter ein Querriegel und sehr häufig teilt sich die Decke, indem ihr nach dem Wirbelkasten zu liegender Teil um eine Stufe erhöht wird ... ja, oft durchbricht eine kleine Rose das Oberteil. In dieser Form hielt sich das als P o l n i s c h e G e i g e in drei Größen gebaute Rebec bis ins 18. Jh." (Sachs 1913: 318, a-b).

2 In the original source, the length is stated as "32" (cm), obviously a typographical error. As the instrument on the associated photograph is just a bit shorter than the bow ("61" cm), the correct length meant here should probably be "52" (cm).

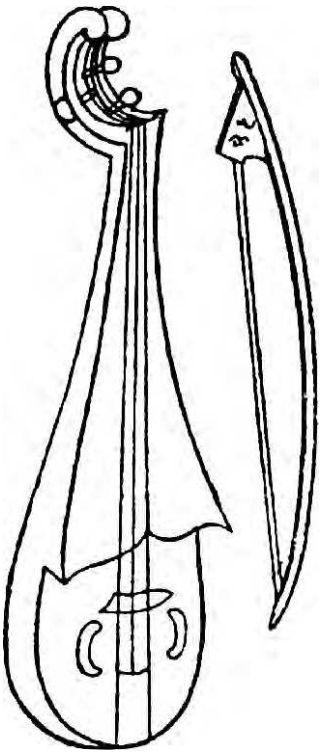

Plate 34: Rebec. After Kastner, "Les Danses des Morts" (Sachs 1913: 318, B).

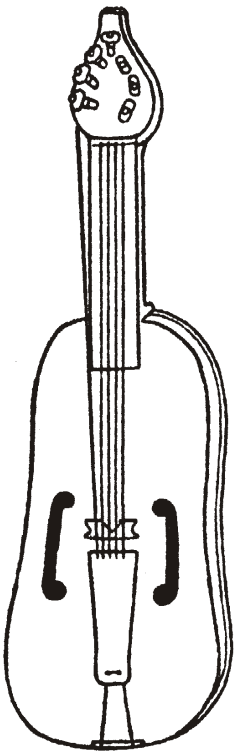

Plate 35: Fiddle. Around 1490. School of Verrocchio. Leningrad. (Sachs 1930: 179, illus. 54).

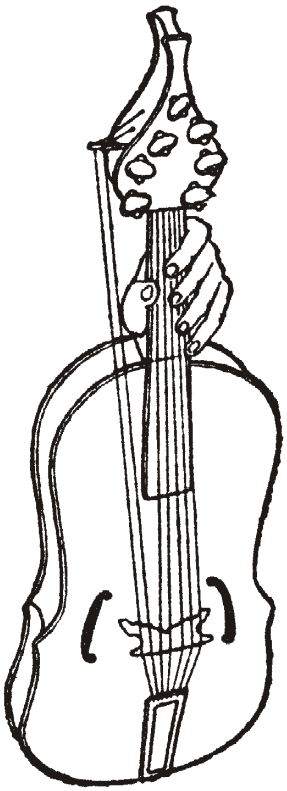

Plate 36:
Lira da braccio. Carpaccio, 1510 (Sachs 1930: 181, illus. 55).

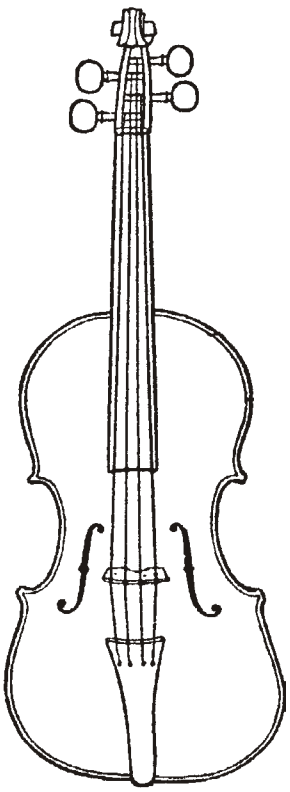

Plate 37:
Modern violin (Sachs 1930: 198, illus. 68).

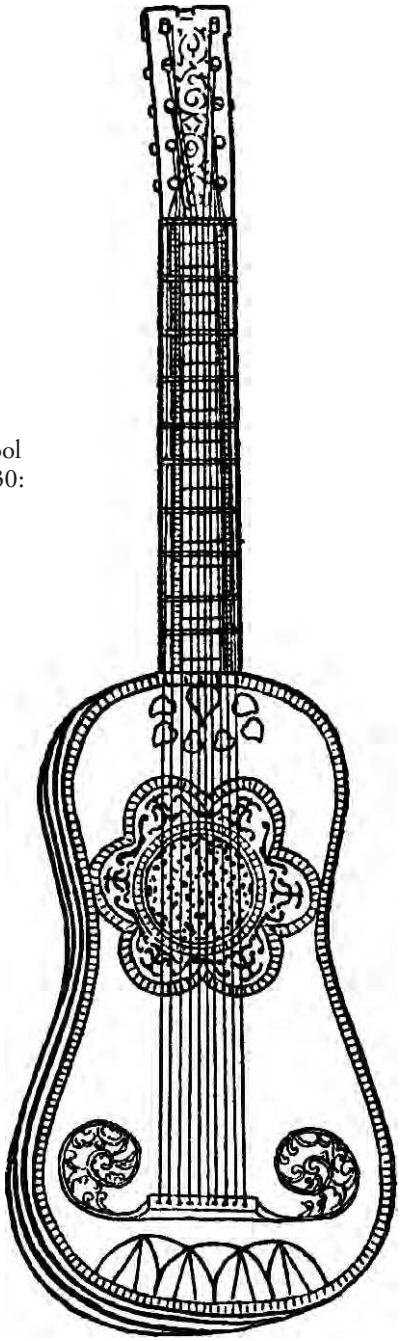

Plate 38: Spanish guitar, around 1700, similar to a *vihuela* (Sachs 1930: 231, illus. 90).

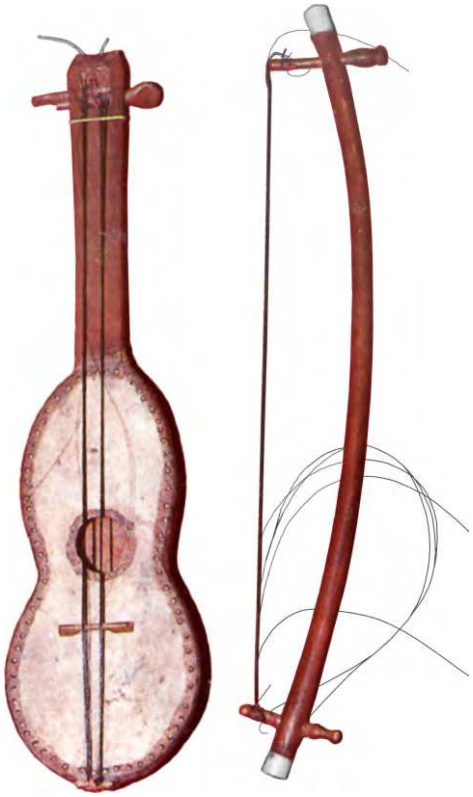

Plate 44: Spanish *rabel.* Aguilar de Campoo, Palencia, Spain. Second half of the 19th century (Ibáñez 2001: 154, no. 258).

Plate 45: Spanish *rabel.* 19th-20th century, Cifuentes, Ruguilla, Guadalajara, Spain (Ibáñez 1999: 163, no. 307).

Plates 44-48:

Different varieties of the traditional violin rabel. Spain. 19th-20th century.

(Photos: Miguel Ángel Otero, in: Ibáñez 1999 and 2001.)

Plate 46: Spanish *rabel.* Vega de Pas, Cantabria, Spain. Acquired in 1935 (Ibáñez 1999: 166, no. 312).

Plate 47: Spanish *rabel.* Valle de Campoó, Cantabria, Spain. Acquired in 1935 (Ibáñez 1999: 165, no. 310).

Plate 48: Spanish *rabel.* Navalcán (Toledo), Spain. 19th-20th century (Ibáñez 1999: 163, no. 306).

380 / 365 mm / no information given. These measurements are very close to those of the small Philippine lute instruments with coconut resonators, which we described above.

The first *rabel* (Plate 44), with two strings, from the second half of the 19th century, was collected in Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia), Spain. It was carved out of one piece of cherrywood into the shape of a guitar. A soundboard made from calfskin is attached to the body with nails and has a circular sound hole in its center. The two strings out of black hair run over a semicircular wooden bridge and are tied to a piece of leather nailed to the lower end of the resonator. The headstock is carved into the shape of an animal head (Ibáñez 2001: 154, no. 258).

A second *rabel* (Plate 45), four-stringed, was collected in the 19th or 20th century in the Spanish town of Cifuentes, Ruguilla (Guadalajara). The instrument represents an imitation of a violin, with an authentic violin neck and a headstock with four lateral tuning pegs. The resonating body has a top and back out of thick wood and side ribs out of cardboard (Ibáñez 1999: 163, No. 307).

A two-stringed *rabel* (Plate 46) from Vega de Pas (Cantabria), Spain, was acquired in 1935. The oval resonating body warps to a dish shape. Neck and headplate are carved from a single piece of hollowed-out wood. The opening of the resonator is covered with a piece of thin leather as its top, which shows a circular sound hole in its center. The two conical wooden tuning pegs are laterally inserted (ibid.: 166, No. 312).

A three-stringed *rabel* in guitar shape (Plate 47), from Valle de Campoó (Cantabria), was acquired in 1935 as well. It is made out a single hollowed-out piece of wood. The soundboard, out of the same kind of wood, shows a pattern of four small sound holes in its center. The flat and rectangular headplate is tilted back and has three guitar-style wooden tuning pegs inserted from below. The stringholder that also serves as a bridge is made of leather mounted with nails (ibid.: 165, No. 310).

The simplest *rabel* presented here (Plate 48) has only one string and a box-shaped resonating body. Made in the 19th or 20th century and purchased in 1935, it comes from Navalcán (Toledo). Body, neck and headstock are carved from a hollowed-out block of wood. The soundboard consists of metal sheet. The one and only tuning peg is mounted from below (ibid.: 163, No. 306).[1]

The original Latin term **cithara** is commonly used as a synonym for *"Cister, Guitarre"* or *"Kithara,"* the French **cithare** for "Kithara, Zither" and the English **cithern** for "Cister" (Sachs 1913: 84, a-b). The Spanish term **cítara**, however, is not, as has been presumed for a long time, equivalent to the *cister*, but is identical with the Italian *lirá*, at least around 1600. This instrument is a kind of *viguela de arco* with many strings, where three, four or even more strings are played simultaneously with a bow (Covarrubias 1611: I 288, after Sachs 1913: 84a).[2]

Lira is the generic term for a family of string instruments, which, regarding shape and construction, represent a connecting link between the **fiddle** and the **viola da braccio**, which developed into the **violin**, later on (Sachs 1913: 242, b): "The violin or better the da braccio family, regarding the basic features of its present design, originated around the turn to the 16th century, not as the result of a spontaneous invention, but in the course of a gradual separation from the Lira da bracchio and the late medieval fiddle ..." (ibid.: 413, a, b).[3] However, regarding comparisons with Philippine boat lutes, which today all have several frets, it is important to state that all these bowed instruments do not have frets, as a rule.

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1 The five *rabeles* are presently located at: [1] Museo de Artes y Tradiciones Populares. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid; inventary number: 3959. [2-5] Museo Nacional de Antropología. Antiguo Museo Nal. del Pueblo Español; inventary numbers: 4039, 5508, 4706, 3185 (Ibáñez 1999: 154, 163, 165f).

2 In his bibliography, Sachs does not list an author by the name of Cobarrubbias, with his work *Tesoro*. What is meant here is probably Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 1611.

3 Translated by the author. Original German text: "Die Violine oder besser da braccio-Familie ist in den Grundzügen ihrer heutigen Form um die Wende zum 16. Jh. entstanden, und zwar nicht durch eine spontane Erfindung, sondern durch eine allmähliche Trennung von der Lira da bracchio und spätmittelalterlichen Fidel..." (Sachs 1913.: 413, a, b).

Coming from the Middle East, the **fiddle** (in German *Fidel* or *Fiedel*) spread in Europe, starting around the 8th or 9th century. The fiddle is distinguished from the *rebec* by having a neck, which is clearly differentiated from the body, and a headstock with tuning pegs protruding from the top. Regarding its size, the shape of its body and the number of its strings, there are many variants (ibid.: 140, a). Frequently, fiddles have an almost oval body with slightly incurving side ribs (Plate 35).

The **lira**, which flourished in the 15th to 18th centuries, shows a flat resonating body with incurving sides that already comes close to the design of the later violin. Its drone strings, splayed away sidewards from the neck, make up the main difference to the fiddle. The *lira da braccio* (Plate 36) is played in a similar way as a violin, the bigger *lira da gamba* similar to a cello. The stringing varies between 5-13 strings for fingering, plus 2 drone strings. However, it is important to state here that the use of the *lira* was, first of all, restricted to the area of Italy (Winternitz 1960: 935); nevertheless, the term *lira* is used for comparisons in Spanish-Philippine dictionaries.

Plate 49: A women's quartet performing on harp, guitar, violin and concertina. Second half of the 19th century. (The concertina was invented in 1829.) (Lopez Memorial Museum; Manuel 1977: 1724, illus.).

In the **violin** (Plate 37), which has been the leading string instrument in Europe since the 18th century, the body has finally been given its typical waisted outline. The tuning pegs are now lateral and the number of strings has now been reduced to four strings, as a standard. With the violin, drone strings are not used anymore.

The term **violon** is listed by Sachs in his book *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* ["Encyclopedia of Musical Instruments"] in a wide range of composed words, of which *violoncello* today is probably the most commonly used term. According to Sachs, *violon* means *violine* in French and *viola da gamba* in older Spanish (1913: 415, a). The comparison of a boat lute with a *violin* or *viola da gamba* hardly appears appropriate, as the waisted outlines of these instruments do not show any similarity with those of boat lutes. For that reason, we can only assume that the use of the term *violin* in the dictionaries is merely meant to point to a string instrument in general.

The terms **arpa** in Italian, Spanish and Basque (Sachs 1913: 20, a) as well as **harpa** in Latin, Portugese, Swedish and Slovenian stand for "harp" (ibid.: 183, a). The medieval and Late Latin name for the harp, by the way, was *cithara* (Sachs 1930: 244). European harps – including harps that were imported to the Philippines or manufactured there (Plate 49) – show the approximate shape of an acute triangle: the lower part of the frame forms the resonating body, on the the part pointing upwards, the strings are attached to the tuners, and these both parts are connected by the so-called "front bar" (or "pillar"), to complete the triangle. This basic design has already been known in Europe since the 8th century (ibid.: 237).

Additionally, in Mexico, the term *harpa* designates a monochord with one string and a tuning peg, attached to a string-carrier made out of cane, which is notched with a resonating slit (Sachs 1913: 183, a), which seems to be some kind of musical bow or tube zither. This fact might have some significance in view of the trade relations between the Philippines and Spain, which were carried out

via Mexico ("Acapulco trade"). Musical bows are also used by the Negrito of northern Luzon; some interconnection with Mexico, however, appears to be most unlikely.

Summary: The Spanish string instruments described above represent such a variety of designs and names that it appears to be hardly possible or plausible to compare them with Philippine string instruments, which with names like *kudyapi*, *kuryapi* etc. might only represent one single type of instrument with regional variations. It also has to be stated that many of the Spanish string instruments described above have no frets, while the Philippine boat lutes are, in all cases, multi-fretted, at least nowadays.

Insel Mindoro

We will start our regional survey on the island of Mindoro, as the most northern area where boat lutes can be found in the Philippines, on the one hand, and as the region which lies closest to the settlement area of the Tagalog, on the other. On this relatively small island, one of the last regression areas of tradition-oriented tribal groups in the Philippines, a surprisingly high number of indigenous peoples are still living today, generally called Mangyan, among them the Alangan, Buhid, Hanunoo, Inonhan, Iraya, Ratagnon, Tadyawan, Eastern and Western Tawbuid (Gordon 2005), Batangan, Nauhan, Pula and Tagaydan (Lebar 1975: 73ff).

Spanish guitars were introduced to Mindoro in the second half of the 17th century. The Jesuit friar Francisco Colin reports in his work *Labor evangélica*, published in Madrid in 1663:

> "In Mindoro ... we saw the barbarous Manguianes assembling from places but little distant from each other, who did not understand one another. They were so barbarous that they had never seen a Spanish face. The things sent them to attract them were hawk's bells, nails, needles, and other similar things. They thought that the sounds of the harp and guitar were human voices..." (Blair and Robertson 1907, Vol. 40: 56).

In the scientific literature, the only strummed and plucked lute instruments mentioned to exist among the tribal peoples of Mindoro are the small guitar-like instruments *kudyapi'* or *gitara* of the Hanunoo Mangyan (Plates 58 and 52). These instruments represent variations of Spanish guitars – as the layout of the head, with its pegs mounted from below (Plate 59) and the loosely attached bridge (Plate 60) clearly show. They are about 38-76 cm long and have six strings. Their resonating chambers may show a variety of shapes. Similarly to boat lutes, they are carved from a single piece of wood which, unlike boat lutes, is hollowed out from the top and closed with a resonating board.

Some of the lutes on Mindoro, however, have resonating bodies made out of half coconut shells – similar to those of the four-stringed lutes on the Visayan islands. The Hanunoo Mangyan use these instruments for the accompaniment of their courting songs, called *urukay*, which consist of verses with eight syllables; many instruments show *urukay* verses incised on their back (Conklin and Maceda 1971: 192f). These small lutes probably represent an older stage of development, which would also explain the use of the traditional name *kudyapi'*, and many of their characteristic features seem to correspond to the forgotten *kudyapì* mentioned in the Spanish colonial literature. Such an instrument from Mindoro is described below in detail.

This instrument (Plate 53) was collected by Harold C. Conklin in the years 1946-1947 and is now preserved at the National Museum in Manila (catalogue no.: E-HAN-158). In the museum records, its traditional name is not given. It is made from half a coconut shell used as the resonating body to which a wooden neck is attached. The instrument is 455 mm long, its open string length comes to an estimated 340 mm (as the instrument no longer has any strings, the bridge is not in its original position). It shows a very beautiful medium to dark brown patina, which is battered on the front

Plate 50: Boat lute *katjapi* of the Alangan Mangyan. Mindoro, Philippines. Macdonald Collection, 1970. Now at the College of Music, University of the Philippines, Quezon City.

Plate 51: Boat lute *katjapi* of the Alangan Mangyan. Mindoro, Philippines. Macdonald Collection, 1970. Now at the Musée du quai Branly, Paris.

Plate 52:
Playing the six-stringed *kudyapi* or *gitara* of the Hanunoo Mangyan. Mindoro, Philippines (Conklin and Maceda 1971: 210).

and back sides of the neck where it is lighter in color; on the rear side of the coconut shell, probably where the instrument touches the body of the player, the patina is also worn away.

The coconut body has a diameter of 145 mm. The thin soundboard is made from wood. Along its edge, small holes are drilled, which are some 12-16 mm apart from each other, as is the case along the edge of the coconut shell. A strip of rattan is woven through the holes in a kind of cross pattern, thus attaching the soundboard to the body. (Plates 55 and 56). Not exactly in the center of the circular soundboard but a little bit closer to the neck-base, a round sound hole is drilled (Plate 56).

The method by which the neck is attached to the coconut shell cannot be seen clearly; there is probably a kind of tenon carved at the neck-base that fits into a hole in the coconut shell. In any case, the connection is secured by means of additional weavings of *nito* strips, on both sides as well as on the rear side of the neck-base (Plates 56 and 57). The neck shows an almost semi-circular cross-section, just a bit more flat. The head, with its flat, slightly tilted back peghead and the arrangement of its six rear friction pegs in two rows (3+3) clearly reminds of its counterparts found on Spanish guitars. Presently, there are only two frets left, where oddments of nylon strings can still be seen (Plate 54). The nut is lost; at least, the groove where the nut used to fit in still can be seen beside the peghead. The instrument does not show any traces that it ever had frets. The bridge, with its two lateral feet, reminds of the bridge on a guitar or violin. It is tied by means of two woven strips of rattan or nito coming out of two little holes in the soundboard (Plate 55).

Although virtually unknown, true boat lutes also exist on the island of Mindoro. Two were collected by Charles Macdonald and Nicole Revel in 1970 among the Alangan Mangyan in northern central Mindoro where they were called *katjapi* (Plates 50 and 51; cf. Macdonald 1970; 1977: 7).[1] Both instruments have their resonating bodies hollowed out from below; in one case, it is closed by a wooden cover, in the other case, it is left open. Both lutes look very rustic, rough-and-ready made, and only have one single string, which is attached to a lateral, diagonally inserted tuning peg. The frets of the first lute are carved out, protruding from the upper side of the neck, the frets of the second instru-

1 One of these two lutes is now located at the Department of Music Research, College of Music, University of the Philippines (item no. Al-70-1), the other one at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris (item no. 71.1973.35.128).

Plate 53:
Six-stringed plucked lute *kudyapi* or *gitara* of the Hanunoo Mangyan. In four perspectives. Mindoro, Philippines, 1946-1947. National Museum of the Philippines, Manila. (Item number: E-HAN-158).

Plate 54: Back of the headplate. Four of the six tuning pegs are missing.

Plate 55: Combined stringholder and bridge, tied to the soundboard with string.

Plate 08DIG-276 (above): Connection of neck and body. Upper side. Rattan lacing of the soundboard, sound hole.

Plate 57:
Connection of neck and body. Lower side. Fastening of the wooden neck to the soundbox made of coconut shell by means of rattan braiding.

Plate 58: Six-stringed guitar *kudyapi* or *gitara* of the Hanunoo Mangyan. Mindoro, Grace Nono Collection.

Plate 59 (above): Backside of the headplate with inserted friction pegs.

Plate 60 (right): Combined bridge and string-holder with fastening cord.

ment consist of small pieces of rattan that are glued to the neck by means of beeswax. Both lutes differ from each other mainly in their general outline: the first instrument (Plate AlanganMangyan_4Persp) shows an elegant curved boat shape, resembling somehow the *hegelung* of the Tboli and the *faglung* of the Blaan in southern Mindanao; the second instrument (Plate Mindoro_Revel02_4Persp) has its widest breadth on its lower end and gradually narrows towards the head. Unfortunately, even in 1970, Macdonald and Revel could only state that none of their Mangyan informants was capable of playing such an instrument.

The two lutes collected among the Alangan Mangyan of Mindoro island, therefore, come from the most northern region of the Philippines where the existence of boat lutes has been proven to date, beyond any doubt. The language of the Alangan Mangyan is classified among the northern Philippine languages (Gordon 2005: alj). Insofar, the Alangan Mangyan are quite an exception among the Philippine "boat lute peoples," whose languages, for the major part, are classed as belonging to the southern Philippine languages and, for the minor part, to the central Philippine languages.

According to Maceda (1998: 249), there is another boat lute named *kudyapi* said to exist among the Iraya Mangyan. However, without citing a source, Maceda describes this instrument as a "two-string lute", whereas the *katjapi* of the Alangan Mangyan only uses a single string. Further details are not known.

The two anthropologists F. Douglas Pennoyer and Thomas P. Gibson both conducted fieldwork on Mindoro in the 1970's, among the Tawbuid and Buid/Buhid, respectively. They both observed that musical practice among the traditionalist peoples of Mindoro has considerably decreased, nowadays, and both of them never saw any kind of boat lute among these tribal groups (Pennoyer 2005; Gibson 2005).

Summary: Construction and design of the small *kudyapi* of the Hanunoo Mangyan do not comply with the picture of a typical boat lute – despite the name of the instrument: six instead of two strings, tuning pegs inserted from below instead of laterally, attached to a clearly guitar-shaped head, resonating body hollowed out from the top, not from below, no frets, loosely attached bridge, similar to a guitar bridge, instead of being carved out as protruding from the soundboard. However, the *kudyapi* version using half a coconut resonator seems to have retained a strong similarity with the old lute type, which most probably used to be widespread on the Visayan islands, in former times, and which we already described above in the chapter on Philippine string instruments (cf. Plates 27-29).

Only two samples of the true boat lutes of the Alangan Mangyan are known, one of which (Plate 50) reminds of Tboli lutes; however, the way both ends of the strings are attached (without quadrangular cutouts) rather suggests links with Palawan lute traditions. One striking detail, for example, is the fact that the frets are carved out from the fingerboard, a feature that cannot be found with any other boat lute in the Philippines; however, it is common with older lutes from the island of Borneo (cf. Kunst 1994: 188, illus.). A possible interrelationship between the Philippines and Borneo does not surprise, as the big, box-shaped lute type of the Pala'wan *(kusyapi, kudlungan)* can be found in almost identical design among the Kazandusun in Sabah on Borneo *(sundatang)* [cf. Monsopiad Cultural Village 2005]. About the boat lutes of the Iraya Mangyan of Mindoro, no information is available.

In the 14th century, Mindoro was a colony of Brunei, and, still at the end of the 16th century (1578), the uncle of the Sultan of Brunei was recognized by the tribal leaders of Mindoro as their sovereign (Scott 1997: 191). All this speaks for the possibility that there was indeed some Bornean influence on the boat lutes of the Alangan Mangyan, in which case the island of Palawan might have served as a bridge between Borneo and Mindoro. However, knowledge about the boat lute traditions of Mindoro as well as of Borneo is still so fragmentary that no convincing conclusions are possible yet, in this respect.

Tagalog Region

The pronunciation of the word *kudyapî* in Tagalog is remarkable: while on Mindanao, it is usually pronounced relatively slowly, with a stress on the penultimate syllable and a glottal stop at the end of the word *(kudyapì, kutiyapì* etc.), it is spoken rather fast in Tagalog, with a stress on the last syllable, which ends in a glottal stop *(kudyapî)*.

However, where does this special pronunciation in Tagalog come from? For San Buenaventura clearly states in his dictionary (1613) that the word, during his times, was stressed on the penultimate syllable; Malayan loan words from that time also always are stressed on the penultimate syllable. In the dictionary of Paglinawan, however, the pronunciation is specified as *kudyapî* (1913: 295). In the *Segunda parte* of Serrano Laktaw's *Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano*, both ways of pronunciation are presented side by side: *kudyapì* / *kuryapì* (1914: 496) versus *kudyapî* / *kuryapî* (1914: 515).[1]

At least nowadays, the Tagalog do not seem to know anything about their forgotten favorite instrument, the *kudyapì*, not even the correct pronunciation of its name. Many Tagalog might only know the word from the lyrics of the popular song "Sa Libis ng Náyon." Here, it appears – as a result of musical rhythm – as a sequence of three fast spoken syllables, with the stress on the final syllable:

> Kahit na gabing madilim sa libis ng nayon
> Taginting nitong kudyapî ay isang himatong
> Maligaya ang panahon sa lahat ng naroroon
> Bawa't puso'y tumutugon sa nilalayon.[2]
>
> Even in the darkest night in the village outskirts
> The sound of the *kudyapî* is a herald
> Of happy times for all,
> As every heart hearkens to its aspiration.[3]

In several of the Spanish dictionaries, different spellings are written side by side: *cutyapi* and *coryapi* (San Buenaventura 1613), *cudyapi* and *coryapi* (San Antonio 1624), *codyapi* and *coryapi* (Noceda and Sanlucar 1754/1860), and even four different spelling are presented by Serrano Laktaw (1889/1914; see above).[4] Regarding the spelling *coryapi*, it should be made clear that, among the names used for boat lutes on Mindanao and Palawan nowadays, not one contains the consonant /r/. However, we can assume that this unusual spelling derives from a particularity of the Spanish language, where the consonants /d/ and /r/ are pronounced in a very similar way (Wikipedia 2008a).

The Jesuit friar **Pedro Chirino** (1557-1635) was born in Andalusia. He studied civil and canon law in Sevilla and joined the Jesuit society at the age of 23 years. After arriving in the Philippines in 1590, he held the positions of the superior of the Jesuit *colegios* of Manila and Cebu. In 1592, he founded the boarding school in Tigbauan, in southern Panay, and in 1595, he was involved in the foundation of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, today the University of San Carlos in Cebu City. Later on, he was made the procurator of the Jesuits in the Philippines. He spent the years 1602-1606 in Acapulco.

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1 According to Wolff (2008), the substitution of the Malayan /j/ or /c/ by /dy/ is a proof for the asssumption that the word was adopted into the Tagalog language relatively late, while in earlier loan words, /j/ would have been replaced by /d/ and /c/ by /s/.

2 "Sa Libis ng Náyon" ("On the Outskirts of the Village"), composed by Santiago S. Suarez and Dominador Santiago, lyrics by Santiago S. Suarez, around 1954.

3 Translated by Maria Teodora Conde-Prieto.

4 Regarding the vowels /u/ and /o/, it has to be stressed that, in Tagalog, there is no clear dividing line between both so that their pronunciation can change within the range of [u]~[ʊ]~[ɔ].

During this period, in the year 1604, he wrote his work *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (Pablo Pastells, in: Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, vol. 12: 175f, fn. 31).

As Chirino was active as a missionary among the Tagalog as well as among the Visayans, data from both regions were integrated into his *Relacion*, which are usually not easy to identify, regarding their origin. In Chirino's work, there is also a paragraph on a lute instrument, which is presented here in two different translations:

> "In polite and affectionate intercourse they [the Tagalos][1] are very extravagant, addressing letters to each other in terms of elaborate and delicate expressions of affection, and neat turns of thought. As a result of this, they are much given to musical practice; and although the guitar[2] that they use, called *cutyapi*, is not very ingenious or rich in tone, it is by no means disagreeable, and to them is most pleasing. They play it with such vivacity and skill that they seem to make human voices issue from its four metallic cords. We also have it on good authority that by merely playing these instruments they can, without opening their lips, communicate with one another, and make themselves perfectly understood – a thing unknown of any other nation. The Bissayans are more rustic..." (Chirino 1604a: 241). [3]

> "They [the Tagalogs] are punctiliously courteous and affectionate in social intercourse and are fond of writing to one another with the utmost propriety and most delicate refinement. Consequently they are much given to serenading. And although their guitar, which they call *cutyapi*, is not very ingenious, nor the music very refined, it is quite pleasing, and especially to them. They play it with so much skill and ardor that they make its four wire strings speak. It is a generally accepted fact over there that by merely playing them, without saying a word, they can express and understand whatever they please, which is something that cannot be said of any other nation. The Bisayans are more artless..." (Chirino 1604b: 279).

In the Spanish original of Chirino's work, the spelling of the instrument's name is eye-catching: in the word *culyapi*, there is either a line missing at the intended letter /l/, which is meant to be a /t/, or – as it is often the case in Philippine languages – the /d/ has been replaced by an /l/.[4]

Diego de Bobadilla, S.J. (1590-1648), born in Madrid, entered the Society of Jesus at the age of 16 years. He came to the Philippines in 1615 and worked for 15 years as a teacher at the Colegio de Manila, which had been founded in 1596. After having lived in Rome for some years (1637-1643), he returned to Manila with a group of 42 missionaries, where he was elected provincial in 1646. While he visited the missions in Mindanao, he died in Carigara in 1648 (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, vol. 25: 232f).

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1 Although it is not clearly mentioned in the text, Chirinos description of the *cutyapi* most probably refers to the Tagalog: people, for, after having started his chapter "Of the Politeness and Terms of Courtesy and Good Breeding of the Filipinos" with a general statement on the "Filipinos", he turns to the "Tagalogs" and reports in two long paragraphs about their qualities using the words "they" and "their"; right after the paragraph about the *cutyapi*, he continues: "The Bisayans are more artless and unpolished..." (Chirino 1604b: 278f), which should point to the fact that he previously must have written about the Tagalog. The American editors of Chirino's work obviously come to the same conclusion: "He also praises the politeness, in word and act, of the Tagalos, and gives them credit for much musical ability" (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, Vol. 12: 20).

2 According to the original Spanish text, a *viguela* is meant here (Chirino 1604b: 45).

3 In the Spanish original: "En tratos de cortesanías y aficiones son extremados, y usan mucho el escribirse con grandísimas y delicadísimas finezas y primores. En consecuencia de lo cual usan mucho, el darse músicas. Y aunque la viguela, que llaman *Culyapi*, no es muy artificiosa, ni la música muy subida, no deja de ser agradable, y á ellos muchos. Tócanla con una viveza y destreza que, á cuatro cuerdas que tiene de alambre, las hacen hablar. Tenemos allá por cosa muy averiguada, que son solo el tocarlas, callando la boca, se dicen y entienden todo lo que quieren, cosa que no se sabe de otra ninguna nación. Los Bisayas son más rústicos..." (Chirino 1604b : 45).

4 Another example for the exchange of the consonants /r/, /l/ and /d/: the Ma***ranao*** people live near Lake ***Lanao***, and their language is classified among the ***Danao*** languages.

De Bobadilla wrote his report *Relation of the Filipinas Islands by a Religious who Lived There for Eighteen Years*,[1] in the year 1640, during his stay in Rome. He mentions the musical instruments of the Filipinos:

> "They have been employed during these last few years ... in singing and dancing; and in playing the flute, the guitar, and the harp. The strings used for those last instruments are made from twisted silk, and produce as agreeable a sound as ours, although quite different in quality. They formerly had an instrument called *cutiape* which some of them still use. It bears a close resemblance to a hurdy-gurdy, and has four copper cords. They play it so cleverly, that they make it express whatever they wish; and it is asserted as a truth that they speak, and tell one another what ever they wish, by means of that instrument, a special skill in those of that nation" (Bobadilla 1640b: 290).[2]

Unfortunately, Bobadilla's description does not make clear, which region of the Philippines is referred to in his report, as the author suddenly moves back and forth between different regions of the Philippines and often uses the sweeping word "they," obviously for all the inhabitants of the Philippines. However, two facts speak for the assumption that Bobadilla's statements above refer to the Tagalog: first, from the time of his arrival in the Philippines (1615) until his departure for Rome (1637), during these 22 years, Bobadilla probably spent most of his time in Manila, second, he obviously also knew the report written by Chirino, as only this explains the striking similarities between the descriptions of both authors of the *cutyapi* / *cutiapé*.

Bobadilla's alleged comparison of the *cutiapé* with a "hurdy-gurdy" surprises, at first sight. For an expert on Philippine musical instruments, it appears completely incomprehensible, which similarity the translator of Chirino's work into English might have seen between the two instruments. Maybe it was the idea of a music based on the same principle of drone and melody. But, in fact, we are dealing here with a simple error in translation: the term *vielle* or *vièle*, in the French usage, until the 15th century, was referring to the Spanish term *viola* and adopted the meaning "hurdy-gurdy" only later on (Sachs 1913: 409, b). From *viola*, however, derives the word *vihuela*, which refers to an ancestor of the Spanish guitar. Still, this derivation does not clarify whether Bobadilla is talking about a plucked or a bowed lute instrument, respectively; certainly, he does not talk about a hurdy-gurdy.

Little is known about **Francisco Colin**, S.J.. He was the provincial of the Jesuits in 1642-1647 and, during his term, he also traveled to Jolo and Mindanao. Around 1647, he was the rector of the Colegio de Manila, in 1655 in charge of the town San Pedro, "where Indians, Chinese, and mestizos who work in the surrounding country congregate" (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, vol. 35: 124; vol. 36: 35, 54).

Obviously, Colin knew both Chirino's and Bobadilla's reports. In his work *Labor evangélica* (Madrid, 1663), he leaves the question open whether the instrument he refers to may have had two or four strings. Nevertheless, he also mentions the aspect that lute music, in the 17th century, was used for the exchange of messages:

> "They had a kind of guitar[3] which was called *coryapi*, which had two or more copper strings. Although its music is not very artistic or fine, it does not fail to be agreeable, especially to them. They play it with a quill, with great liveli-

1 The original Spanish title of Bobadilla's work is not known.

2 The original Spanish manuscript was lost. Bobadilla's work only survived in a French translation, which served as the basis for the English translation in Blair and Robertson (1905): "On les a employez en ces derniers temps ... à chanter, à dancer, à ioüer de la flu*f*te, de la guitarre & de la harpe; les cordes dont ils *f*e *f*eruent pour ces derniers in*f*trumens, *f*ont de *f*oye tor*f*e, & rendent vn *f*on au*ff*i agreable que les no*f*tres, quoy qu'elles *f*oient de matière bien differente: ils auoient autrefois vn in*f*trument nommé Cutiapé, dont quelques-vns d'entr'-eux *f*e *f*eruent encore maintenant il re*ff*emble a*ff*ez à vne vielle, & est monté de quatre cordes de cuiure; ils le touchent *f*i adroitement, qu'ils luy font dire ce qu'ils veulent, & c'e*f*t vne cho*f*e auerée qu'ils *f*e parlent & *f*e di*f*ent les vns aux autres ce qu'ils veulent par le moyen de cét instrument, addre*ff*e particuliere à ceux de cette Nation" (Bobadilla 1640a: 5).

3 According to the original Spanish text, a *vihuela* is meant here; cp. the following footnote.

> ness and skill. It is a fact that, by playing it alone, they carry on a conversation and make understood whatever they wish to say" (Colin 1663b: 68).[1]

In the year 1890, José Rizal, the national hero of the Philippines published a commented edition of the "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas." **Antonio de Morga**, a Spanish jurist and high-ranking colonial officer in the Philippines had published this work in Mexico, in the year 1609. In one of his footnotes, Rizal mentions "la guitarra tagala de cuatro cuerdas llamado Coryapi (Kuriapi) *[guitar of the Tagalog with four strings called Coryapi (Kuriapi)]"* (Morga 1890: 331, fn. 1).[2] Although Rizal, in this regard, explicitly refers to the sources of Pedro Chirino and Francisco Colin that we have discussed above, one may assume that he himself had seen and heard similar instruments in the Tagalog region. In any case, we can state that Rizal did not compare the four-stringed *coriapi/kuriapi* of the Tagalog with the two-stringed boat lutes of the southern Philippines.

After we have been dealing with some short descriptions of the *cutyapi / cutiape / coryapi* in the reports of the Spanish friars to their superiors, all of them from the 17th century, we will now turn to the *Vocabularios* of the missionaries and look for entries, which relate to our topic. Father **Juan de Quiñones**, O.S.A. (†1587), is said to have been the first who compiled an *Arte y Diccionario Tagalo* around 1580; this work, unfortunately, has been lost completely (Postma 2001: 1). The oldest surviving, although unpublished dictionary of the Tagalog language was compiled by the Dominican friar **Francisco de San Joseph** around the year 1610. There are only two copies of the original manuscript in existence (ibid.: 2); unfortunately, we had no chance to examine this work.

The first printed dictionary of the Tagalog language was written by the Franciscan friar **Pedro de San Buenaventura**, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala. El romance castellano puesto primero. Primera y segunda parte*, printed by Tomás Pinpin in Pila, Laguna, in 1613. Pedro de San Buenaventura came to the Philippines in 1594. Since 1597, he was active in the missions of von Nagcarlan, Paete, Maoban, Pasabango, Santa Cruz, Siniloan and Manila, partly as a confessor, partly as a preacher. In 1611, he was appointed as the administrator of the convent of San Antonio de Padua in Pila, Laguna. In this town, San Buenaventura also collected the data for his *Vocabulario.* He died while on a sea voyage to Mexico in 1627 (Blair and Robertson, vol. 35: 312, fn. 96).

Regarding the string instruments which were used by the Tagalog back then, San Buenaventuras *Vocabulario* contains three entries:[3]

> "Guitarra: Coryapi (pp) de esta tierra que casi es como timpano con dos cuerdas de alambre, tañese como guitarra con la mano *[a local instrument that is like a* timpano*, with two strings of wire, which are played with the hand, like a* guitarra], nagcocodyapi etc. *[to play the* guitarra/codyapi]" (1613: 338).

> "Rabel: Codyapi (pp) ouiolon que tocan con arco [violon*, which they play with a bow]*, nagcocodyapi. 2. ac. Tocarle *[to play]*, cquinocodaypian. 1.P. el porquien se toca [*???*], imp: magcodyapi ca, toca el rabel *[Play the* rabel!], codyapian mo aco, tañeme vn rabel *[Play for me on a* rabel]" (ibid.: 509).

> "Tañer *[to play]:* Coryapi (pp) biolon o rabel [violon *or* rabel], imp: magcoryapi ca, tañe con biolon *[Play on the* violon / coryapi !], coryapianmo aco, tañeme *[Play for me the* coryapi !]" (ibid.: 566).

San Buenaventura compares here the *codyapi / coryapi* with three string instruments, *guitarra*, *violon* and *rabel*, i.e. with one plucked and two bowed instruments. Accordingly, he states in the first case that the instrument *(codyapi)* was played with the hand ("con la mano"), like a guitar, i.e. plucked or

1 Original Spanish text: "Tenian vn modo de vihuela, que llaman *Coryapi*, de a dos, ó mas cuerdas de alambre. Y aunque la musica no es muy artificiosa, ni subida, no dexa de ser agradable, mayormente para ellos, que la tocan con vna pluma con gran viueza, y destreza. Y es cosa aueriguada, que con solo tocarla se hablan, y entienden lo que quieren" (Colin 1663a: 63).

2 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

3 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

strummed, in the other case that it *(codyapi / coryapi)* was played with a bow ("con arco"). This sounds as if the author is referring to two different kinds of instruments, maybe regional variants bearing the same name. At least the plucked lute was said to have had metal strings. The production of strings made from metal seems to have been a long-standing tradition, then, as Pigafetta already mentions copper strings used on those *"violas,"* which he saw in Cebu in 1521 (1906: 187; 1969: 48). Later, during the Spanish colonial times, this technique certainly was still perfected, for, in the middle of the 19th century, the Tagalog did not only produce the *"viguela*, a kind of guitar having a very great number of strings," what they did "with a remarkable perfection," but also its metal strings (Mallat 1846: 273).

The Italian *timpano* means "kettledrum" (Sachs 1913: 387b), referring to a drum with an approximately hemispherical body made from metal, covered by a membrane. The fact that San Buenaventura uses this word in a description of the *coryapi* surprises us, as he explicitly refers to a string instrument. The explanation might lie in the fact that San Buenaventura tries to describe the design and construction of the instrument. Probably, he wants to say that the resonating body of the *coryapi*, similarly to a small kettledrum, consists of half a coconut shell or calabash covered by animal skin. Even today, small lutes with coconut bodies are produced in the Visayan region. And on the island of Mindanao, in the areas of many traditionalist tribal groups, one-stringed (however, no two- or four-stringed) spike fiddles can be found, with resonating bodies out of half a coconut shell, covered with snakeskin, pig bladder, or the like (cf. Brandeis 1993: 18, 38, 65f; Cole 1956: 66; Maceda 1998: 253ff).

Like Pedro de San Buenaventura before him, the Franciscan friar **Francisco de San Antonio**, who came to the Philippines around 1624, also collected his data in the town of Pila, Laguna. This is also where he wrote his *Vocabulario Tagalo*, which was not published at that time. The two still extant copies of the manuscript were published only recently, in 2000, in a combined version edited by Antoon Postma (Postma 2001: 3f). In this edition, we can find the following entry: "Coryapi. pp. {Cudyapi LC} Rabel de los Naturales [rabel *of the natives*]" (San Antonio 1624: 70). The two different spellings of the instrument's name can be found in both manuscripts ("LC" means "London Codex").

Another important *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala* was compiled by the Franciscan friar Domingo de los Santos († 1693). His work was posthumously published in 1703 and reprinted in 1774 and 1835. It is substantially based on the previous dictionaries compiled by Pedro de San Buenaventura (1613) and Francisco de San Antonio (1624) [Postma 2001: 5]. As the work basically represents a Spanish-Tagalog dictionary and, therefore, only includes a "finderlist" of Tagalog, definitions of Tagalog terms are usually kept short. It should also be noted that de los Santos is not very consistent in his spelling of Tagalog words. In one instance, for example, he uses the spelling "Viguela," in another instance the spelling "Vihuela" (ibid.: Primera Parte, 726; Secunda Parte, 40). The following entries are important for our study:

> "Guitarra. (pp) ... Ellos tenian un genero ò remedo de guitarra, llamado coryapi *[They have a kind of imitation of the guitar called Coryapi]"* (Santos 1835: Primera Parte, 209).
>
> "Violon. Coryapi. (pp) ó rabel grande. Ya casi todos le llaman rabel ó violon *[Coryapi or big rabel. Almost everybody calls it rabel or violon]"* (ibid.: Primera Parte, 727).
>
> "Coryapi (pp) Guitarra" (Santos 1835: Secunda Parte, 31)
> "Coryapi (pp) Violon" (ibid.)
>
> "Gitarra (pp) Guitarra" (ibid.: 40)
> "Gitarra (pp) Vihuela" (ibid.)

These entries hardly say anything about the design of the so-called *coryapi*. On the one hand, de los Santos calls the *coryapi* an imitation of a *guitarra*, i.e. a plucked lute, on the other, he compares it to a big *rabel* or *violon*, i.e. two bowed lutes. To a certain extent, the terms *coryapi*, *guitara*, *vihuela*

(viguela), *violon* and *rabel* are used as synonyms. Therefore, von de los Santos' Vocabulario does not even clarify whether the *coryapi* is a plucked or bowed lute.

The Dominican friar **Miguel Ruiz** came to the Philippines in 1602 and died there in 1630. He authored the manuscript of a comprehensive dictionary, the genesis of which is still in the dark. The only copy still in existence was obviously made at a later date, and it is teeming with errors. It is possible that the manuscript of Ruiz was later on integrated into the dictionary compiled by Noceda and Sanlucar and published in 1754 (Postma 2001: 4ff). In the *Vocabulario* of Miguel Ruiz, the term *cudyapi* or alike is not mentioned (Tiongson 2008).

The *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, the authors of which are said to have been **Juan de Noceda** and **Pedro de Sanlucar**, was in fact a collective endeavour, with the participation of several working teams from various monastic orders, in which every member was responsible for a limited number of initial letters within the dictionary. The project is said to have already started with the above mentioned collecting activities of Francisco de San Joseph (†1614), followed by Miguel Ruiz (†1630), the Dominican Thomas de los Reyes and others, until the work, at a much later date (1700), was elaborated into its final version by a team of Jesuits, led by Pablo Clain (†1717). The *Vocabulario*, however, was only printed after another period of concluding efforts by the Jesuits Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, in the year 1754. A second, basically unchanged edition, where the following quotations come from, was published only in 1860 (Postma 2001: 5ff). Postma's comment on the final product explains that the data presented by Noceda and Sanlucar stem from different areas and time contexts and that this modus operandi of mingling data is typical for the lexicographic work, during this era:

> "It rather has to be taken, that all the available Tagalog Dictionary sources ... were consulted and incorporated in the *Vocabulario* of NS [Noceda and Sanlucar], whenever the word was considered as an additional entry not yet available in the main body of the NS opus. [...] ...the merit of the NS Vocabulario lies mainly in the bringing together of separate entries, culled from existing Tagalog dictionaries and writings of previous authors. [...] NS might have shortened, amended or elaborated the 'borrowings' a bit. [...] That plagiarism, or 'free borrowing, without reference to sources, was, in fact, a common practice' during those times,[1] is clearly evidenced in NS up to and including its 1860 edition." (ibid.: 6f).

Despite the long-time effort, the *Vocabulario* of Noceda and Sanlucar presents only three short entries referring to our topic:[2]

> "BIDYA. pc. Los trastes de la guitarra. *Codyapi. [the frets of the* guitarra, codyapi]" (Noceda and Sanlucar 1860: 46)
>
> "Guitarra á su modo *[a kind of* guitarra]. **coryapi**. pp." (ibid.: 526)
>
> "Violon. **coryapí**. pp." (ibid.: 638)

There are two different spellings used: *codyapi* and *coryapi*. Refering to both spellings, the instrument is compared to a *guitarra*, i.e. a plucked lute with frets, but also to a *violon*, a bowed instrument without frets.

Pedro Serrano Laktaw, not a member of any monastic order, studied in Spain to be a teacher at secondary schools. In 1891, he co-founded the Masonic lodge *Nilad* in Manila. In 1889, he published his *Diccionario Hispano-tagalog - Primera Parte*, in which neither the term *kudyapi* nor any of its variants is listed. However, in his *Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano*, published in 1914 as the most comprehensive Tagalog dictionary of its time, there are three entries on the traditional lute:[3]

1 Original footnote (Postma 2001): "DeWitt T. Starnes: 'Renaissance Dictionaries, English-Latin and Latin-English', p. 86 (Austin, 1954)."

2 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

3 Translations in brackets and in italics by the author.

> "**Gitara**. Guitarra. f. – *Maggigitará,* ó *mangagawa nang gitara.* Guitarrero. M. *[guitarist] – Mapaggitará.* Guitarrero, ra. m. y f. *[guitarist] – Maggitará;* ó *magtutugtog nang gitara.* Guitarrear *[to play guitar].* n. Sinón. de **kudyapî**" (Serrano Laktaw 1914: 270).
>
> "**Kudyapì**. V. kuryapì" (ibid.: 496).
>
> "**Kuryapî**. Guitarra filipina, usada por los antiguos *[Philippine guitar, used by the ancestors]. – Magkuryapî*, Tocar a guitarra *[to play guitar].* || Guitarrear. n. *[to play guitar] Magkukuryapî.* Guitarrero, ra. m. y f. *[guitarist].* || Guitarrear. n. Sinón. de **guitara**; **kudyapî**" (ibid.: 515).

Serrano Laktaw lists here four different spellings, *kudyapì*, *kudyapî*, *kuryapì*, *kuryapî*, which are supposed to be synonyms as well as of the terms *gitara*, *guitarra*. Corresponding variants can also be found in derived terms as *magkukuryapî* ("guitarist") that are again synonyms of similar derivatives of the term *gitara* as, for example, *maggigitará* ("guitarist").

Laktaw's phrasing "Philippine guitar, used by the ancestors" merely states that this instrument must have disappeared from musical life a long time ago. However, there might lie some significance in the fact that Serrano Laktaw uses the phrasing "Philippine guitar" and not something like "Tagalog guitar," therefore not a priori implying that the *kudyapì* actually existed within the settlement area of the Tagalog people. The generalizing comparison of a *kudyapì* with a *gitara* does not provide any evidence about the actual design of the *kudyapì*, but, at least, it makes clear that it must have been a plucked or strummed lute instrument.

In **Mamerto Paglinawan's** *Diksionariong Kastila-Tagalog (Diccionario Hispano-Tagalog),* published in 1913, the term for the Spanish string instrument *lira* is translated with the Tagalog words "kudyapî; lira" (1913: 295). There are no further details given in this source.[1] In the three-language dictionary of **Sofronio G. Calderón**, *Diccionario Ingles-Español-Tagalog...,* published in 1915, the term *kudyapi* or any of its variants is not listed anymore. Regarding string instruments, there are only two entries:

> "**Fiddle**, *n.* [fídl] Violin. *Byolín.*"
>
> "**Guitar**, *n.* [guitár] Guitarra. *Gitara"* (Calderón 1915: 284).

The last dictionary to be mentioned here, published in 1922, is *Diccionario Hispano-Tagalo. 'Aklat ng mga pangungusap na Kastila at Tagalog'. Tomado de varios Diccionarios de la Lengua Castellana, especialmente del de la Real Academia Española. Primero Edición*, compiled by **Rosendo Ignacio**. Again, the name of the Spanish string instrument *lira* is translated as *"kudyapî"* (1922: 335) – most probably adopted from some older dictionary. While in earlier *Diccionarios* the term "to play guitar" is usually translated with a word integrating the term *kudyapi*, this meaning now seems to have disappeared from the everyday language. The term "to play [an instrument]" ("tocar") is now translated as "tumugtóg" (ibid.: 511). Ignacio, by the way, lists a good number of other string instruments, which were popular in *rondalla* ensembles and other bands, during his time: *alpá*, *bajo*, *bandola*, *bandolín*, *bandolón*, *bandurria* (ibid.: 71, 90, 92).[2]

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1 In the year 1915, Pedro Serrano Laktaw went to court accusing Mamerto Paglinawan of having violated intellectual property rights by integrating large portions of his Tagalog dictionary into his own work. Serrano Laktaw won his case in 1918, and Paglinawan was ordered to take his dictionary off the market (Republic of the Philippines 1918).

2 Ignacio's *Diccionario*, to a certain extent, seems to follow a more general and universal lexigraphic approach, as he also lists musical instruments that never have been used in the Philippines, e.g the *baazas* (1922: 89), a four-stringed guitar or lute, which is played by black people in America (Jacquot 1886: 12). This example demonstrates how problematic it can be using historical dictionaries published in the Philippines for compiling a list of musical instrument that were actually in use, in former times.

Considering the fact that we have no idea since when the *kudyapi* disappeared from the musical life of the Tagalog and when the compilers of Spanish-Tagalog dictionaries had a last chance to see such an instrument in actual use, it is hard to say up to which publication date it might make sense to sift dictionaries for respective entries. It has to be taken for granted that, after the date of the last use, entries in more recent dictionaries must have been copied from earlier works. On the other hand, by looking at how information on the *kudyapi* slowly disappeared from the literature, in the course of more than 300 years, we obtain a detailed picture how the instrument gradually faded from the collective memory and was finally submerged into mythology. At this point, we will not include more and more recent dictionaries into our investigation.[1]

Aside from the reports of the Spanish friars to their superiors and the *Vocabularios* compiled by them, there is another group of sources, i.e. a few illustrations in publications of the 19th century. Two of these illustrations (Plates 61 and 62) show similar social occasions of ballroom dancing that is accompanied by an instrumental trio, consisting of harp, transverse flute and a small four-stringed lute. The first illustration is captioned "Gesellschaftliche Vergnügung in Manila" ("Party Entertainment in Manila") showing the observations of the German traveler Gustav Spieß in Manila. Spieß was a member of the Prussian expedition to East Asia during the years 1860-1862 (Spieß 1864: 337).[2] The second illustration (Plate 62) is shown in the travel report of Alfred Marche who, between 1879 and 1885, travelled to Malakka and The Philippines. Engraved by the French graphic artist Marcelle Lancelot after a sketch, which was obviously drawn by the author himself, this illustration presents a dancing scene during a "Fête à Santa Cruz de Nano" ("Fiesta in Santa Cruz de Nano"), a village on the northern coast of Marinduque (Marche 1986: 220; 1887: 230). On both illustrations, the lutes pictured have six strings and round resonating bodies, which were probably made from half a coconut shell or calabash, or from wood trying to imitate a similar shape.

The third illustration too (Plate 63) shows a combination of a small four-stringed lute with a transverse flute (Laureola 1977: 2291). The caption says "Soirée musicale at Manilla." This illustration was first published in the October 17, 1857 edition of the *Illustrated London News*. The instruments shown – in this case – are said to have been played by Chinese musicians, though. The fact that the musicians might be Chinese does not *per se* imply that they are playing Chinese musical instruments, for, at that time, many Chinese in the Philippines were forced to adjust to the Hispanicised mainstream culture. They were prohibited by the Spanish authorities from marrying immigrant Chinese women, and forced to marry Philippine native women. In the case of this illustration, the design of the instruments, the combination of a lute with a flute as well as the accordance with the other two illustrations speak for such an acculturation.

On all three illustrations, the performance on the small lute as part of an ensemble is remarkable, while boat lutes in the Philippines nowadays are mostly played solo, and only among some Philippine tribes in combination with a bamboo tube zither. The three pictures, therefore, represent situations in an acculturated context. We may assume that the used lutes might have developed from older lute types and were adapted into the Hispanicised context of a Mediterranean oriented music. Although this is not explicitly stated, we might also assume that these small lutes were, in fact, *kudyapis*, for they comply with the features of these instruments, according to the literature of that time.

1 Some entries from modern dictionaries are listed at the beginning of this chapter on boat lutes in the Visayas and Luzon.

2 A very similar illustration can be found in the book of Alejandro (1978: 199), the original of which is stored at the Lopez Memorial Museum. Although the displayed scene on both engravings is virtually identical, both differ from each other in many details. Which engraving was copied from which, can only be guessed: probably, Spieß brought a print of an engraving which he acquired in the Philippines to Germany, where it was engraved anew on printing plates for the publication of Spieß's book.

Plate 61: Ballroom dancing, accompanied by an instrumental trio consisting of harp, transverse flute and lute with round resonating body. Detail from an illustration. Manila 1860-1962 (Spieß 1864: 337).

Plate 62: Ballroom dancing in Santa Cruz de Nano, Marinduque. Instrumental trio consisting of harp, transverse flute and lute with round soundbox. Detail from an illustration by Marcelle Lancelot (Marche 1887: 231).

Plate 63: Chinese musicians in Manila playing a small four-stringed lute with round body and transverse flute (Detail from an illustration in: *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 17, 1857).

We may conclude this chapter on the *kudyapi* of the Tagalog with some evidence for the importance of this instrument in the past. In southern Luzon, north to the area of the Bicolano, Tayabas Province adjoins where Tayabas Tagalog is spoken. In this area, on Bondoc peninsula, lies a mountain chain called Cudiapi Range, with its highest peak 443 meters high, which northwards abruptly slopes down to the low valleys of the rivers Matataja and Vigo. It mainly consists of sandstone and limestone. In the south, several other mountains adjoin them, most between 260 and 394 meters high, with the highest peak of 860 meters (Pratt and Smith 1913: 308f, 344). The Cudiapi Range obviously can be seen very well looking at it from the river valleys, and probably – as the author was not able to see any photographs – its silhouette reminds us of a musical instrument, which used to be known as *cudiapi*, in former times. Naturally, such a landscape formation does not allow us to draw conclusions on the actual design of an instrument of the same name and if it really looked like a boat lute or another string instrument. We may assume that local names for distinct landscape formations are usually of considerable age. And, in case a mountain chain is named after a musical instrument, it seems likely that this musical instrument actually existed in this region and that it must have been an instrument of special significance and importance.

Summary: A review of the old Tagalog dictionaries reveals that many words have been passed on with each revision and rewriting by changing authors. The fact that the terms *"coryapi," "codyapi," "cutyapi"* etc. are taken up in all dictionaries is therefore by no means to be taken as solid proof of the general distribution and continuous use of a corresponding stringed instrument. In consideration of the above evidence, we can however conclude that the Tagalog, during Spanish colonial times, still used a lute instrument called *kudyapi*. However, despite the many references, it basically remains obscure how this instrument actually might have looked. The wide variety of boat lutes that still can be found on Mindanao and Palawan today, on the one hand, speaks for the existence of several different *kudyapi* types among the Tagalog. The different spellings of the instrument's name in the literature *(cutyapi, cutiape, coryapi* etc.) might serve as further evidence, in this respect. However, it appears more probable that the different spellings do not represent different types of instruments but rather depend on the language and educational background of the respective authors of the dictionaries.

Listed here, in chronological order, are the data for the *kudyapi* of the Tagalog:

Lutes, strummed or plucked:

Viguela, with four metal strings — *cutyapi* (Chirino 1604)

Guitarra, plucked with the hand, or strummed like a guitar, probably made from half a coconut shell or calabash as a resonantor, with two metal strings — *codyapi*, *coryapi* (San Buenaventura 1613)

String instrument, very similar to a *vielle (viola, vihuela)*, with four copper strings — *cutiapé* (Bobadilla 1640)

Vihuela, with two or more copper strings — *coryapi* (Colin 1663)

Guitarra, *vihuela (viguela)* — *coryapi* (Santos 1703)

Guitarra, with frets — *codyapi*, *coryapi* (Noceda and Sanlucar 1754)

Gitara, Synonym for *kudyapì*, *kudyapî*, *kuryapì*, *kuryapî* ("Philippine guitar of the ancestors") (Serrano Laktaw 1914)

Lutes, bowed:

Violon or *Rabel*, played with a bow — *codyapi*, *coryapi* (San Buenaventura 1613)

Rabel — *cudyapi*, *coryapi* (San Antonio 1624)

Violon, rabel — *coryapi* (Santos 1703)

Violon — *coryapi* (Noceda and Sanlucar 1754)
Lira — *kudyapî* (Ignacio 1922)

The above data indicate that the Tagalog used two different lute instruments, or one lute type played in two different ways, in both cases with the same name: The first lute type was probably a small lute, plucked or strummed with the hand. It had 2-4 copper strings, frets, as well as a coconut resonator, which was covered with animal skin, like a small drum. The early mention of a guitar named *cutyapi* with four metal strings by Chirino in 1604 seems to indicate that this probably was an authentic, i.e. pre-Spanish string instrument. About the second lute type, we merely know that it appeared to be similar to Spanish string instruments of the colonial times – *rabel*, *violon* and *lira* – and that it was played with a bow.

Three authors, Chirino (1604), Bobadilla (1640) and Colin (1663) pointed to the fact that the players of the *cutyapi* / *cutiape* / *coryapi* could actually "speak" to their audience with their instruments, i.e. could relay messages through the medium of music. If this effect was achieved through the coding of speech elements into musical elements is not known. In any case, this practice seems to correspond with the boat lute traditions of some ethnic groups in Mindanao, e.g. Talaandig Bukidnon, Western Bukidnon Manobo, among others, where specific text contents or statements are associated with specific melodies.

Visayan Region (Cebu)

Regarding the great variety of different types of boat lutes, which still can be found in Mindanao and Palawan, we can be very sure that, in a huge area like the Visayan Islands, not only one single but several types of boat lutes were used, in former times. However, regarding the wide range of comparisons drawn by Spanish chroniclers of past centuries between Philippine and Spanish string instruments, it is difficult to clarify nowadays which kind of instruments they were referring to. Additionally, in those dictionaries from Spanish times, which are entitled *Diccionario Bisaya-Español* or alike, it is often not made clear, on which island of the Visayas the presented data were collected or if information from other *Diccionarios* was used as well. As a rule it is not made clear if the data actually come from the same region the dictionary claims to cover. This is also true for cases, where data from different regions and cultures are merged into a generalizing "patchwork ethnography," as can be seen in William Henry Scott's book *Barangay*, in which the author expresses his intention and *modus operandi* in the following statement:

> "This book presents a sixteenth-century Philippine ethnography based on contemporaneous sources. It does not attempt to reconstruct that society by consideration of present Philippine societies [...] Rather it seeks to answer the question: What did the Spaniards actually say about the Filipino people when they first met them?" (Scott 1997: 1). "Naturally, these sources must be used critically. Dictionary definitions are often tantalizingly brief, and the absence of a particular term may reflect the lexicographer's limitations rather than the nonexistence of the concept. [...] In this ethnography, therefore, all descriptions will be based on a synthesis of all the sources available; no data will be presented unless they accord with that synthesis" (1997: 3).

The very earliest source on Philippine string instruments was **Antonio Pigafetta** who accompanied the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan as his chronicler and who, in 1521, wrote down his observations on the island of Cebu: "It is a large island ... Its name is Zubu ... Those people play a violin with

copper strings" (1906, Vol. 33: 187; 1969: 48).[1] The strings of this *"viola"* were called *"gotzap"* (1906: 197), obviously Pigafetta's attempt to write the word *kutyapi* or its variant *kutsapi (cutsapi)* that we will come across again on Samar and Leyte. It seems that Pigafetta, at this early date, already saw just that lute instrument, which became known as the *kudyapi*, later on. After all, similar small lute instruments are used in the Visayas region, still today.[2] The comparison of the instrument with a *viola* does not automatically imply that the instrument was played with a bow; as the term *vihuela* developed from *viola*, and in 17th century Spain, there were both plucked and bowed *vihuelas* (Sachs 1913: 409, b).

There are no early dictionaries of Cebuano Visayan known today. When the *Diccionario hispano-bisaya* compiled by **Julián Martín** was published in Manila in 1842, the first Tagalog dictionary had already been available for 229 years. Unfortunately, we had neither the chance to take a look at Martin's work, nor at the two volumes of **José Aparicio's**: *Diccionario general visaya español* (1882 and 1909).

The *Diccionario Bisaya-Español* of **Juan Félix de la Encarnacion** was published in three editions, 1852, 1866 and 1885, the latter supplemented by R. P. Fr. José Sanchez, with the collaboration of several friars of the Augustinian order. Most of its entries refer to Cebuano Visayan; however, there are also entries referring to the islands of Romblon, Sibuyan, Panay, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, Negros, and Mindanao, a fact that certainly adds to the difficulty of reaching a realistic assessment of the entries in this work.

According to Encarnacion, in the Cebuano speaking regions of the Visayas, the *codyapi* could be found, a "cierto instrumento músico de invencion de los naturales, especie de guitarra *[a certain musical instrument, invented by the natives, a kind of* guitar *ra]";*[3] the word *codyapi*, used as a verb, means "to play the *codyapi"* (1885: 82).[4]

In former times, the Cebuanos also used a bamboo tube zither named *codlon*, although Encarnacion does not provide any information about the specific type.[5] The existence of a bamboo zither, however, is important in two respects: on the one hand, *kudlung* is the name used by the Mandaya for their boat lute[6], but *not* for their bamboo zither, furthermore, the co-existence of lute and zither in the same musical culture, at least, points towards the possibility that these instruments might have been played together in a duo, in former times, as was the case in Samar and Leyte in 1668, and as it is still practiced by several Manobo tribes in Mindanao, today.

Aside from *codyapi* and *codlon* – i.e. different from these two – Encarnacion also mentions the use of the guitar *(sésta)*, *bandurria*, *lira*, violin *(violín)* and harp *(harpa)* on the Visayan islands.[7] And, finally, distributed over the whole dictionary, several kinds of wood are mentioned that are said to be

1 Original Spanish text: "... e grande ysola ... se chiama Zubu ... Questa gente sonano de viola cõ corde de ramo" (Pigafetta 1906, vol. 33: 186).

2 Four of these instruments from the 19th century have already been described above.

3 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

4 "Codyapi [...] Tocar ó tañer dicha guitarra ó instrumento músico *[to play said guitar or musical instrument]"* (Encarnacion 1885: 82). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

5 "Codlon. Instrumento músico de caña ... guitarra del pais *[musical instrument of cane... guitar of the country]"* (Encarnacion 1885: 82). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

6 Other ethnic groups in Mindanao use variants of this term: *kuglung, hegelung, faglung, fegereng*, among others..

7 "Hilómon mo ang harpa, hilóma. * Deja, cesa de tocar, tañer el harpa, la lira *[Stop playing the harp, the* lira]" (Encarnacion 1885: 143f). "Iáng̃ay acó niíning hárpa. = Témplame esta harpa. ... An g̃áyon mo ang sésta sa violín. Templa la guitarra conforme al violin *[Tune this harp for me!... Tune the guitar in accordance with the violin!]"* (ibid.: 17). "CASCAS. Tocar rasgueando guitarra y bandurria *[to play the guitar and* bandurria *through strumming]"* (ibid.: 77). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

well-suited for the construction of guitars and, therefore, certainly also for the construction of other lute instruments.

In the *Visayan-English Dictionary* of **Anton L. Hall,** published in 1911, finally, the terms *codiapi (coriapi, cosiapi* etc.) and *codlon (kudlong* etc.) do not appear anymore. Additionally, there are no more entries for the terms *violin*, *lute* or *lira*." Merely *sista* is defined as "guitar" (Hall 1911: 271). The same applies for the *English-Visayan Dictionary* of **Jose Maria Cuenco,** published in 1927, in which only the entries "guitar, n. sista" (1927: 91) and "violin, n. biolin" (ibid.: 214) are listed. In more recent Cebuano dictionaries too, the word *kudyapî* or a similar expression is usually not mentioned (cf. Cabonce 1955; Trosdal 1990).[1]

Summary: The available sources speak of three distinct string instruments in the Cebuano-speaking area that all are said to have been known by the same name *(kudyapi, codyapi)*. The first type, a small lute with a coconut resonator, 3-4 frets and 2-3 strings of wire, reminds us of Alcina's description of the *coriapi* on Samar and Leyte. However, it is possible that William Henry Scott simply ascribed Alcina's data to the wrong region. Secondly, Pigafetta's mention of a *viola* with wire strings seems to speak of a bowed string instrument. Thirdly, if in 17th century Spain, *vihuelas* were known to be both plucked and bowed, the situation was different in the 19th century, when the term *guitarra* clearly referred to a plucked lute instrument of whatever shape. Such an instrument named *codyapi*, according to Encarnacion, is said to have existed in Cebu, in former times.

Samar and Leyte

In the year 1542, on order of Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain, **Ruy López de Villalobos** (1500-1544) set forth on an expedition to the "Islas del Poniente," now the Philippines. In April 1544, his six errant ships finally reached the islands of Samar and Leyte. This visit led to the first mention of a lute instrument in this region: "Bernardo de la Torre, one of Villalobos' officers, attended a dance in Samar and saw a stringed instrument known as the kudyapi, a kind of small guitar" (Agoncillo and Alfonso 1960: 54).[2]

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1 In his very detailed two-volume work *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*, published in 1972, the American linguist John U. Wolff gives some rather surprising information. Wolff lists the term *kudyapì*, as if this musical instrument was in actual use, at the time of the dictionary's publication. Accordingly, the *kudyapi* is said to be a "musical instrument with six or more strings, having a flat, rectangular, wooden body. It is laid down and plucked with both hands" (1972: 486).

This description of an instrument with a box-shaped resonating body, obviously without a neck, inevitably reminds of a zither. Different types of zithers from Sunda, Indonesia, come to mind, the names of which have the same origin: the flat, 20-stringed *kacapi siter* (Koizuma et al. 1977: 175f; Zanten 1989: 20, 34), the 18- stringed *kacapi indung* (Koizuma et al. 1977: 167; Zanten 1989: 84) or the 15-stringed *kacapi rincik* (Koizuma et al. 1977: 173; Zanten 1989: 92), of which the latter two have a rather high resonating body. After all, the Ibaloi of northern Luzon also use 4-stringed zithers called *kaltsang*, with flat, rectangular resonating bodies (cf. Plate 12).

Curious about this description of the *kudyapi*, the author contacted John U. Wolff, who, with hindsight, now called his entry in the dictionary into question. According to him, his informants, at that time, had made inconsistent statements, obviously because they themselves never had seen a *kudyapi*. It seems that they partly even referred to information read in the published literature, as one of them claimed that the *kudyapì* was played "like a cello" (cf. Romualdez 1932/1953: 87). Wolff himself had also never had a chance to see a *kudyapi* and, according to his updated assessment, there is in fact no clear evidence that a zither named *kudyapi* ever existed on Cebu island, neither in historical nor in more recent times (Wolff 2008).

2 Unfortunately, Agoncillo and Alfonso do not indicate their sources. An intensive search of this author for the original source proved unsuccessful, up to now.

The Jesuit friar **Mateo Sanchez** (1562-1618) was among the first missionaries who came to Leyte island in 1595 and founded missions in Barugo, Dulac and Alangalang. He died 1618 in Dagami, another mission station on Leyte. After not more than five years of living on the island, Sanchez not only had mastered the native language, but already had compiled a comprehensive dictionary of Samar-Leyte-Bisaya (Waray-Waray), which was soon widely used among the early missionaries of Leyte and Samar (Sagun 2009). Although the work, with its more than 10,000 entries, had already been completed in 1617, it was only published in 1711, under the title *Vocabulario de la lengua Bisaya*. Only one copy of the work survived, which is now preserved at the British Museum in London (Kobak 2002: 414, fn. 2).

> "Much of the ancient Bisayan terminology is found in the entries which later dictionaries no longer have or if they do have such terminology, it already appears watered-down and even takes on a very different meaning. This Bisayan Vocabulario of 1711, greatly preserves these and complements Alcina's Historia... [of] 1668" (ibid. 2002: 414). "Its great value lies in the fact that the entries have preserved many ancient Samar-Leyte-Cebuano words and especially those pertaining to the ancient religious cults, rites and rituals" (ibid.: 414, fn. 2).

Accordingly, Sanchez' entry in his dictionary about the lute is full of details: [1]

> "Cutiapi. uc. f. hun Guitarra cut*f*api, cudiapi, ydem *[alike, referring to synonyms]* Nagcucudiapi vel, cut*f*api tañerla *[to play* cutsapi*]*, Y tt Llevar algo abrazado entre los pechos *[to carry holding a bit between the breasts* ???]. Cutiapihun mo iton baquir lamang. Sunĝar*f*unĝar, burubuaya, el remate de la guitarra *[the body of the* guitarra*]*, burubutcun, el brazo *[the arm, referring to the neck]*. Dulus las cuerdas *[the strings]*, biric-biric, las clavijas *[the tuning pegs]*. Pidia, bidia, ipitan, el como tra*f*te *[like a fret]"* (Sanchez 1711: 158).

Exceptional is the use of three different terms, which are said to be synonyms of the term *guitarra*: *cutiapi*, *cudiapi* and *cutsapi (kutyapi, kudyapi, kutsapi)*. These dialect variants might come from different areas of the islands of Samar and Leyte, and they might be evidence for different regional lute designs. Sanchez' three different terms for "fret" might also point into that direction. Unparalleled in Spanish colonial literature is the terminology passed on by Sanchez listing the terms for the different parts of the lute, which are discussed here in modern spelling:

sungar-sungar, burubuaya	"lower end of the resonating body"? Scott translates both terms (which are not listed in the dictionary of Makabenta from 1979) with "body," while changing the spelling of the second word to *burbuwuya* (1997: 108). However, it should be noted that, still today, the word *buaya* in Waray-Waray means "cayman, crocodile, alligator" (Makabenta 1979: 25f), which points towards a parallel between the symbolic meaning of boat lutes in Leyte and Mindanao. Sanchez' definition of the two terms as "el remate de la guitarra," meaning something like "the culmination / top / end of the guitarra," speaks for a carved protrusion of head or resonating body. The term *sungar-sungar* could also provide some evidence, as words like *sungad* or *sungal,* at least in other Philippine languages, often have something to do with chin, mouth or nose (Panganiban 1972: 923). Therefore, the *cutiapi* of Leyte, like many lutes on Mindanao, might have had a carved crocodile head at its lower end.
burubutkun	"neck;" changed by Scott to *"burubunkun."*
dulós	"string;" this word is still used today meaning "cord or string of a musical instrument" (Makabenta 1979: 67).
birik-birik	"tuning peg;" *birik* means in Waray-Waray "to turn; ... to rotate; to spin" (ibid.: 25).

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

pidya, bidya, ipitan "fret."

Aside from the lute *kutyapi*, Mateo Sanchez mentions a bamboo tube zither: "Corlong up. f. un. Vn instrumento musico, proprio de mugeres, hazele de algun bías de caña buena y recia ... *[A musical instrument, proper for women, a bundle of some kind (?) of good and thick cane...]"* (Sanchez 1711: 144).[1] Obviously, this entry refers to a raft zither, as it was also described by Alcina (cf. below).

The Jesuit friar **Francisco Ignacio Alcina** (1610-1674) came to the Philippines in 1632 where he dedicated 35 years of his life to missionary work, first of all on the Visayan islands Samar and Leyte. The Jesuits had established a mission station there since the end of the 16th century so that Alcina, at the time when he started his records in his sphere of activity, encountered a culture that had already passed through a process of acculturation for a period of four decades. His research resulted in the completion of a voluminous manuscript in 1668, which mainly deals with the native culture of Samar and Leyte, although it cannot be excluded that data from the surrounding Visayan islands were also integrated into Alcina's work.[2]

This manuscript also includes an extensive chapter on music and musical instruments, in which Alcina reconfirms the increasing process of acculturation: "In ancient times, they had but a few musical instruments; now they also use ours with remarkable skill." (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 83).[3] Alcina also gives a very striking description of a two-stringed lute, probably the very first description of a boat lute in the Philippines, for certain the most detailed and important one in the entire Spanish colonial literature:

> "One of their best known instruments and one of finest craftsmanship is that which they call the *kuriapi [coriapi],*[4] It resembles our cithern *[cíthara]*, but it is longer and narrower. Its arm [neck] is short; the inside [resonating body] is open at the back since all of them are made of one piece, cut out from a board some three fingers, more or less, in thickness. The front is thin and left smooth, similar to the top of a guitar *[guitarra]*. They leave a cutaway at the back, making its sides about a finger's width in thickness, more or less, so that it may not break easily. In making these, they search for a solid piece of wood. In the rose-shaped opening [sound hole] or hole, which would constitute it, they fit in from the back an empty coconut shell; it is open at the top and in whose cavity the strings vibrate. There are only two strings and no more – for rare is the person who knows how to play one with three – either of thin wire or of silver which is more resonant. They have their bridges [frets] of metal, three or four on the entire arm [neck] where they place their fingers, although more slowly than we do.
> They pluck the strings with a small pick [quill, i.e. plectrum] as we do with our citherns; the sounds are very similar to those which we have, although here they are less sonorous because they have less strings and the bridges are not properly spaced so as to produce the proper sounds" (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 83).[5]

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

2 Maceda assumes that Alcina's description of music and musical instruments refers to the island of Panay (1973: 216), however, without giving any reasons.

3 Original Spanish text: "Instrumentos músicos pocos tenían en su antiguedad; usan ya ahora de todos los nuestros con notable destreza" (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 82).

4 Words in brackets represent annotations by this author.

5 Original Spanish text: "El más celebrado suyo y de más arte es uno que llaman coriapi; la hechura casi como cítara más larga y angosta, el brazo corto, el buche sin suelo par abajo, porque eran todos de una pieza, cavados en una tabla de tres dedos, poco más a menos, de grueso que, dejando por la parte superior lisa y delgada, como cubierta de guitarra, vaciaban por la inferior, dejando sus bordes gruesos como de un dedo, poco más a menos, porque no se quebrase con facilidad, y buscaban para ellos maderas sólidas; en la rosa, o agujero que había de servir para ella, como en nuestras cítaras, encajan por la parte de abajo un ongote, que llaman ellos, y es un coco vacío, abierto por arriba, que con aquella concavidad hacen algún eco las cuerdas; son estas dos, no más (raro es el que sabe tañerlo con tres) o de alambre delgado o de plata, que suele ser más sonora; tienen sus trastes de metal, tres a cuatro en todo el brazo, divididos, en que juegan y trastean con los dedos, aunque con mucha más flema que nosotros.
> Las cuerdas las tocan con una plumita, como nuestras cítaras, y las voces son muy parecidas a ellas, aunque acá

The use of two different terms in this description, *guitarra* and *cítara*, obviously represent different spellings of the same name for the musical instrument referred to. The Spanish *cítara* was basically equivalent to the Italian *lirá* (Sachs 1913: 84, a), one of the predecessors of the violin, with only very slightly incurving side walls so that the body showed almost an oval form (cf. Plate 36). Therefore, the *coriapi* on Samar and Leyte also seems to have had an oblong oval resonating body and a short neck. Although Alcina does not give any details about the length of the *coriapi*, his comparing it with a *cítara* or *líra*, respectively, excludes the possibility of a large instrument. Made from one single wooden board of three fingers' thickness (50-60 mm), the depth of the body or the width of the side walls, respectively, would lie within the range of measurements taken from a large number of Philippine boat lutes.

The *coriapi* usually had two wire strings, for which silver was said to be best-suited. Regarding the island of Mindanao, this author knows that, before Spanish-type guitars became popular, the traditional strings of boat lutes were made from a specific kind of vine called *bislig*. There are also reports about the use of rattan (Bagobo), Manila hemp (Mamanwa, Subanen) and other plant fibers (Batak on Palawan) [Takács 1975: 179, Gagelonia 1973: 222, Santiago 1957: 3f]. Alcina does not give any details about the shape or position of the tuning pegs (friction pegs, lateral or rear?).

The neck of the *coriapi* was furnished with three or four metal frets (inlaid on the fingerboard or affixed by means of beeswax?), which renders the comparison with a fretless European *cítara* or *líra* rather questionable. There is no information about the shape of these metal frets. In general, present-day Philippine boat lutes occasionally use metal inlays on frets of beeswax or wood (e.g. Maranao, Mandaya). Furthermore, arch-type or bridge-like metal frets made from steel wire, e.g. as used on some *kuglung* lutes of the Ata Manobo and Dibabawon, are a pretty recent development. The body of the *coriapi* was hollowed out from the back side and left open, without a wooden board as a cover, while Philippine boat lutes used today are all equipped with back covers.[1]

Up to this point, despite these small differences, Alcina's description of the *coriapi* essentially concurs with the construction of present-day Philippine boat lutes. However, the author goes on describing some surprising differences: Alcina mentions a sound hole in the sounding board, without stating its shape or size, but compares it to a "rose-shaped opening ... like with our *cítaras"* (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 83), which points to a circular sound hole that must have been considerably bigger than those found on Philippine boat lutes today. The most significant difference in construction, however, was the use of an additional resonator, made from half a coconut shell that was inserted from below into the hollowed-out resonating body with its open side facing the sound hole. As the opening of a coconut shell is at least as big as the sound hole of a Spanish guitar, it might be the case that this specific lute instrument also might have shown a sound hole of a size that cannot be found with present-day boat lutes. In any case, it is easy to imagine that the hemispheric coconut resonator must have resulted into a particularly effective concentration of the two strings' soundwaves (the said "echos").

Plectrums used for boat lutes in the Philippines today are usually made from splinters of wood or rattan or from thin strips of plastic tied to the index or middle finger of the strumming hand. Considering this fact, the mention of the use of a "quill," of course, provokes the question if Alcina used the term "plumita" just for comparison, or if real bird's feathers were widely used on Samar and Leyte, which the author never observed in any other Philippine boat lute tradition.

In connection with the lute *coriapi,* Alcina also mentions another string instrument. While boat lutes on Mindanao and Palawan are often played in a duet with a bamboo tube zither *(salurey* etc.),

son menos sonoras por pocas, y por no tener el brigue del instrumento las medidas proporcionadas para las voces" (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 82).

1 An instrument of the Alangan Mangyan of Mindoro, examined by this author, had no back cover, and the lack of any traces of how it originally might have been attached can be taken as an evidence that the back cover did not just get lost.

the instrument on Samar and Leyte was obviously used in a similar function, although it was not a tube zither but a raft zither:

> "Aside from this particular instrument [the *coriapi]*, there is another which the women have and is called the *kurlung [corlong]*.[1] This is similar to those small guitars of reeds which the boys used to make in Spain. The women here make it from a kind of a rough, tall grass called *tigbaw*.[2] They tie about ten or twelve of these [reeds] together, just like the fingers of the hand. Their length is about a *palmo* and a half, it never reaches two, and a little more than a *palmo* in width.
>
> Then, from each little rod or little reed, they split something like a string in the middle of the surface of the said reed. Afterwards, they add to them their little bridges on one side and on the others; then bringing them close to their breast, they play them in a way similar to that of the guitar or perhaps to the accompaniment of the *kuriapi [coriapi]*, in spite of its disagreeable sound" (ibid.).[3]

Alcina also describes the use of *coriapi* and *corlong* in the context of courting:

> "Notwithstanding all this [Despite the low sound quality], they nonetheless melt away, let us put it that way, when playing it *[*the *coriapi]*. Many are attracted to listen when somebody plays it (this takes place in the evening, since during the day it is difficult to hear) so much so that the houses become quickly crowded, both inside and outside. All the songs which they play for them – those hearing them certainly grasp its meaning – are provocative love songs (to me they always seemed to be insipid and cold) and, as a general rule, it excites them to such a degree, especially the women, that there are not a few who accuse themselves in Confession for having attended the kuriapi *[coriapi]* session and felt its impact. The emotions are subjected to even greater excitement when this instrument is played by a more skillful man together with its strains and echoes, because only men play this type of instrument. [...] What is really unusual about these instruments (something perhaps unheard of in any other nation, at least I have never heard or read about it) is that as if they speak to one another: that is, as if asking questions and answering (each other) simply with the strings and sounds of both instruments. [...] This is something incredible here among these natives, (although they never keep busy with good things). This is rendered in such a way that without most of those present catching the implication – and this is even much more so if those who play the instruments have made some previous arrangement about performing some special provoking sound – they agree on meeting each other, about falling in love and conversing in an amorous fashion, with deeper emotion or sensuality than if they were actually using words. This has been acknowledged by those who know and practiced it. This is something that might seem incredible if, among these natives, experience and harmony of these instruments would not bear witness to it everyday. Would to God that the consequences of this would not be so intense because then, the many offenses against God would be avoided, for these do not catch the public attention so readily" (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 82, 84).[4]

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1 Among the Mandaya of Mindanao, the related word *kudlung* is used as the name for the boat lute, and – as in the case of the word *coriapi* – in *corlong*, the consonant /d/ might have been exchanged for an /r/.

2 According to Madulid, the scientific name of the *tigbaw* plant is *Saccharum spontaneum* Linn.; the word *tigbaw* is used on the Visayan islands of Panay, Samar and Leyte, among the Mangyan of Mindoro and Mamanwa of Mindanao (2001: 724). This species of grass, in Tagalog called *talahib*, covers the major part of the Philippine grasslands and is commonly known as "wild sugarcane." The blades can grow 3 meters high, but even at their thickest point merely reach a diameter of not more than 2 cm.

3 Original Spanish text: "Tienen, fuera de éste, las mujeres otro que llaman *corlong*. Este es al modo de unas guitarrillas de caña que suelen hacer los muchachos en España; hácenlo acá las mujeres de un género de carrizo que llaman *tigbaw*, atando diez o doce, juntos como los dedos de la mano. Su largor de un palmo y medio, nunca llega a dos; de ancho algo más de un palmo.

De cada varilla, o cañuela, sacan una como cuerda en medio de la tez del dicho carrizo, y les ponen después sus puentecillos a un lado y otro, arrímanlas al pecho y tocan como guitarra a acompañándose tal vez con los *coriapi* con su mal de consonancia..." (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 84).

4 Original Spanish text: "Con todo esto, se derriten, digámoslo así, en tocándolo, y suelen juntar a tantos, cuando alguno lo tañe (que suele ser de noche, que de día no se oirán) por oírla que llenan las casas arriba y abajo.

Todos cuantos sones tocan para ellos, que los perciben, son provocativos y amatorios (a mi siempre me han parecido insulsos y fríos), y en común es en tanto grado lo que les provoca, máxime a las mujeres, que no son pocas las que se acusan de haber atendido al coriapi, y a sus mudanzas, por las que suelen sentir en sus personas con el dicho son, y más cuando le toca alguno diestro en sus ecos y respuestas, que solos hombres son los que tocan este instrumento. [...]

Pero lo que tienen especial estos dos instrumentos (que quizás no se dice de otra alguna nación, por lo menos, y

Performances of a man playing a boat lute and a woman playing the bamboo tube zither in a kind of "love dialogue" can still be heard today as part of the musical practice of some Philippine tribes (Matigsalug, Tigwa and Ata Manobo, Bagobo, Mandaya, Pala'wan, among others). The only difference is that, on Samar and Leyte of the 17th century, instead of a bamboo tube zither, a raft zither was used.

However, it was not only on Samar and Leyte where the *coriapi* was recognized and used as a very special medium of communication. Still today, boat lutes are highly valued among several ethnic groups in the southern Philippines for expressing extra-musical information. Among the Magindanaon, for example, the erotically stimulating effect of boat lute music has survived (Maceda 1963, Vol. 1: 35; 1973: 216; 1988:[6]), among the Matigsalug and Tigwa Manobo (Brandeis 1995: 111) as well as among the Pala'wan (Revel-Macdonald and Maceda 1992: 42f), lute melodies are associated with a programmatic character, because they are usually said to tell stories. It might even be possible that, in the lute melodies of 17th century Samar and Leyte, verbal speech was musically encoded in a similar way as it is done during the playing of the bamboo jaw harp in Mindanao, for example, among the Magindanaon (Maceda 1963, Vol. I: 145ff) and Tigwa Manobo (Brandeis 1995: 108). However, this is rather unlikely, as the encoding of speech sounds into jaw harp communication is mainly achieved by variations of tone color inside the oral cavity, whereas the possibilities of changing tone color on a boat lute are actually very limited. Instead, it seems more likely that melodic motifs or other musical features were associated with specific extra-musical meanings.

Some 350 years passed, until the next source known to this author was published, in which the use of lute and raft zither on Samar and Leyte are mentioned again. It seems that the Franciscan friar **Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa** did not rely on the important work of Alcina in his *Diccionario Bisaya-Español para las provincias de Sámar y Leyte* (1914), at least concerning the term *coriapi,* but definitely referred to the 1617/1711 dictionary of Mateo Sanchez, for Sánchez de la Rosa lists the same three native synonyms for the *guitarra*: *cudyapi*, *cutiapi* and *cutsapi* (1914: 96, 100). The term *coriapi* (or variations like *curiapi* or *curyapi)*, however, are not mentioned in his dictionary. There is no mention either of European string instruments, which are normally used in Spanish dictionaries for comparisons with Philippine lutes, as *harpa*, *lira*, *rabel* or *violon*. However, the author also mentions the zither *cudlong* as an "instrumento músico de mujeres" (ibid: 96). Unfortunately, he does not give any information on the design and construction of this instrument, which could probably classified as a bamboo tube zither.

At the end of the 20th century, finally, the memories of the *coriapi* seem essentially to have faded away. **Eduardo A. Makabenta** mentions *kudyapí* merely as the name for "an old Filipino stringed instrument" (1979: 57), however, without drawing any comparison. The only other terms for musical instruments he is listing are *sista* for "guitar" (ibid: 320), *mandolina* and *gitara* for "lute" (ibid: 356) as well as *byolin* and *rabíl* for "violin" (ibid: 507).

Summary: This special string instrument, which the Spanish historian Francisco de Alcina described as the *coriapi* in 1668, without doubt represents a two-stringed boat lute, which also had a typical name. Regarding its construction, however, it showed some peculiarities which clearly distinguish it from recent boat lutes on Mindanao and Palawan. It seems, however, that the *coriapi* (Alcina) or, respectively, *cutiyapi* (Sanchez) on Samar and Leyte essentially corresponds with the *kudyapi* on Panay, if we rely on the traditional knowledge preserved in the epic chants of the Panay Bukidnon. In this respect, in both regions, the use of an additional resonator, half a coconut shell attached inside

no lo he leido ni oído) es que se hablan entre sí, preguntan y responden sólo con las cuerdas y voces de ambos instrumentos, que es cosa rara e infalible acá entre estos naturales, aunque nunca tratan de cosas buenas, y es de modo que sin que los más de los presentes lo entiendan, y más si antes han convenido en algún retintín especial, se conciertan y conchaban para verse; se enamoran y requiebran con más sentimiento o sensualidad (confesado ésto de los mismos que lo saben y usan) que de palabra..." (Alcina 1668/2005, Vol. 3: 82, 84).

the actual resonating body, deserves special mention. It is also obvious that these instruments had frets. It seems that at least one lute type on Leyte had an upper or lower end reminiscent of a crocodile – another interconnection with some lute traditions on Mindanao. With the instruments of both regions, the hollowed-out back of the resonating body is either completely left open or only partly covered. As this is also the case with many lutes from Borneo, we may assume some historical connection, which is supported by the oral history of Panay claiming that the island was colonized by immigrants from Borneo in the 13th century.

Performance practice too, as reported by Alcina, points towards a boat lute tradition: on the one hand, the tradition of playing the lute in a duo with the zither *corlong*, on the other, the communication between the lute player and his audience, or between the man playing the lute and the woman playing the zither, respectively.

Although Alcina's description of the musical life on Samar and Leyte around 1668 does suggest a blossoming tradition in those days, the author explicitly mentions the rapid and continuous process of acculturation. We can, therefore, assume that performing on the lute *coriapi* had already become a dying tradition during the previous decades and that the instrument had already partly been replaced by Spanish instruments.

Among the string instruments on Samar and Leyte, additionally to the boat lutes, there were also the small four-stringed lutes with coconut body, one of which, an instrument from the 19th century, from the village Calbayag, Samar, has already been described above. Probably, these instruments were similar to the one seen and heard by Bernardo de la Torre in 1544 on the island of Samar, "known as the kudyapi, a kind of small guitar"; even used before the beginning of the colonial times, this must have been an autochthonous string instrument of this region.

Panay

The island of Panay, regarding the acculturation of traditional culture, represents a special case within the Visayan region, as elements of pre-Spanish culture have survived here up to the present day, in a similar way as is the case with many ethnic groups on the islands of Mindanao and Palawan. The indigenous mountain dwellers, who call themselves Tumandok, but are called Panay Bukidnon or Sulod (Sulodnon) by the lowlanders (Magos 1996: 120),[1] still use a number of traditional musical instruments: *tambul* (drum), *agung* (gong), *gætgæt* (bamboo violin), *tulali* (bamboo flute), *sugang-gang* (bamboo percussion) and *subing* (jaw harp). The traditional lutes *kudyapi*, meanwhile, have been replaced by the Spanish guitars of the lowlanders. In addition, the Panay Bukidnon still keep up their oral traditions and dances (Jocano 1968: 58).

In the Spanish colonial literature, there is only one that mentions string instruments on the island of Panay: the dictionary of **Alonso de Méntrida**. This Augustinian friar was born in 1559 in Méntrida, Toledo, Spain, joined the order in 1590 and arrived in the Philippines in 1598. At first, he was active in Manila and Lubao, until a new assignment brought him to the island of Panay, where he spent most of his time in Ogtón (the area of today's provinces of Antique and Iloilo). In 1618, he was appointed prior in Manila where he was elected as provincial in 1623. He died in 1637, at the age of 78 years (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, vol. 24: 69, fn. 25).

1 Magos discusses still other designations for this ethnic group: Taga-Pan-ay or Pan-ayanon ("people from Panay river"), Taga-Halawod or Halawodnon ("people from Halawod river"), Akeanon ("people from Akean river"), Kinaray-a Bukidnon (referring to their vernacular language), Ligbok Bukidnon (referring to the archaic language of the epic songs) and Iraynon or Irahaynon ("people living far from the sea"); those people referred to by all these names, however, prefer to call themselves Tumandok (1996: 121f, 125f).

Shortly before his death, Alonso de Méntrida was still able to complete his dictionary, which was published in Manila the very same year (1637) under the title *Bocabulario de la lengua Bisaia Hiligueyna y Haraia de la Isla de Panai y Sugbú, y para las demas Islas*. It was edited and supplemented by the Augustinian friar Martín Claver who himself was assigned to missions in the Visayas region in 1624-1639 (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909, vol. 29: 265, fn. 85). A later edition of the dictionary was published in 1841 under the title *Diccionario de la lengua Bisaya Hiligueina y Haraya de la Isla de Panay*.

As often is the case with historical dictionaries in the Philippines, the author fuses data from several languages in his work together, in this case Hiligaynon with Aklanon and Kiniray-a. Regarding the lute on Panay, he states the following:

> *"Cudiapi*, l. *codiapi*. p. p. Guitarra, citara: &c. *nang¯audiapi*, tañerla *[to play it (the instrument)]*. f. 3. A quien se dá la musica *[the one who dedicates himself to the music with it (the instrument)]"* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 110).[1]

Despite its comparison of the *cudiapi* with a *guitarra* and *cítara*, this entry does not give any clue, regarding the actual design of the instrument. At least regarding the shape of the *guitarra*'s head, Méntrida states:

> *"Apilapil*. Los cuernos de la caveza de la guitarra, ó del caballete de la casa vid *[The horns of the head of the* guitarra *or of the ridge of the house]*. *Sai-ong*" (ibid.: 27).[2]

According to Méntrida, the terms *cudiapi* and *guitarra* were used as synonyms on Panay, during his times, and as Spanish contemporary guitars had no horn-shaped heads, the terms *apilapil (apil-apil)* and *sai-ong (say-ong)* should really refer to the head of the *cudiapi*. This also should apply to other terms as well, some of which, by the way, remind of terms used in Samar and Leyte: the frets of the *guitarra* on Panay were called *bidya*, the strings *dulus* (ibid.: 245), pressing the strings down on the frets *nagabidya* or *namidya* (ibid.: 62),[3] the tuning pegs *lisur* (ibid.: 244), and the tuning of a *guitarra* was either referred to as *tupung* or *angay* (ibid.: 420).[4] Additonally, the author used the word *guitarra* in several instances in his dictionary for comparisons and illustrative sentences (ibid.: 129, 139f, 190, 242).

Listing the entry *corlong* or *corlon*, Méntrida mentions another common name for boat lutes that we already know from Samar and Leyte; however, this instrument is "a *violon* made from cane, which is played like a *arpa*" (ibid.: 108).[5] The comparison of the *corlong* with a bowed instrument appears rather inappropriate, and it does not clarify at all if we are actually dealing here with a raft zither, as on Samar and Leyte, bearing the same name. Méntrida only states that "frets and strings are

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

2 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

3 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Bidia. p. c. Traste de guitarra *[fret of the* guitarra]: naga bidia. f. 3 Entrastar guitarra¡ *[to finger on the frets of a* guitarra] namidia. f. 3. Puntear lo que tañe, esto es traer ó poner los dedos en los trastes *[translated literally: 'to pluck, while putting the fingers on the frets']"* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 62).

4 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Tupung . u. a. et ang¯ay. p. a. Cosa igual ... *[something equal, uniform ...]* 2. hacerlas iguales, aunque sea allanando la tierra, ó templar guitarra *[to equalize something, also to level the ground, or to tune a* guitarra] ..." (Méntrida 1637/1841: 420).

5 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Corlong. p. a. Violon de Caña que se tañe como arpa *[a* violon *made from cane, which is played like a* arpa*]*. f. 2. Hacer corlong la caña *[to make a* corlong *from cane]*: nang¯orlong. f. 2. Tañerle *[to play it (the instrument)]*. f. 3. A quien se dá musica con el *[the one who dedicates himself to the music with it (with the instrument)]"* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 108).

elevated differently from the *violon*" (ibid.: 52).[1] The playing position "like with a harp" points towards a tube zither, where the hands are positioned on both sides of the instrument while playing. However, a tube zither has no frets, nor does a *violon* . Maybe Méntrida just wants to say that the strings are elevated by means of little bridges.

Aside from the term *guitarra*, Méntrida mentions another two names of Spanish string instruments, *rabel* and *violon.* However, these terms are not – as in other sources – listed as synonyms for *cudiapi*, but clearly refer to bowed instruments and are used as synonyms for *litgit* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 245).[2] As mentioned above, the Panay Bukidnon call their bamboo violin *gætgæt* (Jocano 1968: 58). Bowed instruments with similar names are also known among other ethnic groups in the northern and central Philippines: *litguit (litgit)*, for example, is a kind of violin among the Bicolano (Lisboa 1865, vol 2: 94), a two-stringed bamboo tube violin among the Negrito in Tapas, Capiz, Luzon, as well as among the Bontok in Northern Luzon (Romualdez 1932/1953; Takács 1975: 182), while *gitgit* is a three-stringed wooden violin among the Hanunoo Mangyan of Mindoro (Conklin and Maceda 1971: 187, 197). Here, we can see that these areas together belong to a larger cultural area, as, for example, in Mindanao, neither the terms *litgit* and *gitgit* nor musical instruments of a similar design are known. And, finally, explicitly from the language area of Kinaray-a on Panay, Méntrida mentions two names of a flute, *lantoy* and *tolali*, which is played with the nose (Méntrida 1637/1841: 226).[3] Again, this points towards Mindoro, where, still today, nose flutes called *lantuy* are played and accompanied by a violin *gitgit* (Conklin and Maceda 1971: 189).

In the relatively short Hiligaynon word list of **D. Juan Gayacao**, *Nuevo Vocabulario y Guía de Convèrsaciones Español-Panayano*, which was published much later (1879), no musical instruments are mentioned at all.

Let us now turn to very different sources: oral traditions. In the epic songs of the Panay Bukidnon, generally known as *sugidanon*, the recollection of the lute *kudyapi* [4] is still kept alive. Alicia Magos documented the following story, in which the lute *kudyapi* plays an important role and which is summarized here:

> The story starts in the episode "Tikung Kadlum," when Datu Paiburong and his brother Dumaraong are leaving for a hunting spree. In a forest, they come across a strange-looking bamboo tree. Paiburong does not know that this bamboo belongs to the man-eating magician Makabagting and his sister, the hermit Amburukay, and he cuts it down. In their anger about this encroachment, the two threaten to swallow Paiburong and Dumaraong. Finally, however, they accept the two daughters of Paiburong as a redress for the crime.
>
> After the daughters of Paiburongs have been entrusted to Amburukay, the two girls, in the episode "Amburukay," live in the house of the hermit who takes care of them as if they were her own daughters. They are brought up as so-called *binukot* ("very sheltered girls") and live in a golden room. Hidden away from the eyes of the public, they are not to be exposed to sunlight, are not allowed to work, are served special food etc. Amburukay has

1 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Bangil. Levantar trastes y cuerdas al corlon (sino quiere decir al violon, que seyo lo que es.) *[to elevate the frets and strings of the* corlon *(in a different way than with the* violon*)]"* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 52).

2 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Litgit. p. a. et Lutgut. Cuerda de arco, con que se toca rabel, violon *[the string of the bow, by means of which the* rabel*,* violon *is played]:* y el rabel, ó violon se llaman litgit *[and* rabel *or* violon *are called* litgit]: tocar en el las cuerdas *[to play the strings with it]* ..." (Méntrida 1637/1841: 245)

3 Original Spanish text, with translations in brackets and in italics by the author: "Lantoy. p. c. Tolali. H. Flauta que tañen con las narices; y á las de castilla las llaman asi *[flute, which is played with the nose, and those from Castile, they call the same]* naga lantoy, lumantoy, tañerla *[to play on it (on the instrument)]* ..." (Méntrida 1637/1841: 226).

4 Ethnomusicologist Maria Christine M. Muyco who helped out as an interpreter during an interview of the author with the Panay Bukidnon always pronounced the name of the instrument the Tagalog way: *"kudyapî,"* fast, with a stress on the final syllable that ends with a glottis closure; while the pronunciation of the Panay Bukidnon during the interview, as a rule, was *"kudyapi,"* i.e. slower, with an accent on the penultimate syllable and ending without glottis closure.

> vowed that she would only give away her adopted daughters as wives to some men who would succeed in stealing some of her – Amburukay's – golden pubic hair.
>
> One day, it so happens that Labaw Donggon, a courageous young man and an excellent lute player, while trying to play on his *kudyapi* breaks one of its strings. He knows that Amburukays golden pubic hair would be most suitable for use as a *kudyapi* string, and he successfully goes for stealing it. When Amburukay comes to know that Labaw Donggon is the person guilty of this theft, she demands from him as a penance to take her as his wife. Although Labaw Donggon feels very uneasy about it, the day of the wedding is set. However, in the end, the hero is confronted with a pleasant surprise knowing that, the same day, aside from Amburukay, he is also to marry her two adopted daughters (after Magos, ca. 1994: 130f).

One major feature of Philippine epics is the description of humans, accurate down to the detail, the embroidery of their physical and mental characteristics, as well as of animals, objects, landscapes, situations, events, and so on. Therefore, it should not surprise us that some of the knowledge on design and construction of the traditional lute of the Panay Bukidnon has been preserved in their epic songs *sugidanon*. For this reason, in July 2007, the author interviewed one of the few epic chanters who can still be found among the Panay Bukidnon. Federico Caballero, holder of the *Gawad sa Manlilikha ng Bayan* ("National Living Treasure Award"), conferred by the National Commission on Culture and the Arts, resides in Barangay Garangan, Calinog, Iloilo.

Federico Caballero estimates that, with the Panay Bukidnon, the *kudyapi* might not have been in use anymore for about eleven generations. With an assumed generation length of 30 years, this would add up to a period of 330 years. This, however, appears highly improbable, as in this case, the *kudyapi* tradition would have already been abandoned around the time when Alcina (1668) described the use of the boat lute on Samar and Leyte. If we base our estimation on a mean generation length of 20 years, the *kudyapi* might have been given up about 200 years ago.

It seems that the Panay Bukidnon, in former times, used at least two different kinds of lutes. One of these lute types was obviously quite similar to the instruments on Samar and Leyte, as described by Alcina, at least according to Federico Caballero to whom the author read Alcina's description: this lute type shows half a coconut shell as an additional resonator, which is inserted from below into the hollowed-out resonating body. In this case, only part of the cavity is covered by a wooden board, or no cover is used at all (cf. Plate 64).[1] This construction feature has not been observed with any type of boat lute used in the Philippines today. Other lutes on Panay, however, according to Caballero, showed wooden boards as back covers of their resonating bodies, probably in a similar way as we know it from recent lutes on the islands of Mindanao and Palawan.

Among the kinds of wood suitable for the construction of a *kudyapi* are, according to Caballero, *bayog*[2] and *malipga*[3]. In case the resonating body of the *kudyapi* was rather deep, i.e. its side ribs were wide, it was called *binangka* ("like a *bangka*, a boat"). The extensions of head and body, in the shape of hooks pointing towards the forefront of the instrument, were called *kinayangan* ("rising upward").[4] maybe, these carvings were just the same as the horn-shaped extensions at the head of the *guitarra* called *apil-apil* or *say-ong*, which Méntrida mentioned in the 17th century (1637/1841: 27). These

1 The illustrations showing the reconstruction of a *kudyapi* (Plate 64) were made by the author, with the assistance of Federico Caballero.

2 Madulid lists the use of the word *bayog* in several languages as a name for different species of *Pterospermum*. Relevant for our study is the use in Panay Bisayan *(Pterospermum megalanthum* Merr. Sterculiaceae) and Samar-Leyte Bisayan or Waray *(Pterospermum megalanthum* Merr. Sterculiaceae). In many Philippine languages, the term *bayog* refers to the species *Pterospermum diversifolium* Bl. Sterculiaceae (2001, Vol. I: 133). Panganiban describes the plant in the following way: "**bayóg** n. (bot.) Pterospermum diversifolium: tree with oblong obovate leaves and five-angled fruit capsule. The bark yields a dye for fish-nets and cloths. Syn. *bagud*, *malibayo*" (1972: 149).

3 Madulid does not list the name of a plant called *malipga*, except for the similar Tagalog word *malipaga*. However, the plant called by that name, *Ziziphus trinervia* (Cav.) Poir. Rhamnaceae (2001, Vol. I: 484), is a kind of shrub or small tree, which does not produce pieces of wood big enough for the making of a lute. Therefore, the name *malipga* does probably refer to another kind of plant.

4 The word *kinayangan*, according to Caballero, also includes the meaning "to wake up / to get up."

protruding parts of the instruments, according to Caballero, served "just for decoration," meaning to say that designs and decoration of the instruments could vary.

The instrument had two strings. The melody string was called *laghung* ("deeper voice"), the drone string *lagsing* ("higher voice"). Most probably, the words "higher" and "deeper" refer to the position of the strings while holding the instrument in playing position so that the drone string is located higher than the melody string. When the lutenist started a new musical piece, he usually began plucking the drone string, while the melody string was only included after some notes. The standard length of the strings is said to have been equivalent to the distance from the fingertips of the stretched-out left arm up to the right shoulder. The author measured this distance as approximately 950 mm. Taking this as the standard size of strings, the lutes of the Panay Bukidnon might have had approximately the same size as the *kutiyapi* of the Maranao (length of the drone strings: 815-1170 mm) or Magindanaon (length of the drone strings: 800-887 mm). Nothing is known about the shape and position of the tuning pegs (lateral, frontal or rear?).

The frets *(tangil)* were placed below both strings, as the melody was played on both strings, but preferably on the melody string, a playing technique only found among the Agusan Manobo of Mindanao today. The frets were from coconut shell, cow horn, carabao horn, or turtle shell and fixed into carved-out slits on the fingerboard of the instrument, probably by means of beeswax.[1] (The attaching of the frets into slits was also observed with lutes of the Subanen and Batak.) About the number and arrangement of the frets, no information was given.[2]

According to Federico Caballero, the *kudyapi* was played without using a plectrum, merely by plucking with the bare index finger, the nail of which had to be grown very long so that the instrument would sound good. (The Subanen and Agusan Manobo too play their lutes employing the index finger and eventually the thumb, without using a plectrum, also the Pala'wan while playing their small lutes, while their big lutes are plucked with the very long-grown nail of the little finger).

The *kudyapi* was, first of all, used for the accompaniment of love or courting songs. For this reason, the instrument was especially favored by unmarried men, a fact about which Federico Caballero was highly amused: "It's a treasured instrument; the bachelor sleeps with the *kudyapi* at night." However, there was no rule prohibiting women from the playing of lutes: in one episode of the *sugidanon* epic of the Panay Bukidnon, Malitong Yawa is mentioned as a woman playing the *kudyapi*.[3] The appropriate way of waking up a highly respected person in the morning was by playing a *kudyapi*. In a performance of the *sugidanon* epic, Federico Caballero, for example, described how the hero Humadapnon was gently wakened by strumming the *kudyapi* for him three times. The lute was also played in a case of death to lessen the pain of having lost a beloved friend or relative.

An interesting aspect was revealed by the private field research of the painter Liby Limoso in 2012. Limoso made sound recordings of the *sugidanon* epic and interviewed the sons of Federico Caballero, the singer mentioned above, Federico, Romulo and Leopoldo Caballero. According to them, the boat lute of the mythical hero Labaw Donggon (Labaw Dunggun) is given two different names in the *sugidanon* epic: *Kudyaping Handuman* and *Bidyang Soganoyan*. For clarification, here is a small excerpt from the epic:

1 Today, the Panay Bukidnon use two different kinds of beeswax, white and black wax. The black wax *(libog)* comes from small bees that remind of flies and that build their beehives inside trees.

2 In the drawings (Plate 64), the frets are randomly positioned, merely to gain a better understanding of the instrument's general design.

3 "Malitong Yawa is the daughter of Labaw Donggon, whom Humadapnon, hero of the Hinilawod, courted and married" (Jocano 1969: 90, fn. 5). "Malitung Yawa," according to Federico Caballero, means "beautiful woman with supernatural prowess."

»Gatinangis dang Datu,	»The Datu is weeping,
gahibi dang Malangga,	the Malangga is crying,
hay nabugtuat dulus na,	because the string was cut,
ikudyaping Handuman,	of the Handuman kudyapi,
ibidyang Suganoyan.	the Suganoyan bidyang.
Hugiwan dut iilis,	There is nothing to change,
wara dut itugal-us.«	nothing to replace«
	(Limoso 2021).

This short excerpt makes it clear that the *sugidanon* epic is constructed according to the principle of line doubling, i.e. the content of one line is repeated in the following line with different words. This poetic rule is found in many epic traditions in the Philippines. In reciting the *sugidanon* epic, it makes it imperative to use a synonym for the term *kudyapi*, in this case *"bidya*, *bidyang*, *bidjang*."[1] We may assume, however, that the historical boat lute of the Panay Bukidnon was preferably called *kudyapi* in everyday speech.

Summary: At least in theory, it might be possible that boat lutes are still in use on Panay, today.[2] In the year 2004, for example, a group of Mamanwa people from Surigao del Sur, Mindanao, resettled to the island of Leyte, because the life conditions in their home province had become unbearable for them (Dagondon 2005). Such migration movements, which inevitably result in the exchange of cultural elements, including a possible introduction of boat lutes, certainly also happened in historic times.

The use of the boat lute *kudyapì (cudiapi)* on Panay before the year 1637 can be considered proven, and, at a rough estimate, this tradition of the Panay Bukidnon vanished more than 200 years ago. Those design features of the *kudyapì,* which have been orally handed down until today, show strong evidence that this instrument, indeed, must have been a boat lute, albeit a lute type that considerably differed from those used on Mindanao and Palawan nowadays. Where this unusual lute type was developed or where it came from is impossible to clarify, today. At least, some possible origins can be traced by taking a closer look at the historical facts. Knowledge about the early history of Panay island has been orally transmitted and, under the common name *Maragtas*, was finally, in the 19th century, documented in several manuscripts coming from different villages of Iloilo province.[3]

According to the *Maragtas* myth, the island of Panay is said to have been colonized by a group of immigrants from Borneo. In the early 13th century, the cruel Sultan Makatunaw was said to rule over the empire of Brunei in northwestern Borneo. To avoid an otherwise inevitable revolt, a group of ten *datus* left Borneo with their families and possession, under the guidance of Datu Puti. After several days on sea, the ten boats first reached the southern coast of Palawan, later on the western coast of Panay, where they landed at the mouth of Sarawagan river, in today's Iloilo province. The immigrants

1 This use of the term *bidya* as a synonym of *kudyapi*, however, contradicts Alonso de Méntrida's statement that the frets of the *guitarra* on Panay are called *bidya* and the pressing down of the strings on the frets is called *nagabidya* or *namidya* (Méntrida 1637/1841: 62).

2 One informant from Agusan del Sur (Rene Lagulao alias Datu Tingeabao), who had grown up in Panay, after having seen photographs of boat lutes, felt like remembering to have seen a boat lute in a museum in Panay, many years ago. This information, however, could not be verified, to date.

3 The oldest manuscript of the *Maragtas* was probably written down by Father Tomas Santaren in 1859, in Janiuay, Iloilo, and published in 1902 by Father Angel Perez, as an appendix to his book *Igorotes*. The best known version of the *Maragtas* (from Miagao, Iloilo) was published by Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro in the year 1907. Aside from these two published sources, there were another two versions in existence (from Miagao and Cabatuan, Iloilo), which were destroyed during World War II and only survived in form of summaries (National Historical Commission 1970: 4f). For a long time, there has been an on-going controversy among Philippine historians about the historical truth in these oral traditions. Some of them accepted the alleged historical facts at face value and directly transferred them into their history books, others rejected them as mere fantasy.

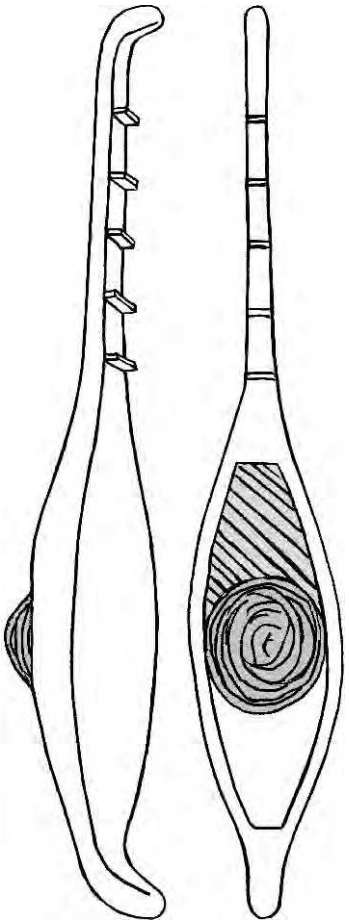

Plate 64:
Partial reconstruction of the extinct boat lute *kudyapi* of the Panay Bukidnon. Diagonal and back view. (Drawing: Brandeis, 2008).

found the whole island of Panay populated by Negritos (Ati), under the leadership Marikudo and his wife Maniwantiwan. To demonstrate their peaceful intentions for the start of a new life, they bought a part of the island in exchange for a golden hat *(saduk)* and a golden container *(batya)* for Marikudo, a pearl necklace for Maniwantiwan and more presents for other dignitaries. The agreement was sealed with a grand fiesta. Soon after, the Ati retreated up into the mountains and left the lowlands to the immigrants who, in no time, settled the whole island, built houses and villages and planted fields (National Historical Commission 1970: 4f).

The *Maragtas* indicates the possibility that cultural elements, including different types of boat lutes, might have been introduced to Panay from Borneo. This assumption, however, has not yet been confirmed: although there is a variety of different types of boat lutes on Borneo, a lute with half a coconut shell inserted into the back of an elongated resonating body is not known to this author from any boat lute tradition in Southeast Asia. At least, the obvious interconnection between Panay and Mindoro (e.g. the existence of *kudyapì*, *gitara*, *lantuy* and *gitgit* on both islands) can be taken as evidence for the possibility of cultural influences from Borneo, as Mindoro, at least in the 14th to 16th centuries, was part of the territory controlled by the sultanate of Brunei (Scott 1997: 191).

There is also this interesting detail from the Amburukay epic that golden pubic hair of the eponymous heroine provides an ideal material for the strings of a *kudyapi*. On the one hand, this story stresses the special importance of gold in the (oral) history of Panay and thus connects the present inhabitants of Panay with their ancestors from Borneo. On the other hand, Alcina also mentions in 1668, referring to the lutes *coriapi* of Samar and Leyte, that strings made from silver, another precious metal are said to sound especially well.[1] In addition to the parallels in the design of the lutes on Panay and on Samar-Leyte, especially regarding the use of the integrated coconut resonator, this can be taken as another evidence for inter-relationships between the lute traditions of these islands.[2]

Among the string instruments of Panay there are also small 4-stringed lutes with coconut resonator, similar to those which used to be popular in other regions of the Philippines under the name *kudyapi*. One of these instruments from Iloilo, Panay, made in the 19th century, has already been described above.

Pampanga

The settlement area of the Kapampángan people originally stretched from Tondo to Central Luzon and was divided into more and more provinces over time. Today, in addition to the central province of Pampanga, it also includes parts of the provinces of Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Aurora and

1 Among the tradition-oriented ethnic groups of northern Luzon, like the Kalingga or Ifugao, those rare and precious flat gongs *(gangsa)* made from a silver alloy are said to sound especially good.

2 In the past, in most lute traditions of Mindanao, the strings of boat lutes were made from the roots of a vine called *bislig*.

Tarlac. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, parts of the Kapampángan were members of Islam. They were Christianized at a very early stage and repeatedly played an ambivalent role in defense of their own culture and the political interests of various colonial and occupying powers, the Spanish, Americans and Japanese (Wikipedia 2021b).

From Pampanga region, there is only one single dictionary as a source available, **Diego Bergaño's** *Vocabulario de la lengua Pampangan en romance*, first published in Madrid in 1732 and reprinted in Manila in 1860. In the latter edition, the author lists two entries containing the term *cudiapi* and, therefore, a typical name for boat lutes: [1]

> "CUDIAPI. (pp.) Como arpa, ya no le hay *[Like the harp, which they do not have anymore.]"* (Bergaño 1860: 81).
>
> "Arpa de indio. *[Harp of the Indios]* V. Har. Cudiapi" (ibid.: 286).

The comparison of the *cudiapi* with a harp in no way suggests that the instrument was a boat lute. A two-stringed lute would hardly be called a "harp" even by a musical layman, and for a lute instrument – of whatever form – he would certainly resort to comparisons with guitar, *vihuela*, violin, *rabel* etc. Since there is not a single known case of a harp used by tradition-oriented Philippine ethnic groups, the comparison rather suggests a polychordal bamboo tube zither, where the hands are placed on both sides of the instrument, similar to a harp.

Bergaño's dictionary entry implies that the *"cudiapi"* was no longer in use by 1860, perhaps as early as 1732. However, prominent regional historian **Mariano Henson** (1897-1975) of Pampanga mentions the use of the instrument again in 1965 in one of his books. About the musical life of Pampanga in days gone by, he writes:

> "An ancient Pampango musical instrument 'cudiapi' like a harp different from the long Moro guitar › kudyapi‹ was no longer in use in 1960 but the › culaing‹ ('mouth harp' or 'trompa de Paris') is made here of this bamboo and still available nowadays from old expert hands. The Pampango guitar with 4 catgut strings used to give rhythm to rice pounding in mortars and the circus-like juggling of pestles and rice planting for beguiling fatigue and boredom. The 'musicus bumbung' or bamboo band only added color to the festivites but not music beyond the muffled interjections of a ram's horn" (Henson 1965: 189f).

Henson's reference to the instrument being different from the boat lutes *kutiyapì* in Mindanao could mean that it is not a boat lute. This author also compares the *"cudiapi"* with a "harp." However, he may have taken this comparison, as well as the spelling of the word *"cudiapi"* from Bergaño's dictionary cited above.[2] He may also mean some other instrument, such as a bamboo zither. However, if the *"cudiapi"* was no longer in use during Henson's lifetime, we must assume that he never saw such an instrument in person and that his statements are ultimately second-hand. In his book, after the *"cudiapi,"* Henson first mentions the jaw harp *"culaing,"* and only afterwards he speaks of a "Pampango guitar with 4 catgut strings." This does not sound like a "harp" at all and suggests that Henson is talking about another instrument at this point, which is obviously different from the *"cudiapi."* However, no further information is given about these lute instruments of the Kapampángan.

A new perspective on the matter results from information the author received from Filipino linguist and historian **Michael Raymon Tayag-Manaloto Pangilinan**, which is summarized below.[3] Pangilinan himself is from Pampanga and for a time was director of the *Sínúpan Singing Center for Kapampángan Cultural Heritage* in Angeles City. He reports a tradition of traveling singers

1 Translations in brackets and in italics by the author.

2 Regarding the orthography of Kapampángan words, different variants of the instrument's name followed each other, in the course of time. The spelling *"cudiapi"* dates from the Spanish period. The spelling *"kudyapi"* was proposed by the *Akademyang Kapampángan* in 1937. The spelling *"kuddiapí"* is currently used by the *Sínúpan Singsing: Center for Kapampángan Cultural Heritage* and by the Municipality of Angeles City, Pampanga (Pangilinan 2020).

3 Unless otherwise noted, all of the following information about Kapampángan musical instruments was provided by Michael Pangilinan..

and storytellers apparently similar to the one of the Bikolanos reported to us by Castaño in 1895. The traveling singers of the Kapampángan were formerly called *mánialése*; today the word *polosador* is more common. Pangilinan was able to experience such balladeers for himself as late as the 1970s in his hometown, Magálang, Pampanga. At that time, there was neither electricity nor access to any mass media in this town. The balladeers, as the only source of news, represented a kind of access to the rest of the world. Every week, from Friday to Sunday, they performed their songs, called *salése* or *polósa*, on the town square *(pátiu),* reporting events happening in nearby settlements or in other parts of the country, politics, earthquakes or typhoons, and whatever else moved people. During this time, they usually stayed overnight with the respective town leader, mayor or *kapitan*, who occasionally used them for his own election campaigns. The listeners of the balladeers, who included children, memorized the songs and spread them further (Pangilinan 2020).

The main musical instrument of the *mánialése (polosador)* to accompany their songs was originally a lute instrument called *kuddiapî*. However, by the 1970s, when Pangilinan personally experienced the balladeers, the *kuddiapî* had already been replaced by a Spanish guitar *(gitára)*. Historian Mariano Henson was of the opinion that the *kuddiapî* was still in use until shortly after World War II, when the guitar became increasingly popular (according to Pangilinan 2020). Michael Pangilinan still remembers that during his childhood in Magálang, Pampanga, he also heard his own maternal grandfather playing the lute *kuddiapî* and another stringed instrument called *kurangkang* (ibid.).

What the *kuddiapî* once looked like or how it was constructed in detail is unknown. Descriptions or illustrations of an authentic instrument are not available. In the 1980s, however, one man began to rebuild the *kuddiapî* and other stringed instruments from his own memory and from the descriptions of others. In order to better understand the context, we must first go into more detail about this man's personal background (ibid.).

Jesus Padilla, who has since passed away, was also called *Ápung Susing*. He was a quiet man, a simple peasant without schooling. His place of residence, Barrio Balítî, was not far from the towns of Aráyat and Magálang, at the foot of Mount Aláya. In this place, Jesus Padilla led a life turned away from modern society, almost without contact with the people of the lowlands. It is said that at some point he disappeared for three days. When he was later found beside a small river, he claimed to have been in the world of *Ápung Sínukuan ("Labuad nang Ápung Sínukuan")*, the sun god of the Kapampángan. He explained that the daughters of *Ápung Sínukuan* had brought him to their father's kingdom. After returning to his village, Jesus Padilla then began to create works of art. His main work is a very unusual building that he built with his own hands, without the help of others. It resembles a Cambodian temple and has since gained fame as a tourist attraction. Jesus Padilla claimed that the palace of *Ápung Sínukuan*, which he had seen during his trip to the spirit world, served him as a model. When Michael Pangilinan visited him in the late 1980s, Padilla's residence, Barrio Balítî, was still without electricity. There was no television, no magazines, or any other representations that could have served Padilla as models for his artwork and crafts (ibid.).

After his visit to the spirit world, Jesus Padilla also began making various stringed instruments modeled after traditional Kapampángan instruments, especially *kuddiapî*, *kurangkang* and *pagitgit*. He made these instruments in various versions from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s. Pangilinan saw in Padilla's house 5 *kuddiapî* made of wood, 7 *kurangkang* made of wood and several *kurangkang* made of bamboo. One of these *kuddiapî* is in the possession of Michael Pangilinan. It is probably the last instrument that Jesus Padilla built. Where the other instruments are now located is unknown even to Jesus Padilla's family, his wife and children (ibid.).

Judging the musical instruments built by Jesus Padilla in terms of design, method of construction and authenticity is not easy. On the one hand, Jesus Padilla was never a musician or practiced any other kind of art before his "great transformation." He clearly stated that he remembered *kuddiapî*, *kurangkang* and *pagitgit* only from his childhood. In this respect, certain details in the construction of his instruments, such as the attachment of the strings at the head and string holder, or the shape and attachment of the frets, should be taken with a grain of salt. Other aspects, such as the overall shape of

the instruments and the design of certain parts in relation to a particular symbolic meaning, are likely to be much easier to reconstruct from memory (ibid.).

Traditionally, the lute *kuddiapî* was given the shape of the flaming dragon bird *Ápung Sínukuan*. The body extension of the instrument then represents the head of the dragon bird, the resonating body its body, and the neck the bird's tail. How the god of the sun was visually represented in past centuries is shown by carved cantilevers in the Spanish Baroque Santa Monica Parish Church in Minalin, Pampanga. These wooden cantilevers show Islamic influences from Pampanga's past, reminiscent of the *panolong* carvings on the sultan's palaces *(torogan)* of the Maranao. Pangilinan recalls a particular *kuddiapî* made by Padilla in which the head and tail were carved in the shape of *Ápung Sínukuan*. This lute strongly resembled the carvings in the church of Minalin, on the one hand, and the *panolong* carvings of the Maranao, on the other, although without the latter's colorful paintwork and with less elaborate ornamentation (ibid.).

According to Pangilinan, the *kuddiapî* he collected himself is an exception among the instruments built by Padilla, because it is the only one that represents the mythical sea cow *Dúyung*. This particular instrument is described in detail in the following pages of this work. Sea cows are said to have inhabited the river Indung Kapampángan a long time ago. In general, Padilla preferred the representation of *Ápung Sínukuan* on his instruments (ibid.).

It is now time to clarify what kind of stringed instrument the traditional *kuddiapî* of the Kapampángan actually was. In order to get closer to clarifying this question, we have to deal with several distinct stringed instruments of the Kapampángan and work out their differences. All of these instruments are now out of use. Unfortunately, no authentic instruments have survived. The Kapampángan's memory of these instruments is also obscure and unclear.

The problem of identification begins with the claim that in earlier times there were instruments called *kuddiapî* made of both wood and bamboo. Many informants of Pangilinan also believed that *kuddiapî* and *kurangkang* were one and the same instrument. And finally, it was stated that there was also a version of the *kurangkang* made of wood and one made of bamboo. Either the *kuddiapi* or the *kurangkang*, perhaps both, were played by peasants while working in the fields to entertain laborers planting rice (ibid.).

In consideration of all available information, the Kapampángan may have possessed the following stringed instruments in the past:

[1] *kuddiapî* — an elongated 2-stringed instrument made of wood, resembling a boat lute from the southern Philippines (ibid.).

[2] *kurangkang* — a small, 4-stringed lute made of wood, with a round resonating body. According to informants, the *kurangkang* is said to resemble the 4-stringed Japanese moon lute *gekkin*, as they saw it depicted on old Philippine matchboxes (Plate 70).[1] However, Pangilinan, who saw Padilla's reconstructions of the *kurangkang* in person, said the neck of these lutes was longer in proportion to the body, the soundboxes made of wood, larger than a dinner plate, and curved on the back. Also, the surface of Padilla's instruments was said to be covered with floral carvings (ibid.). However, judging from our knowledge of 4-stringed lutes from the central Philippines, we can also surmise that the soundbox may have originally been made from half a coconut shell.

[3] *kurangkang* or *kuddiapî*? — a small, two-stringed lute made of bamboo. With its elongated shape, it is reminiscent of the wooden boat lute *kuddiapi* and is often mistaken for it by the

1 The informants believed that the instrument depicted on the matchbox was a "Chinese guitar" *(yuèqín)*. In fact, there are very similar matchboxes of Japanese production. One may assume that the same Japanese manufacturer – perhaps since the Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II – produced matches for the Philippine market. Nevertheless, the association with a Chinese lute is not far-fetched either, for as early as the 16th century, merchants from Manila traveled to China several times a year for trading purposes (Scott 1997: 191ff). It is not known, however, whether Chinese musical instruments came to Pampanga via Manila.

Kapampángan today. In this bamboo version *("gitárang kuáyan," "gitárang bungbung")* the soundbox and neck are said to be clearly carved out by reducing the tube in the area of the neck to a strip of bamboo. The instrument is heterochordal, so the two strings are added separately. Pangilinan's description of the bamboo kurangkang strongly resembles a bamboo instrument of unknown origin that the author was able to document in the collection of Bob Aves (Plates 71-77). The author therefore asked Pangilinan to comment on this instrument. According to him, only one form element, which Pangilinan called "nose," should distinguish this instrument from the *kurangkang* made of bamboo. He also said that it was very crudely made compared to the attractive instruments made by Jesus Padilla and Long Melo. Allegedly, the guerrilla fighters of the anti-Japanese Hukbong Laban sa Hapon (Huk) during World War II – instead of delicate, Spanish guitars – took similar robustly built instruments on their marches through the mountains (ibid.). The instrument also seems to bear some resemblance to the so-called "Negrito Violin," which is also made from a piece of bamboo cane, but usually with an attached neck (Plate 14; see also Manuel 1976: Plate 1).

[4] *págitgit* — when a *kurangkang* is played like a violin, it is called *págitgit*.[1] The bow is called *pángitgit*. This instrument is also used in the bamboo orchestra *(musicus bumbung)* of the Kapampángan. In this ensemble it is sometimes replaced by two saws, which are bowed against each other and then called *mipángitgit* (ibid.). The name of the instrument inevitably brings to mind other bowed instruments of the Central Philippines with similar names, for example, the 2-stringed, heterochordal *gætgæt* or *litgit* of the Panay Bukidnon, which is made of a thick bamboo tube with two tuning pegs and a bridge (Jocano 1968: 58), second, the fiddle *litguit (litgit)* of the Bicolano (Lisboa 1865, Vol 2: 94), the 2-stringed bamboo tube fiddle of the Negrito in Tapas, Capiz, Luzon (Romualdez 1932/1953; Takács 1975: 182), fourth, the small, 3-stringed *gitgit* of the Hanunóo-Mangyan, with a wooden body shaped like a guitar (Conklin and Maceda 1971: 187, 197), and other fiddles.

[5] *tabungbung* — an idiochord full tube zither made of bamboo (ibid.). No information is available on this Kapampángan instrument. At least Manuel gives the hint that *tabungbung* is a "bamboo zither with two strings" of the Negrito (1976: 64). There are also Negrito people living in the western part of Pampanga (Takács 1975: 141).

Summary: In pre-Hispanic times, the Kapampángan possessed an instrument called *"cudiapi"* (in modern spelling *kuddiapî)*, which according to a Spanish source is said to have been already extinct by 1732. According to more recent sources, however, the *kuddiapî* was still in use until the 1950s as an accompanying instrument for wandering balladeers. The *kuddiapî* was revived by a Kapampángan artist in the late 1970s and early 1980s who tried to reconstruct – or rather recreate – the instrument.

All the evidence suggests that the *kuddiapî* was a boat lute, clearly distinguished from a 2-stringed bamboo lute *(kuddiapî* or *kurangkang)* and a 4-stringed wooden lute *(kurangkang)* with a circular soundbox. Today, however, most Kapampángan confuse the *kuddiapî* with the *kurangkang* and believe that both names refer to the same instrument. Therefore, there is still a theoretical possibility that the *kuddiapî* is the same type of 4-stringed lute with a coconut body that was once widely used in the central Philippines. There is also still uncertainty about the appearance and construction of a bamboo version of the lute *kuddiapî*. It may bear resemblance to the bamboo fiddle of the Negrito people of Zambales, Luzon.

On the symbolic level, the *kuddiapî* represented above all the mythical dragon bird *Ápung Sínukuan*. It unites ideas of crocodile, snake-dragon and bird, which are all assigned to the same ani-

1 According to Pangilinan, the word *gitgit* in common Kapampángan usage means "to create a sharp screeching sound by rubbing, scratching two smooth surfaces together... like two sharp knives, like your finger nails on a smooth blackboard, like the tight strings of a bow to the tight strings of a violin" (2020).

mal family. Islamic influences are said to have been evident in the carvings of some of the instruments..

A counterpart to the Kapampángan tradition of traveling minstrels can be found in Bikol, where the musicians also accompanied themselves on a lute, the name of which has been handed down as *"codyape."*

Insertion 1:
Reconstruction of a Kapampángan Boat Lute *kuddiapî*.

Indigenous name:	***kuddiapî.***
Ethnic group:	**Kapampángan.**
Place of origin:	Barrio Balítî, Aráyat, Pampanga. At the foot of the Mt. Aláya.
Collector/data source:	Michael Raymon Tayag-Manaloto Pangilinan. 1989/90.
Materials:	Light and dark wood, bamboo, glue, nails, rough cord, nylon strings.
Measurements:	Unknown.

Description:
This instrument is a reconstruction of a *kuddiapî* made by the Kapampángan artist Jesus Padilla. Padilla built several lutes of this type, some of which are said to have differed considerably from one another. All of them, however, are based on the traditional *kuddiapî* lutes of the Kapampángan, which Jesus Padilla remembered from his childhood. Accordingly, the present instrument represents a mixture of traditional forms and of construction features that Padilla redeveloped according to his own knowledge of craftsmanship. The present lute, however, is atypical of the instruments made by Padilla, as it is the only one to represent not the dragon bird *Ápung Sínukuan*, but the sea cow *Dúyong*. According to his own statement, the lute maker originally wanted to give the instrument the shape of a crocodile, but then changed his mind at the last minute and gave the animal's head and tail a matching softer shape (Pangilinan 2020). The outer appearance of this lute is kept very simple, while Jesus Padilla usually covered the outer surfaces of his *kuddiapi* with ornamental relief carvings and finely carved the head and tail of the mythological dragon bird. Accordingly, by his own account, it took him a long time to make one single *kuddiapî*.

The lute has two strings made of thick nylon string, which correspond to the nylon strings of a classical, Spanish guitar. The instrument is made of light brown, untreated wood, a soft, aromatic type of wood that the Kapampángan call *ditá (Alstonia scholaris)*.[1] Trees of this species are found on Mount Aláya, near the residence of Jesus Padilla.

The body of the lute is almost lancet-shaped, only near its ends slightly more curved outward. The neck and body are about the same length. The shape of the soundboard is unusual. As an extension of the neck, it consists of a central strip with adjacent angled areas on both sides (clearly visible in Plate 68).

The resonating body is hollowed out from below and the cavity is covered with a very thick wooden board as a back cover (Plate 69). This thick back cover has also been strongly beveled in the longitudinal direction on both sides, so that the cross-section of the body as a whole results in an octagon. Because of the thickness of this back cover, it may be assumed that it is also hollowed out on the inside. The back cover has no resonance holes and is glued on. It is obviously very fragile in its lower third, where it has several cracks, and was therefore repaired over a large area using a reddish-brown, putty-like adhesive.

The cross-section of the body is almost round, i.e. the side ribs and back cover are carved into an almost uniform curve, which is interrupted only by the three planes of the soundboard. This round shape was obviously deliberately aimed for by the lute maker, because he pointed out: *"Alá yang kántukantu"* ("It has no corners"). The body extension is also almost ball-shaped (Plate 69) and is supposed to represent the stylized head of the mythical sea cow *Dúyong*, the soundbox the body of the animal and the neck of the lute its tail.[2]

1 Padilla also made many of his lutes from the wood known as *kalantas (toona calantas)*. The general term for wood is *dútung*.

2 Most of the other *kuddiapî* made by Jesus Padilla are said to represent the sun god *Ápung Sínukuan*, in the form of a dragon bird.

The head of the lute is block-shaped and has a pegbox similar to a European violin. A rectangular block was cut out of the flattened head so that it is open on the upper and lower sides. The two inserted friction pegs are very long, so that they protrude very far from the opposite peg holes. At first glance, one might even think that the lute has four tuning pegs. A hole is drilled through the rounded end of the head in cross-direction (Plate 66), as well as through the ball-shaped extension of the resonating body (Plate 70). Cord loops run through each of these two holes. If such a loop were present only at the head, one might think it was for the purpose of hanging the instrument. If, however, loops are present at both ends of the instrument, it is reasonable to assume that a strap was originally attached there.

The attachment of the two strings for melody and drone deviates significantly from traditional boat lutes in Mindanao, as block-shaped cutouts are not to be found at either end of the strings. Instead, a stringholder in the shape of a half moon is attached to the soundboard, in which two round holes with adjoining slots are cut (Plate 68). The two nylon strings are inserted into these two holes and held there by knots that are tied at their ends.

In front of the stringholder one can see an attached bridge and in front of the peghead an attached zero-fret (Plate 66). Both are absolutely identical in form and function. On the upper sides of the bridge and zero-fret, notches are cut for the insertion of nails with bent ends as string supports. The fret inlay on the bridge, however, has since been lost. The stringholders, bridge and zero-fret are made of a dark wood. In front of the bridge, along the center axis of the soundboard, three small round soundholes are cut.

The lute originally had 8 playing-frets, of which frets 1 and 3 are missing. All frets are positioned exclusively under the melody string (Plate 67). They consist of glued-on wooden sticks that are rounded on the upper side. At the points where the nylon strings come to rest on the frets during playing, small notches can be seen. It is not possible to determine whether these notches were deliberately cut into the frets or whether they were caused by the constant pressure of the strings on the frets due to frequent use.

Available documentation: Unknown.
Current location: Sínúpan Singsing Center for Kapampángan Cultural Heritage, Angeles City.
Source of illustrations: Michael Pangilinan, 2020.

Plate 65: Reconstruction of the almost forgotten boat lute *kuddiapî* of the Kapampángan by Jesus Padilla. (Photo: Albert Jonah M. Medina.)

Plate 66 (left):
Head of a *kuddiapî*, with two inserted friction pegs and zero-fret (Photo: Albert Jonah M. Medina.)

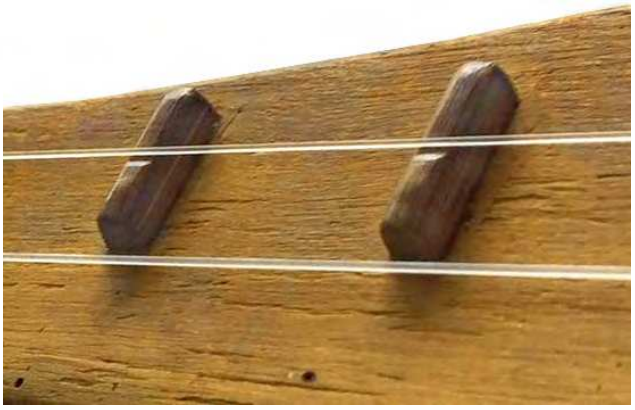

Plate 67 (right):
Two frets of a *kuddiapî* (Photo: Albert Jonah M. Medina.)

Plate 68 (left):
Stringholder and bridge of a *kuddiapî*, two sound holes (Photo: Albert Jonah M. Medina.)

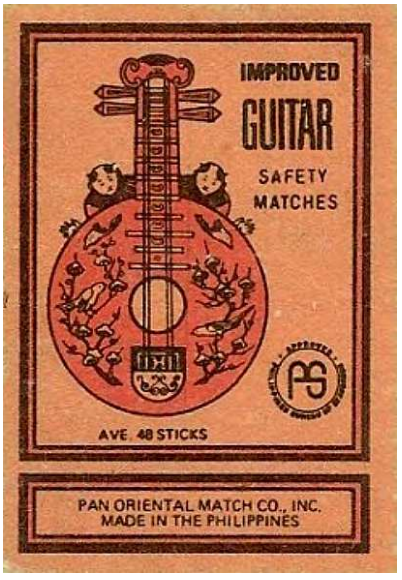

Plate 70 (above):
Illustration of a Japanese moon lute *gekkin* on an old matchbox from the Philippines.

Plate 69 (below):
Body extension of a *kuddiapî*
(Photo: Albert Jonah M. Medina.)

Insertion 2:
Bamboo instrument of unknown origin, similar to a Kapampángan bamboo lute *kuddiapî*.[1]

Indigenous name:	***Unknown.***
Ethnic group:	Unknown.
Place of origin:	Unknown.
Collector/data source:	Bob Aves. Purchased before 2004 at the antique shop Chang Rong Antique Gallery, Intramuros, Manila.
Materials:	Bamboo, wood, iron sheet, nails, nylon cord, rough cord.
Measurements:	Overall length: ~1,130 mm, body width / body depth (tube diameter): ~90 mm, scale length: ~750 mm.

Description:
This instrument was purchased by Filipino guitarist Bob Aves in an antique store in Intramuros, Manila. However, its origin is completely unknown. Even the sellers could not help in this regard. It is the only instrument of this kind that the author has been able to examine. Because of the carved decorations, the author initially suspected that the instrument might have come from one of the Islamic ethnic groups of Mindanao. Linguist and historian Michael Pangilinan, who saw photographs of this instrument, thought it was very similar to the bamboo version of the now extinct boat lute *kuddiapî* of the Kapampángan, but comparatively crudely made (Pangilinan 2020). Although Pangilinan could not confirm that it is such an instrument, this bamboo lute is nevertheless presented here in order to give a better idea of what the bamboo version of a *kuddiapî* might have looked like.

The instrument was made from a thick piece of bamboo cane about 90 mm in diameter. The soundbox takes up about two-thirds (620 mm) of the total length (1,130 mm), with the neck and head making up about the remaining third (335 mm). The rest of the total length is taken up by the protruding head and body extensions.

A complete internode makes up the body, which closes off at both ends with a growth node. On each end, the bamboo cane protrudes a few centimeters beyond the bounding growth nodes, where it is cut off at an angle. A hole is drilled in each of these protrusions, and a carrying strap is knotted in both holes. It can therefore be assumed that a musician had the instrument hanging in front of him while he played it, similar to a guitar.

The only opening on the upper side of the body is a medium sized sound hole (Plate 74). On both sides of the resonating body one can see incisions in the bamboo surface. Three adjacent triangle shapes are each filled with floral or scroll-like motifs reminiscent of the fern motif *(pako)* in Maranao *okir* carvings (Plate 75).

At about a third of the total length, most of the bamboo cane has been removed, leaving only a strip of bamboo about 56 mm wide that forms the neck. The instrument has a head and a body extension. Both consist of flat pieces of wood carved into shape and nailed to the bamboo cane (Plate 77). The head extension (Plate 77) has a scroll-like round shape, also similar to the fern motif *(pako)* of the Maranao. The body extension (Plate 74) is combined with the stringholder. It is carved into a modified triangular shape reminiscent of the *panolong* carvings of the Maranao. The incision in this body extension could well be interpreted, as in a *panolong*, as the open mouth of a crocodile, but this is so far only an assumption.

This bamboo instrument has two nylon strings. Strictly speaking, it is only one single string, which is redirected in the opposite direction at the stringholder (Plate 73). The string attachment does not correspond to the standard of boat lutes on Mindanao or Palawan, neither at the head nor at

1 According to Hornbostel and Sachs's classification of musical instruments, this stringed instrument could be understood as a mixture of *heterochord whole-tube* and *half-tube zither* (312.121 / 312.22), but also as a *necked lute* (321.32), as its "handle is attached to or carved from the resonator, like a neck" (1961: 21f).

the stringholder, because the usual cutaways at nut and saddle are missing here. Instead, small rectangles of sheet iron are nailed to the sides of the two flat wooden extensions (Plates 72 and 73). On the stringholder, these two opposing iron sheets are pierced with small holes through which the nylon string runs and is directed along the outer sides of the stringholder (Plate 73).

Surprisingly, the instrument has only one tuning peg, which consists of a steel pin with a metal rectangle attached to it. This tuning peg is stuck in two holes drilled in the two metal rectangles attached to the head (Plate 72). Considering the fact that the nylon string is redirected at the stringholder, the presence of only one tuning peg would be quite conceivable. This would result in both strings having the same pitch. What is irritating, however, is the fact that the metal peg actually cannot be fixed in any way, but turns loosely in the holes. How the nylon strings are then supposed to hold their tension therefore remains a mystery. The two rectangular metal plates attached to the head are, apart from the metal tuning peg, additionally connected to each other by an iron nail, which is perhaps meant to serve as a kind of string support.

The frets are also puzzling. They consist of small bamboo rectangles that are glued to the bamboo surface underneath both strings (Plate 76). In front of the head and in front of the stringholder, one can see one fret each, of which the one on the stringholder has been lost. However, one may assume that these are not supposed to be playing frets, but a zero-fret at the head (Plate 72) and a bridge at the stringholder (Plate 74). What is puzzling, however, is the function of a third fret, which is not quite in the middle of the strings. Perhaps it is supposed to mark the approximate position of the octave, but would be much too imprecisely positioned for that. Since playing frets are otherwise missing, it is reasonable to assume that the instrument was originally bowed. In any case, one would expect something different from the bamboo version of a boat lute.

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Available documentation: Unknown.
Current location: Private collection Bob Aves, Quezon City.
Source of illustrations: Hans Brandeis, 2004.

Plate 71:
Bamboo instrument of unknown origin, similar to a bamboo lute *kuddiapî* of the Kapampángan (before 2004).

Plate 72:
String attachment at the head with zero-fret (?).

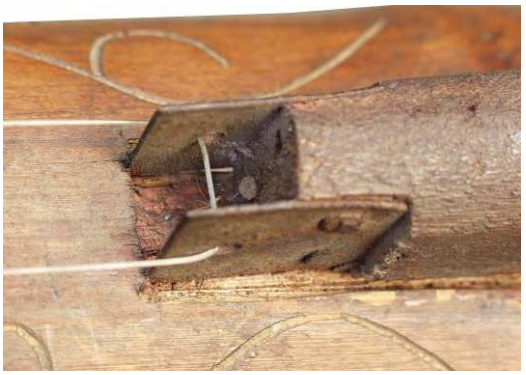

Plate 73:
String attachment at the stringholder.

Plate 74:
Lower end of soundbox with body extension, missing bridge (?), sound hole.

Plate 75:
Incisions on the sides of the soundbox.

Plate 76:
Fret made of bamboo.

Plate 77:
Head extension with tuning peg made of metal.

Bikol

Although Bikol is located in the south of the main island Luzon, the culture of the Bicolano should rather be related to those in the adjacent Visayas region than to those quite different cultures that can be found in the faraway north of Luzon.

The Franciscan friar **Márcos de Lisboa** (†1628) collected the data for his work *Vocabulario de la lengua Bicol* between 1602 and 1616, when he was assigned as definitor and parish priest in Naga (Blair and Robertson 1906, vol. 35: 313, fn. 100). The work, however, was published only much later, in the year 1754. For this study, only the second edition from 1865 was available.

Márcos de Lisboa's definition of the term *codyape* as "un instrumento como bigüela *[a musical instrument similar to the* vihuela] (1865, vol 1: 99)[1] does not allow us to come to any conclusions regarding size and design of the instrument. The translation of the entry "Tañer guitarra *[to play guitar]"*[2] with "codyape" (ibid., vol 2: 94) only shows that it is a plucked lute that is referred to here. Another entry in Márcos de Lisboa's *Vocabulario* stresses the special expressiveness of the instrument: "Naca gnaran gnarana ampagcodyape niya, hace hablar á la bigüela, frasis *[He makes the* vihuela *speak sentences.*] (ibid., vol 1: 99).[3] This reminds us of the lute traditions of the Magindanaon and other tribal groups of Mindanao that can communicate messages by playing their lutes. While this statement obviously applies to instrumental solo playing, the following quotation makes clear that the *codyapi (codyape)* was also used for the accompaniment of songs:

> "...We know that, in former times, there were poets who, while roaming around the countryside with their *codyapi* on their shoulder, reported about the battles and wars of nations, the heroic deeds of many a new hero, and about seismic and geologic phenomena that bring along lamentable bloodshed, like an extremely strong earthquake, the eruption of a volcano, or an impressive typhoon" (Castaño 1895, nach Artigas y Cuerva 1916: 15).[4]

The Bicolano also used a bamboo tube zither named *codlong*, "un instrumento chico de caña de mugeres *[a small instrument of cane of the women]"* (Lisboa 1865, vol 1: 99)[5] as well as a kind of violin called *litguit* (ibid., vol 2: 94).[6] At the beginning of the 17th century, European musical instrument were already popular in Bikol, *guitarra*, *vihuela*, *rabel*, among others.

Summary: There is no information available on the design or number of strings of the Bicolano *codyapi (codyape)*. It might have been a plucked, two-stringed boat lute just like a lute with more than two strings, maybe with a coconut resonator, or any kind of other lute instrument. In the 17th century, the indigenous musical instruments in Bikol were obviously already at the verge of extinction. At least, we know that the *codyapi* was both played solo and for the accompaniment of singing.

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

2 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

3 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

4 Translation by the author. Original Spanish text: "Por otra parte, sabemos que antiguamente habia poetas que recorriendo las comarcas con el codyapi al hombro, relataban las batallas y guerras de los pueblos, las hazañas de algún nuevo heroe, y hasta los fenómenos seísmicos y geológicos, acompañado de tristes y sangrientas hecatombes, como era algun fortísimo temblor, la explosión de algún volcán, ó algun imponente baguio."

5 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

6 "Litguit" means "to rub or produce friction," and variants of this word in several Philippine languages designate violins made from bamboo, among the Negrito of Tapas, Capiz, instruments with two strings (Romualdez 1932/1953: 88f). In the Bicolano language, the word, used as a verb, means "Tañer rabeles, ó instrumentos como ellos *[to play rabeles or instruments like these]"* (Lisboa 1865, vol 2: 94). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

The use of the *codyapi* in Bikol by traveling balladeers and the early disappearance of the instrument present clear parallels to the tradition of the *cudiapi (kuddiapî)* of the Kapampángan, which we discussed in the previous chapter.

Pangasinan

In the *Diccionario Pangasinan-Español* of **Lorenzo Fernandez Cosgaya**, published in 1865, there is no information on the possible existence of a string instrument called *kudyapi*, *kuryapi* or alike in the Pangasinan region of Central Luzon. Not even entries like *guitarra* or *harpa* can be found in the dictionary, even though some other terms connected with music are listed.

Summary: The review of historical dictionaries of other languages spoken on the island of Luzon clearly shows that, in the "more recent" dictionaries, terms like *kudyapi* are less and less often listed. Despite the lack of the term in Cosgaya's work from 1865, it might nevertheless be the case that a string instrument named *kudyapi* or alike was used in Pangasinan, in the past. In view of the fact that additional, especially older literature is lacking, this cannot be clarified anymore.

Ilocos

The Ilocano originally lived along the western coast of northern Luzon, from San Fernando, La Union, up to Baguio, Ilocos Norte and Sur. Today, they also live in Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Bizcaya, Pangasinan, Zambales, Tarlak, and Nueva Ecija. In the culture of the Ilocano, the Spanish influence is very strong (Takacs 1975: 134). The available information about the string instruments of the Ilocano, regarding terminology and design, are rather confusing. Important for us are, first of all, the names of those musical instruments, which might have been boat lutes.

The Augustinian friar **Andrés Carro** (1733-1806) is considered the most outstanding lexicographer of the Ilocano language. In his *Vocabulario de la lengua Ilocana* (compiled in 1792 and printed in 1849), as well as in its second edition titled *Vocabulario Iloco-Español* (1888), the term *codiapi* is listed, at that time already a "voz ... anticuada" ["archaic word"], defined as: "Violon, guitarra, ó rabel, con dos cuerdas de alambre [violon*, guitar or* rabel *with two wire strings]* (Carro 1849: 86; 1888: 88).[1] It seems that Carro never saw such an instrument with his own eyes; otherwise, he would not have compared it, in the same breath, with three different string instruments, two bowed and one plucked, which additionally even show rather different designs.

It is striking to note that Carro still lists another term, *"curiápi*," which was also used in other regions of the Philippines as a name for string instruments. However, he obviously did not really know what this term was about, as he defines it as "Un instrumento de supersticion *[an instrument of superstition]"* (Carro 1849: 92; 1888: 93).[2] What is meant by this definition remains a mystery, possibly "an instrument from heathen, i.e. pre-Spanish times." Maybe Carro picked up this word in Ilocos, which had been imported from another region, but the exact meaning of which Carro's informant was not capable to explain.

While the number of two strings of the *codiapi*, as given by Carro, speaks for the possibility that this forgotten instrument was in fact a boat lute, the Ilocano of his time still knew a second type of lute. **Isabelo de los Reyes** reports in 1889-1890 that the Ilocano played a small *vihuela* with five

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

2 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

strings named *kutibéng*, of which people claimed that it already had been used before the arrival of the Spaniards. As the instruments used at that time strongly reminded of European *vihuelas*, it was already de los Reyes, who suspected that the *kutibéng* must have had a different design, in pre-Spanish times (1994: 258).[1] A photograph of more recent date, shown in Aquino et al., shows a *"Kutibeng*, an Ilocano fiddle, the back, side, and finger board of which is one-piece lumber made hallow by chiselling" (1966: 24). On this rather blurred image, a small instrument can be seen, which shows the typical guitar shape, five strings, of which one is missing, rear tuning pegs, merely four frets, a circular sound hole on top and a cross-bar as a stringholder (Plate 78), i.e. an instrument, for which the designation "fiddle" appears to be completely inappropriate.

Jenö Takács, who was teaching piano at the Conservatory of Music in Manila in 1932-1934, describes the *kutibeñg*, without indicating his source, as a guitar with six instead of five strings, "very likely of European origin. Probably the name was formerly applied to a native instrument which was not a guitar but a lute" (1975: 181). This historical "native instrument" could have been a boat lute... but bearing which name, *codiapi* / *curiápi* or *kutibéng?* At least, the different number of 5-6 instead of 2 strings is a clear evidence that the *kutibéng* and the *codiapi* / *curiápi* were indeed different lute instruments.

To make our confusion perfect: while the term *kutibeng* today refers to a small kind of lute, this term had a completely different meaning, during Carro's time: *cutibéñg* was the name for a kind of "especie de tambor," played by men. It was set up by digging a hole, covering it with a wooden board, and attaching the board with a string.[2] Most probably, we are dealing here with a ground zither.[3] The use of this very simple musical instrument in the northern Philippines[4] is documented in two sources which, however, neither give the names of the ethnic groups nor of the instrument itself:

> "Another crude attempt at instrumental music deserves mention – the *boy's museék* ... it had the earth for its body. Its one string was a fiber of bamboo about 45 inches long, the ends wrapped around stones and firmly imbedded in the ground. Under this string, near the middle, the boy had dug a hole in the ground about the size of a quart cup, lining it neatly with stones. Over the top of this hole he had placed a round piece of tin, on which rested the little stick which formed the 'bridge' and supported the string at such an interval that the two ends gave tones a major third apart. A little boy twanged this most happily, and sang a little Igorot song. In answer to my question he said it was *boy's museék*" (Densmore 1906: 621f).

> "Ground zither – String stretched over a hole in the ground between two pegs. A stick forms the central bridge on a pit covered with a flat piece of wood, or only with a bark lid. Two small sticks serve as beaters. (Reported by Prof. E. Asai, Tokyo.)" (around 1935, after Takács 1975: 171).

The Ilocano also used a bamboo tube zither in the past. Carro defines the *Curitéñg* as a "guitarra, ó tambor de muchachos, que hacen con una caña" ["guitar or drum of the men made from cane"] (1849: 92; 1888: 94). We may assume that a polychordal, plucked zither is meant here, for similar names *(kulitong, kolliteng* etc.) for this type of zither can also be found among the Tingguian/Itneg, Kalingga, Bontok and Ilonggot of northern Luzon (Maceda 1998: 201).[5] However, it seems more likely that the term *Curitéñg* refers to an idiochord drum zither, which the Ilocano, according to Takacs, is (also?) called *tambor*; this instrument had two strings connected by a clamped platform

1 The Philippine historians Agoncillo and Alfonso also mention that the Ilocano used a string instrument named *kutibeng*, in former times, "a sort of guitar with five strings" (1960: 55). However, they do not indicate their source and probably refer to Isabelo de los Reyes.

2 Original Spanish text: "Es el tambor de los muchachos: hecho en la tierra un hoyo ponen una hoja, y su cuerda, y tocan" (Carro 1849: 93); "Especie de tambor ó zambomba de los muchachos, que consiste en hacer un hoyo en la tierra y cub[r]irlo con una hoja bien extendid[a] y sujeta por medio de una cuerda" (Carro 1888: 94).

3 Cf. Hornbostel and Sachs (1914: 578).

4 Similar ground zithers can also be found in Malacca and Madagaskar (Hornbostel and Sachs 1914) and in other parts of Africa and Asia.

5 According to Takacs, *kuñg-koñg* is another name for the "bamboo zither of the Ilokano, Pangasinan and Bugney people in Cagayan valley" (1975: 181).

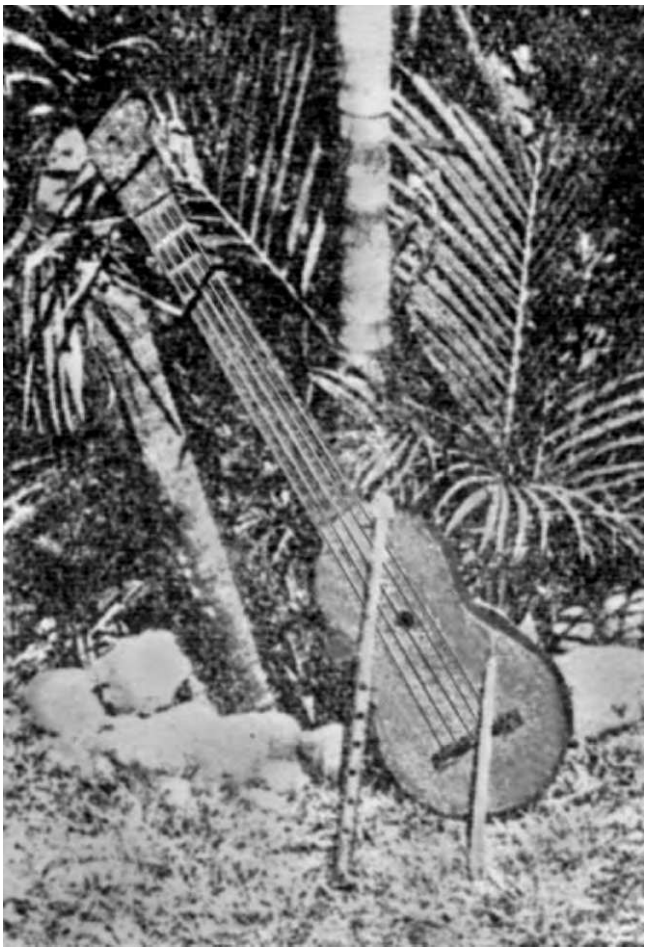

Plate 78:
Five-stringed guitar *kutibeng* of the Ilocano, two flutes in the foreground (Aquino et al. 1966: 24).

made from bamboo or bark, and it was beaten with a stick (1975: 201). However, just like neighboring ethnic groups, the Ilocano might have used both types of bamboo tube zithers, although the sources are not clear, in this respect.

Among the European string instruments used by the Ilocano during Carro's time were the guitar, harp and violin, the strings of which were referred to by the Spanish word *cuerdas* (Carro 1849: 90; 1888: 91). The *harpa* or *arpa* became very popular among the Ilocano, after they had heard it played by a Spanish soldier (1849: 127).[1]

After we have started this chapter about the *codiapi* of the Ilocano with a rather early source, Carro's *Vocabulario* from the year 1792, it would be interesting to know, which of the information passed on there has survived until the present day. The dictionary published by trained linguist **Carl R. G. Rubino** in 2000, *Ilocano Dictionary and Grammar: Ilocano-English, English-Ilocano*, bridges a timespan of about 210 years and will form the basis to answer this question. In the introduction of this work, Rufino mentions that another Ilocano dictionary published by Morice Vanoverbergh in 1956 served him as a "skeleton for the present dictionary" (Rubino 2000: xii). Although he does not mention the dictionary of Carro from 1792/1849, parts of Carro's work most probably passed through the work of Vanoverbergh into Rubino's dictionary. The fact that the terms discussed below appear in a modern dictionary does, therefore, not at all imply that the majority of modern Ilocano actually know these terms.

The word *kudiápi* (Carro's *codiapi)* is labeled as "obsolete" by Rubino and, therefore, does not belong to the contemporary vocabulary. In its definition as "lyre, kind of violin with two wire strings", only the first part of Carro's definition from 1792 ("violon, guitarra, ó rabel") has survived. Additionally, this historical *kudiápi* of the Ilocano is said to be equivalent to the *kudyapi* of the Tagalog (Rubino 2000: 282). The instrument known by that name is obviously not compared to a guitar and, consequently, does not appear in Rubino's definition of the term: "**guitar**: n. gitára, kuriténg, kutibéng" (ibid.: 687). However, and here is a contradiction, *kudiápi* is elsewhere listed by Rubino as a synonym for "**kuriténg**: n. kind of native guitar. *(kudiapi),"* even though the term *kuriténg* – according to Carro – stands for a bamboo tube zither.

In other areas of the Philippines, small four-stringed lutes with coconut resonators called *kudyapi*, or alike, have been replaced during the Spanish colonial times by likewise four-stringed instruments showing guitar shapes. Basically, the same development might have happened in Ilocos.

1 Original Spanish text: "Instrumento músico del Rey David, muy usado entre estos Ilocos, desde que la vieron tocar á un soldado, Español de aquellos conquistadores" (Carro 1849: 127).

This assumption, however, rises two questions: (1) Why, then, did the instrument of the Ilocano not keep its name *codiapil kudiápi*, but was renamed *kuriténg*? (2) What kind of instrument, then, was this two-stringed lute of the olden days that had been called *codiapil kudiápi*? The assumption that the term *codiapi* listed by Carro in 1792 was indeed borrowed from some other dictionary clears up some contradictions and considerably simplifies the discussion. In that case, it does not surprise anymore that the old lute instrument of the Ilocano was not called *kudiápi*, but *kuriténg* or *kutibéng*. These two latter names seem to be of considerable age. Today, according to Rubino, they are used a synonyms for the term *"guitar,"* as many similar words have kept meanings like "sound of the guitar" or "to play guitar," up to the present day, while it is striking that Rubino does not list any analogous derivatives of the word *kudiápi*:

> "**kuritengténg**: n. sound of a guitar. *(kurengreng)*. **kuritengtengen**. v. to strum a guitar" (ibid.: 299).
>
> "**kurengréng**: n. sound of a guitar. **kurengrengen**. v. to strum a guitar *(kuritengteng, kutingting, kuradrad, kuragrag, kutengteng). [*Tag. *kalabít]"* (ibid.: 297; also cf. ibid.: 296, 299, 302).

Another mysterious term used by Carro also seems to have found its way into the work of Rubino: "**kuriápi**: n. tool used in superstitious practices" (ibid.: 297), i.e. Rubino redefines or reinterprets Carro's "instrument of superstition" as a ritual object from the pre-Christian times of the Ilocano. If this is correct, then the term *curiápi* / *kuriápi* in the Ilocano language indeed has nothing to do with any musical instrument.

Summary: A guitar-like string instrument of the Ilocano called *codiapi* or *curiápi* with two metal strings could well have been a boat lute. However, Carro's comparison of this lute with three Spanish string instruments of very different design does not give us any idea of the design of this instrument, which, in the middle of the 19th century, had already been forgotten by the Ilocano for a long time. What remains obscure is the exact meaning of the terms *kutibeng* and *curiteng*, which obviously went through a change of meaning. Today, both terms seem to designate a small, five-stringed guitar, similar to small guitars from other regions of the Philippines. In former times, however, the term *kuriténg* seems to have been used for an earth drum and an idiochord drum zither. We may also assume that, before the introduction of the Spanish guitar, the term referred to a boat lute bearing the rather old name *kutibeng*, while the name *codiapi* was possibly imported from the southern Philippines. However, looking at all the present evidence, with all its contradicting information, there seems to be reason for serious doubt regarding the former existence of a boat lute in Ilocos. The mention of a *codiapi* in Carro's dictionary might well be the result of inaccuracies in the author's compilation or of his ambition that his dictionary might be prepared for all contingencies.

Ibanag

The original settlement area of the Ibanag ("river people") was located along Cagayan river, in the far northeastern part of Luzon island. The first town in the Cagayan valley was already founded in 1572, i.e. merely 51 years after the "discovery" of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan. In 1581, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, the fourth Spanish governor, gave the order to convert the inhabitants of Cagayan valley to Christianity and to establish missions and towns. As can be expected from such a move, a fast process of acculturation set in at that region at a quite early date (Gatan 1981: 1).

As early as 1607, the provincials of the Dominican order responsible for this area, by decree, ordered the Ibanag language to be used as the language of education and administration (ibid.: 23, fn. 23). Today, Ibanag is spoken as a lingua franca by approximately half a million people in the provinces of Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya. It is, therefore, not surprising that Ibanag represents one of the few languages in northern Luzon that has been well documented during the Spanish colonial times – even though at a rather late date. In 1854, the *Diccionario Ybanag-Español* by

José Bugarin was published in Manila, in 1867 the *Diccionario Español-Ibanág ó sea Tesauro Hispáno-Cagayán*, compiled by **two anonymous Dominican friars**, in Manila as well. Other Ibanagic languages include the closely related Atta languages of the Negrito, Ga'dang, Gaddang, Isnag, Isneg, Itneg, Itawig and Yogad (Gordon 2005).

The early process of acculturation in Cagayan valley also led to the introduction of European musical instruments. Aside from the *guitarra*, Bugarin also mentions the *arpa* (1854: 264; ibid., suplemento: 4)[1] as well as the bowed string instrument *rabel* (ibid.: 200).[2] These three European musical instruments, therefore, were in use in Cagayan valley at least since the middle of the 19th century. As *guitarra* and *arpa* are mentioned in connection with the term *tunud* ("to put into order, to tune") and, therefore, under the aspect of ensemble playing,[3] both terms clearly relate to Spanish musical instruments. On the other hand, neither Bugarin nor the two anonymous Dominicans give any hint on the existence of *viola*, *lira* or *vihuela*.

In both dictionaries, entries directly relating to boat lutes, such as *codiapi*, *coriapi*, *cotiapi*, *cudiapi*, *curiapi*, *cutiapi* and alike, cannot be found. The term *guitarra* is used in connection with the traditional bamboo tube zither *curitang*, e.g. in Bugarin's definition of the term:

> "CURITANG. u. a. Instrumento músico, de una caña gruesa, al que le sacan varias, y diferentes cuerdas, que templan, y les sirve de guitarra. *Ni Orfeo*, pudo inventar un instrumento músico, con todos sus trastes, y cuerdas, de una sola caña. *[Musical instrument made from a thick cane, from which they detach several and different strings, which they tune, and which serves them as a guitar. Not even Orpheus would have been able to invent a musical instrument with all its frets and strings made from one single piece of cane.] Curitang̃ an*: El tal instrumento que se toca. *[Such an instrument that is played] Mang̃ uritang*: Quien toca.= *Mœuritang*: El diestro en tocarlo. *[The master in playing it.]"* (Bugarin 1854: 80).[4]

The two Dominican friars similarly define the bamboo zither *curitang* as "guitarra de caña," and the player of such an instrument, called *mœuritang̃* or *magguitara* in Ibanag, is equated with the Spanish word *guitarrero* (Anonymous 1867: 260).

All these dictionary entries are clear evidence for the fact that it was a bamboo zither that was considered a traditional equivalent for the imported Spanish guitar, as this statement implies that no other Ibanag musical instrument seemed to be suitable for such a comparison.

Summary: The inclusion of sources on the Ibanag language in this study appears to be of special significance, as the Ibanag of northern Luzon, to a certain degree, represent a link connecting the Christianized peoples of the lowlands with the mountain peoples of the Cordillera Central. After all, the Ibanag, just like the Itneg (Tinggian) also use a bamboo zither *curitang* (Itneg: *kuliteng)* and a bamboo flute ("flauta de caña") called *tulali* (Anonymous 1867: 243). The mention of a *kudyapi* in the dictionaries could have served as an evidence for the existence of boat lutes in this region. This hope, however, has not been fulfilled. In the dictionaries of Bugarin and the two anonymous Dominican friars, it is clearly the bamboo zither *curitang (kuritang)*, which is seen as a traditional counterpart of the imported Spanish guitar.

1 ARPA. p. a. Palabra castellana, usada con el mismo significado y pronunciación por el Diccionario Ybanag en Tunúd. *[Spanish word, used with the same meaning and pronunciation in the Ybanag dictionary in Tunúd]"* (Bugarin 1854, suplemento: 4). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

2 "PATUCUL. u. a. Puente de rabel, y puntal encima de viga, para que sustente... *[The bridge of the* rabel *and the stringer of the roof beam ...]*" (Bugarin 1854: 200). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

3 "TUNUD. u. a. R. De poner por órden. *[To put into order] [...] = Patunuran*: *Pinatunuran*: El tono, que se dá en la música, y las voces que se conciertan. *[The key that exists in music and the voices that sound together] [...] Ytunúm mu yg* guitarra *ta* arpa: Templa la guitarra segun está el arpa. *[Tune up the guitar to the harp!] [...]"* (Bugarin 1854: 264). Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

4 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

Migration and Cultural Exchange

We may assume that, as a result of migration movements and trade relations, there has been an ongoing exchange of cultural elements between the different regions of the Philippines and the surrounding island world of Southeast Asia. In theory, there are three possible routes for cultural exchange between the Philippines and the surrounding islands of Southeast Asia: (1) from *Taiwan*, passing the Batan Islands, to northern Luzon, (2) from the northeastern tip of *Borneo* to Palawan, or, passing the Sulu archipelago, to Mindanao, and (3) from the northeastern tip of *Sulawesi* island, passing the Sangihe and Talaud islands, to the southern tip of Mindanao, or from the western coast of Sulawesi to the southeastern coast of Borneo and from there to Mindanao.

On Taiwan, there are no traces of boat lutes at all, nor on the Batan islands connecting Taiwan and the northern tip of Luzon, nor in northern Luzon itself. If ever there were boat lutes in northern Luzon, we may assume that they came there from the South. In northern Luzon, the mountains of the Cordillera Central are the settlement area of numerous ethnic groups, such as the Ifugao, Kalingga, Bontok, Gaddang, Kankanaey, Itneg, Ibaloi, and others, whose culture is just as intensely tradition-oriented as the culture of the mountain peoples of the south, on the islands of Mindanao and Palawan. According to current knowledge, these northern Philippine peoples, still today, use their complete traditional inventory of musical instruments, which obviously never included any boat lutes. Considering the fact that these people still use even small and simple instruments such as jaw harps and bamboo flutes, traces of a prestigious instrument such as the boat lute should have survived in oral traditions, as is the case with the cultural epics of several ethnic groups in Mindanao and Palawan. Even among the Panay Bukidnon of the Visayas, where the *kudyapi* has died out more than 200 years ago, the memory of this instrument has been preserved in the oral tradition of epic songs, up to the present day. However, in northern Luzon, not even a trace or any orally transmitted information on any kind of boat lute can be found. Even in the Spanish colonial sources on the language of the Ibanag, the lowland neighbors of Luzon's mountain tribes, the lack of appropriate information seems to reconfirm the non-existence of boat lutes. It is only in an Ilocano dictionary, from the remotest northern part of Luzon, where an instrument called *codiapi* is mentioned that could well have been a boat lute. However, the respective dictionary entries are highly questionable and are probably the result of inaccuracies in the working method of the author.

According to José Maceda, the Negrito peoples of Luzon, the Agta, Atta, Ayta etc., are said to have preserved the memory of boat lutes. However, this statement also seems highly questionable. First of all, Maceda does not give any source for his claim, and we have not found any possible source for this. Secondly, the material culture of the Negrito peoples is generally very simple so that they hardly have musical instruments of their own, but usually rather have adopted them from neighboring tribes. Boat lutes and other string instruments with boat lute names, which the Negrito allegedly remember using in the past should therefore also go back to any neighboring ethnic groups: in the provinces of Bataan and Zambales, for example, to the Tagalog or Kapampángan, in Isabela to the Ilocano, in Camarines Norte to the Tagalog or Bicolano, and so forth. However, aside from the almost forgotten boat lute tradition of the Kapampángan, the existence of boat lutes among the neighbors of northern Luzon's Negrito groups is highly questionable and, therefore, among these Negrito groups as well. Instead of boat lutes, the Negrito, long ago, assimilated imitations of Spanish guitars into their inventory of musical instruments. The *gitara (kitala)* of the Negrito of Zambales was mentioned by William Allan Reed in 1904: "Rude guitars are occasionally found among the Negritos. They are made of two pieces of wood; one is hollowed out and has a neck carved at one end, and a flat piece is glued to this with gum" (1904: 50; cf. Takács 1975: 177). While Reed claims that these instruments have six strings, the guitars of the Negrito generally only have five strings (cf. Takács 1975: 178, fig. 26; 188, plate 3, fig. 8; Maceda 1979: 163, fig. 176; 1998: 273, fig. 418; Goquingco 1980: 90, fig.). Spanish Baroque guitars with five courses of two strings must have found

their way from Spain to the Philippines at an early stage. At the end of the 18th century, the Baroque guitar with five courses was already superseded by the Spanish guitar with six individual strings. These dates alone speak for a considerable age of the *gitara / kitala* of the Negrito that might already have been copied from original Spanish guitars during the 18th century.

If boat lutes indeed were brought to the Philippines from the south, the links between the Philippines and the kingdom of Brunei might prove to be of special importance. The historical existence of the chiefdom of Manila is well documented. It was located in the area, which is now Intramuros, and it probably originated from a settlement of Bornean traders. Around the year 1500, a Bornean prince married into a local ruling family. When the Spaniards came to Manila in 1570, aside from some 6,000 native Tagalog and Bornean inhabitants, there were also 40 Chinese and 20 Japanese immigrants living there. There were three recognized rulers in Manila of whom the old Raja Ladyang Matanda was the most powerful one, as well as his nephew Raja Soliman and his cousin Banaw Lakandula. His grandfather was Sultan Bulkeiah of Brunei, whom Antonio Pigafetta had met 50 years earlier. There was a lively trade going on between Manila and the Visayan islands, twice or three times a year even with China. In 1578, the Spanish governor Sande started an invasion of Borneo, during which Bornean men were fighting for the Spanish as well as Tagalog warriors from Luzon were joining forces with the Bornean kingdom. In 1585, Agustin Legazpi, adoptive son and successor of Raja Soliman as well as godson of the Spanish governor Miguel López de Legazpi, was deposed and jailed by the Spaniards, because he had buried his late mother according to Islamic custom. After an unsuccessful revolt, Agustin Legazpi was executed and, with his death, the royal family and kingdom of Manila also ended (Scott 1997: 191ff).

A community of Islamized Tagalog living in Malacca on the Malayan peninsula in the 16th century may also have migrated from the Islamic colony around Manila. Traders from Luzon did not only travel to Malacca, passing through Borneo, but even reached Canton in China and Timor island. Head of the Philippine community in Malacca was a man named Regimo, who maintained trade relations with Brunei, China, Sumatra, Siam and Sunda. He died in 1513. Filipinos were fighting in the Batak-Menangkabau army besieging Aceh in 1529, and they were also crew members of pirate ships. Mendes Pinto had an encounter with one of these ships in 1540, off the Chinese coast north of Quanzhou. When the Spaniards came to the Philippines, among the regions with direct contacts with the people and culture of Borneo and with other parts of the Malayan world were Mindoro island, the area around Manila, the coastal area of Batangas and the Betis valley in Pampanga (ibid.: 193f).[1]

The links between the Philippines and Borneo are also the main topic of the *Maragtas* epic of Panay, which, as an oral tradition, cannot provide historically documented information but, nevertheless, points into the right direction.[2] In the early 13th century, according to this oral tradition, a group of datus left Borneo, together with their families, first sailed along the coast of Palawan, until they finally reached the island of Panay (National Historical Commission 1970: 68). After the immigrants had settled in their new home, their leader, Datu Puti, left them to return to Borneo. Another two datus set out for exploring the southern part of Luzon island, lived near Taal lake for some time and finally proceeded southwards to Bikol region (ibid.: 8f). The *Maragtas* also reports that people from Cebu island often came to Panay to trade with corn, tobacco,[3] palm wine and other products (ibid.: 87). We might, therefore, assume that a flourishing cultural exchange between the Philippines and Borneo has been going on, for a long time.

1 In his book *Barangay* (1997), William Henry Scott gives an excellent summary with additional information on the manifold relations between the Philippines and the outside world of Southeast Asia.

2 For a critical assessment of the *Maragtas* epic, cf. the chapter "Boat Lutes in the Visayas... – Panay."

3 The American crops corn and tobacco were brought to Europe, and from there to Asia, only after the Discovery of America, but certainly not in the early 13th century. This example clearly shows the different concepts of intended precise historiography and oral history.

On Sulawesi, boat lutes *(ketjapi, kacapi, katapi)* with highly intricate decorations can be found. Although Sulawesi is much closer to Borneo than to Mindanao, its boat lutes clearly show more similarities with the lutes of Mindanao than with the wide, bellied *sapeh* that dominate Borneo. With their slender boat shape and the filigree carvings on their head and body extensions, they remind us of the *kutiyapi* instruments of the Maranao on Mindanao. This is remarkable, as Walter Kaudern explicitly states that he did not see any boat lutes in the whole northeastern part of Sulawesi connecting the island with the southern tip of Mindanao, passing along the Sangihe and Talaud islands (1927: 190). This connection, therefore, appears unlikely. Boat lutes are rather concentrated in the southwest and on the western coast of Sulawesi, i.e. not far away from the southeastern coast of nearby Borneo. It is in this part of Borneo where, according to Kaudern, lutes called *kasapi* or *sapeh* can be found, which are similar to the lutes of Sulawesi (ibid.: 194).[1] Passing through Borneo, construction features of Sulawesi boat lutes might have reached Mindanao.

Summary: All these migration movements and trade relations in the central and northern Philippines offered many opportunities for cultural exchange that were not only limited to those areas directly neighboring the Philippines. Boat lutes and musical instruments called *kudyapi* could have been imported to the Philippines practically from anywhere in Southeast Asia. Only comparisons with musical instruments from all over Southeast Asia might clarify the origins of boat lutes or related string instruments that are referred to with variations of the name *kudyapi* – a goal that cannot be achieved within the limits of the present article. And the question about the possible origins of the historical *kudyapi* of the Visayas and of Luzon is further complicated by the possibility that its distant relatives might also have disappeared in other areas of Southeast Asia, in the meantime, without leaving traces.

Conclusions

How can the data about the string instruments in the Visayas region and on Luzon be understood in the light of what we know about boat lutes in the Philippines today? And, were those legendary *kudyapi* used in these regions, in former times, indeed boat lutes or not?

The prevailing shape of contemporary Philippine boat lutes, representing slender, two-stringed instruments whose resonating bodies are hollowed out from below, is indeed clearly defined. Their designs, with all their regional variations in construction features and styles of decoration, as well as their geographic distribution provide the framework, within which all the historical information about those vanished lutes called *kudyapi* in the Visayas and on Luzon has to be assessed.

In the Philippines, boat lutes are nowadays only used on the islands of Mindanao and Palawan. If they are still played on Mindoro is uncertain, but highly improbable. They were definitely still used there until the middle of the 20th century. Almost all Philippine boat lutes – as distinct from many related instruments in Southeast Asia – show a typical elongated and slim boat shape of varying size. Only the lutes of the Pala'wan (southern Palawan) and Higaonon (Misamis Oriental and Bukidnon, Mindanao) have box-shaped resonating bodies. Almost all these lutes have two strings (except for the now extinct one-stringed lutes of the Alangan Mangyan, Mindoro).

In other parts of Southeast Asia as well, we find almost exclusively boat lutes with only two strings (leaving aside the related three-stringed zithers of Thailand, Kampuchea and Myanmar). The lutes in Borneo that, nowadays, show up to six strings all had merely two strings in former times (cf. Koizuma et al. 1977: 39).

1 The name *kasapi* immediately reminds of the lutes used by the Dayak Halong of Kalimantan Selatan that have been described in the chapter "Symbolism, Crocodile, Lizard and other Reptiles – Borneo."

The connections between Borneo and the southern Philippines are obvious: the big box-lute type of the Pala'wan called *kusyapi* or *kudlungan* can also be found among the Kadazan Dusun in Sabah, in almost identical form, but under the name *sundatang* (cf. Kumpulan... 2007: illus.). However, the Kadazan Dusun additionally use another type of *sundatang* (Pugh-Kitingan 2003: 26, 36) that shows some remote similarity with the lutes of some Manobo groups (Ata, Matigsalug, Tigwa and others) in Mindanao. The lutes of the Murut in northern Borneo (cf. Rutter 1929: 110, illus.) and the small and slender *kasapi* of the Dayak Halong of Kalimantan Selatan (Keen 2019) are similar to the *hegelung* of the Tboli and to the *faglung* of the Blaan in Mindanao. In other parts of Borneo, however, lutes of the *sape* type prevail, showing big and wide resonating bodies, a very short neck or no neck at all so that they might better be classified as zithers, instead of lutes (Koizuma et al. 1977: 38ff, 214ff); lutes of this type are completely unknown in the Philippines.

In many boat lute traditions of Southeast Asia, the special construction of boat lutes comes along with a name derived from the Sanskrit word *kacchapa*.[1] In the Philippines, the terms *kudyapi, kutiyapi* and similar names are primarily connected with the boat lute traditions of the local Islamic peoples (Maranao, Magindanaon), as well as with those tribal groups living near to their area of cultural influence (Tëduray, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Arumanen Manobo, Bukidnon, Higaonon, Subanen, Pala'wan). Therefore, in dealing with the historical so-called *kudyapi* lutes of central and northern Philippines, we should expect to find similar lute types as they are used today among the Islamic Maranao or Magindanaon, for example. However, after taking a close look at the available historical source materials, this definitely does not seem to be the case. It also appears unlikely that the name *kudyapi* might have been imported from Borneo to the Tagalog in Manila, for example, as the word *kudyapi* – according to current knowledge – is not used in Borneo at all, but other derivatives of *kacchapa*, like *sapeh / sape' / sambé* etc. (Kenyah, Kayan etc.), *kasapi* (Dayak Halong), *kecapi* (Ngaju Dayak), *kanjapi / konyahpi* (Ot Danum), *tapi* (Lunbawang) or *sekafe* (Lundayeh).

Although Mindoro and Palawan are classed as belonging to the northern Philippine island group called "Luzon," the cultures of the traditionalist tribal groups in the interior of these islands show some links that point towards the south, to the Visayan islands and to Mindanao, rather than towards Luzon. On Mindoro, until around the 1960's, there used to be, at least, one boat lute tradition, among the Alangan Mangyan, which has probably adopted influences from Palawan, some of them probably even directly from Borneo, as Mindoro used to be a colony of Brunei, in the 14th century (Scott 1997: 191).

We may now accept it as a fact that boat lute traditions existed among the Kapampángan of Luzon as well as on the Visayan islands of Panay and Samar/Leyte, but vanished centuries ago. The construction of the latter instruments shows a unique feature that does not exist in any other known boat lute tradition in the whole of Southeast Asia: an additional coconut resonator that was inserted from the backside into the otherwise boat-shaped resonating body. This construction feature too cannot have been imported from Borneo, as it is not known there. A remarkable feature in all three traditions, however, on Mindoro as well as on Panay and Samar/Leyte, is the lack of back covers, leaving the backside of the resonating bodies open, in a similar way, as we know it from the boat lutes of Borneo.

According to our findings, Mindoro, the Visayan islands of Samar/Leyte and Panay as well as the Pampanga region on Luzon were the only areas of the central and northern Philippines where boat lute traditions existed, in former times. In these regions, however, aside from boat lutes, another kind of string instrument was additionally used: a small lute with a resonator made from half a coconut shell, four, sometimes two strings, since the Spanish colonial times often six strings. In Pampanga, similar four-stringed lutes called *karangkang* are said to have existed that had a round

1 However, the design and the name of an instrument are not necessarily associated. A specific type of boat lute might be found under completely different names (e.g. the big box-type lutes are known on Borneo as *sundatang*, on Palawan as *kusyapi*), just like variants of the same name might refer to completely different instruments (e.g. the name *kacapi* refers to different types of zithers on Sunda, *ketjapi*, *katiyapi*, *kutiyapi* etc. to boat lutes in different parts of Southeast Asia).

body made out of wood. Lutes of this type were formerly used in the Tagalog region, on Cebu and possibly also in Bikol on Luzon. In these regions, similar small lutes were usually referred to by variations of the name *kudyapi*. Still in the 19th century, similar small lutes with coconut resonators were also used in northern Luzon in the provinces of Abra and Mountain Province, i.e. in areas close to the settlement areas of the mountain tribes. Unfortunately, their local names have not been recorded. Even the Ilocano of northern Luzon know the terms *codiapi* and *curiápe*. It is, however, uncertain whether the instruments referred to by that name were indeed boat lutes, or if the two terms slipped into Ilocano dictionaries by copying them from dictionaries of other languages. For the Pangasinan region, there are no clues as to the existence of a lute of whatever type, nor for the use of terms like *kudyapi*.

To take the confusion to the extreme: in addition to boat lutes called *kuddiapî*, the Kapampángan also used two-stringed bamboo instruments of the same name. What these "bamboo boat lutes" might have looked like is unknown. They may have been similar to the bamboo violins of the Negrito, which have attached necks (cf. Plate 14). It is also possible that they were made from a single, thick bamboo tube, part of which was carved thin to function as the neck (cf. Plate 71).

The Spanish colonial sources mention two different manners of playing the instruments: sometimes they are said to have been plucked, sometimes to have been bowed. But in both cases, they are said to have been called *kudyapi*. We may consider here three possible explanations: (1) both manners of playing might indeed have been employed on the same type of a four-stringed lute with coconut resonator, (2) the bowed *kudyapi* might also have been similar to the one-stringed spike fiddles with coconut resonator *(dayuday, dwegey, kogot*, among others) that are still used nowadays among several ethnic groups in Mindanao (cf. Plate 16), or (3) the historical *kudyapi* could have been similar to the three-stringed violins still used in some regions of the Philippines (Ilongot in northern Luzon, Hanunóo-Mangyan in Mindoro). The facts cannot be reconstructed anymore, today. At least, a certain similarity between those plucked lutes called *kudyapi / gitara* and the bowed *gitgit* that are still popular among the Hanunóo Mangyan today cannot be denied. Maybe those historical coconut lutes were a similar case.

Norberto Romualdez' article on Philippine musical instruments is a popular and often quoted source based on data that were collected during the first 30 years of the 20th century: "the *kudyapi*, made of wood ... resembles an elongated guitar usually having two strings. On account of its size it is played in similar position as a cello, for which reason it has at its lower end a stick in a way of support" (1932/1953: 87). It is not known, which source Romualdez is referring to here. Or did he really see a boat lute played with a bow? We may assume another possibility. Romualdez could have known the *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* by Pedro de San Buenaventura, with entries like: "Codyapi (pp) ouiolon que tocan con arco [violon, *which they play with a bow]"* (1613: 509),[1] or the *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala* by Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar: "Violon. coryapí" (1860: 638). As the author of the present work had the privilege of personally seeing two cases of a boat lute being played with a bow, among the Higaonon and Talaandig of northern Mindanao, respectively, the employment to two manners of playing on the historical *kudyapi* seems to be absolutely possible.

The use of the name *kudyapi* for the small four-stringed lutes in the Visayas and on Luzon confuses with lasting effect, as they obviously have nothing to do with the recent range of boat lute types in the Philippines and as they were not used in regions, which were under the direct influence of Islamic culture. At least, the early mention of a *cutyapi* with four metal strings by Chirino in 1604 speaks for the fact that this Tagalog lute must have been an authentic, i.e. pre-Spanish musical instrument. We also may assume that similar instruments survived on the Visayan islands until the 19th century, as evidenced by the small four- and six-stringed "pseudo guitars" that were collected on the islands of Bohol, Samar and Panay (see above), as well as similar instruments with coconut resonators that are used by the Hanunóo Mangyan under the name *kudyapi*, up to the present day (cf. Plate 53). They

1 Translations in brackets and italics by the author.

represent "modernized" variants of older types of four-stringed instruments. Where did these instruments get their name *kudyapi* from?

Today, many souvenir shops in the Tagalog and Visayan regions sell small four-stringed lutes with coconut resonators, which are often called *ukelele.* We are easily tempted to expect these to be modified Philippine versions of string instruments that were originally imported from Hawaii, during the American colonial period. However, this view has to be opposed, as our analysis rather suggests these alleged new developments to be based on very similar types of lute instruments from pre-Spanish times.

The theory of Agoncillo and Alfonso mentioned at the beginning of this work stated that boat lutes were allegedly used within the whole territory of nowadays Philippines, in former times. This theory seems to reflect the view of many Filipinos. However, we now can state that, in a large area of the central and northern Philippines, definitely no boat lutes were ever used that were remotely similar to the instruments of the southern Philippines, but instruments of another construction that were, nonetheless, called *kudyapi.* Furthermore, boat lutes with four strings are nowadays also completely unknown in the Philippines, and it is most unlikely that they ever existed there. Finally, small lutes with coconut resonators named *kudyapi* are only used by the Hanunóo Mangyan of Mindoro. The design and construction of these instruments give us the best idea of how the historical *kudyapi* in the Visayas and on Luzon might have looked like.

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