



# **“Word Music Ilanän Raiding and Oral Memory in Pala’wan Highland Culture”**

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“ *Word Music*”<sup>1</sup>

Ilanän Raiding and Oral Memory in Pala’wan Highland Culture

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I address my chapter to Ricardo D. Trimillos, so knowledgeable about Tausug music in particular (1972), and I shall refer to the works of James F. Warren, a historian who has focused on the Sulu Zone and particularly on the Iranun and Balangigi. I add my own research in southern Palawan as a linguist-anthropologist, in an attempt to understand and clarify a particular series of events that in former centuries took place yearly and are still alive in collective memory today by way of epic tradition.

I would like to refer to Pala’wan long sung narratives, *tultul*, when the meaning of words and the tensions of melodies mingle.

In order to do so, I will focus on historical events present in social memory and evoked by the Pala’wan Highlanders in all the epics they sing and we attended the performance of, then recorded, transcribed and partly translated in collaboration with them from 1970 to 2015. These numerous epics and ballads are accessible at the *Philippines Epics and Ballads Archives*, Pardo de Tavera collection, Ateneo de Manila University and on the multimedia Website monitored by the Rizal Library <<http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics>>

(access free after registration).where 16 ethno-linguistic groups and their epic tradition are present by way of tTranscription Translations Audio-Sounds, Photos and videos.

Box 2 : Sama & Sama Dilaut (*kata-kata* 6 narrated; 7 sung; 1 *kissa*).

Box 3 : Tausug (*Kissaq kan Parrang Sabil* 7 narrated; 4 sung).

Box 15 : Pala’wan: (*tultul* 10 sung).

In Central Philippines, Hanunóo, Buhid, Pala’wan and Sama Dilaut are four distinct equalitarian animist societies with shamanism and - like Harold C. Conklin - I conceive them as three subcultures with shared features common to the Sulu Basin Culture.

Contrastingly, there are stratified societies in Mindanao and Sulu such as the Maranao of Lanao, the Sultanate of Cotabato and the Magindanaon, the Sulu Sultanate and the Tausug, characterized by a hierarchical social organization, Islam, and a dominant attitude towards other ethnic groups such as the Sama / the Sama Dilaut and Pala’wan.

This chapter provides the historian with brief excerpts of three *tultul* that allude to historical events (from 1768 to 1898) related to raiding and enslavement of Pala’wan people by the *Ilanän (Iranun)*, and their annual violent attacks and sacks (from end of August to October). The desolation, fear, despair and displacement they provoked, resonate in epics until the present day, revealing the reliability of artistic compositions and oral memory.

Lastly, we invite the reader to consult on line, the results of a work conducted with an acoustician, Deirdre Bolger, on the timbre qualities of a woman singer of tales, *si Kāriq*, as she sang “*Durus Mata, Oblique Eye*”, a sudden attack from the river mouth on the hinterland by the “*Kānipaqan, the Nipa People*”, and its consequences.

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<sup>1</sup> I borrow the notion of “*Word Music*” initially formulated by Amin Sweeney,

As we are celebrating you, Ricardo, for your long life commitment to Ethnomusicology and countless artist's expressions, for your sensitive focus on all the Performing Arts and the multifaceted approach you defended. We recognize your profound attachment to the many cultures of the Philippines and the sense of nationhood emanating from them as in 1998, you convened them to perform during the Smithsonian Folklore Festival on the Mall of Washington DC. For all that, we want to express our respect and gratitude. In order to do so, this chapter is a testimony of my research as a European linguist-anthropologist who has dedicated her life since 1970 to Orality and the Cultures of the Sulu Basin in particular.

The human voice, the very unique presence, the sensitive and abstract skill of a "singer of tales"<sup>2</sup> as he composes while singing, uttering words filtered by various melodies, developing long and complex ideas and plots in various types of discourse (descriptions, dialogues, monologues, addresses to the listeners...) setting in sound and measure a "mental text" (Honko; Revel, 1977), I would like to share with you, your colleagues and friends.

This verbal art affects the sensitivity and stimulates multiple emotions and remembrances among each audience member, for the art of listening is at the same time pleasure and affirmation of a real presence, a connivance with the artist as he performs, although, somehow, we are unaware witnesses of complex cognitive and motor activities, extremely elaborated and coordinated. These are some distinctive features of an epic performance.

A *tutul* sung in the Highlands of Mt. Mantalingayan, a *dagäy* sung in Quezon, southern Palawan, a *kata-kata* sung by a Sama Dilaut spirit medium in Sitangkai, or in South Ubian (Tawi-Tawi), are simultaneously action, context and process in the here and now. As it is sung, an epic relates an ethos, a spiritual and social skill, a particular presence in a given world.

Recently, I have analysed how the creative process operates in a modest attempt to understand it. In order to do so, I focused on the complex agentivity of the singer of tales, of the epic heroes, of the epic itself, transposing the analysis on plastic arts and material culture of Alfred Gell (1998) on intangible verbal and vocal arts<sup>3</sup>, for I consider the song of an epic a mental, oral and vocal artefact weaving vocal music, language and poetry.

Listeners are able to follow and internalize these long narratives as they configure a fictive reality similar to the place they inhabit, I mean to say, the natural, social and cosmological space familiar to them. Then the space-time of the fiction is a *Mimèsis* of the lived space-time of the people.

In a ludic and poetic manner, an oral epic is the repository of customs that re-actualises, on the narrative mode, and revives not only the ways of life, the ways the people behave and valorise, but also - as apex - the violent conflicts they had and have to face, to overcome and to solve in their own personal life. All this is re-actualized by way of a sung story.

At the very core of the plot, an epic always sings a crisis of the world, of all possible worlds, the interplay of antagonistic values are the structural components able to reiterate an historical crisis in a precise context. The way a poet-musician relates this tension between two groups and the violence imposed by an alien group on a local group, is quite distinct from the way a historian would present the same events (Revel, 2018). Here, no chronology nor exact

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<sup>2</sup> By this term I refer to the work of A. Lord, 1960, for us a classic .

<sup>3</sup> I refer to N.Revel & Deirdre Bolger, 2021: « L'art vocal de deux aèdes pala'wan en Asie du Sud-Est insulaire Contextes relationnels, intentionnalités et expressions artistiques », *Cahiers d'Ethnomusicologie*, N° 34, Le Timbre musical.

dates, but an authentic long lasting memory of historical facts and a description of opposite *adat* (custom) between two ethnic groups:

one equalitarian / the other hegemonic; one non violent / the other brutal; illustrated by the depiction of fundamental features of Palawan' psyche, manners to speak and act, in contrast to Ilanän' psyche, manners to speak and act.

However a *tultul* is not a narrative of anecdotes, nor "*faits divers*", as *tenes-tenes* among the Sama Dilaut<sup>4</sup>, or *kissa* (true stories) among the Tausug<sup>5</sup>, the Sama, the Sama Dilaut or the Bajau Laut on the Malaysian edge of the Sulu Archipelago in contrast to a *kata-kata*. With an often implicit social fresco as a background and a whole set of subtle shared references, the plot unfolds between protagonists (agents, helpers and opponents) and imparts a coherence to a story when narrating the profile of each character, his intentions, actions and behaviors. Building out of a succession, a "configuration" as Paul Ricoeur has shown in "*Time and Narrative*" (1983), shall reveal the skill of a singer of tales. In performing a *tultul*, a singer of tales includes historical events reconstructing them or alluding to them poetically as memory is an act of reconstruction as here we refer to a collective memory rather than a personal memory.

#### Mäsinu' Excerpts - N.Revel' Comments - J.Warren' Quotations

We shall present in parallel and complementary ways excerpts of a Pala'wan singer of tales; the comments of the anthropologist and the quotations of the historian on three examples .

In the *tultul* "*Kudaman*",(6 to 7 nights), the raiders arrive in multitude to attack a community in the highlands on a festive day, the happy Commemoration of the Master of Rice, with gong music to invite all around and rice-beer drinking ceremony, an emblematic feast of this animist, egalitarian society happening once a year, reiterated seven years.

*The Ilanän are so numerous, the waves of the sea can no longer dance ...  
As for him, Kudaman is seated below a mosquito net with seven veils.*

*On the high sea, Ilanän are approaching...  
As they fire their guns, leaves of trees are few compared to multiple bullets.*

*As Kudaman hears the guns their sound keeps on crackling like tirabun grass.  
Earth is shaking. They come in multitude...  
The story says, Ilanän and his raiders are already on the ground surrounding the houses ...  
They keep on flowing in ...  
Simultaneously they fired and the house of Kudaman is smashed to pieces.  
Bullets burst and sparrows seem a few...  
Their Chief is still alive and his turban is said to be of iron  
Ilanen's house is made of iron stones as smooth as wax ...  
Even the nails of their Chief are of gold ....*

Another *tultul*, "*Käqislam–islaman*," describes the arrival in multitude of raiding boats "as fast as a typhoon, *bagyu buraq*, the *lanong* or *joanga* with a crew of 150 to 200 men, or the *salisipan*, a long narrow oar-propelled craft used for inshore and coastal settlement raids.

James Francis Warren describes:

*"At the end of the 18th century, slaving expeditions were composed of scores fleets the largest and most important included more than 100 joanga and between 10 to 15 thousands of*

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<sup>4</sup> See the collection of Harry Arlo Nimmo, listed in the Annex on line

<sup>5</sup> See *Voices from Sulu*, by G. Rixhon, 2010, Chap.14 a *Parrang sabil* ; Chap 15, a *kissa* ; and chap.16 a song I taped *Tuwan Nahuda* It was transcribed and translated by Talib Sangogot and finalized by G. Rixhon.



raiders.

*They were run autocratically, there was a strict chain of command and code of conduct with unquestioning loyalty and obedience from their crews.*

*They generally cruised in squadrons of 30 to 40 joanga with a single fleet commander and a nakodah, a captain, on board each joanga. They were many warriors of various ethnic groups and slaves would be used to fight. ...The remains of many Spanish sites along the coasts of Ilocos, Catanduanes, Albay, Leyte, Samar [and I would add Northern Palawan] bear silent witness to the advent of sudden affluence in the Sulu sultanate and deep despair, displacements and dispersion of people throughout the Philippines". (1981: Slavery in the Sulu sultanate: 215-236).*

During several centuries, the Pala'wan have been confronted by the opposite attitude in life - violent, brutal, merciless of the *Ilanän* (*Iranun*) coming in multitude from Illana Bay, with powerful fleets of raiders from the Sulu zone. In the epic, the *Ilanän* take the opportunity of a feast to attack and ravish Kudaman's wives, in order to enslave them. As the hero embodies the ideal of wisdom, moderation and seemliness, manifested by his elegant manner to speak, to move, to act, and finally to enter in a single combat with the *Ilanän* Chief, two types of society, two ethos are facing each other and contrast dramatically. During the 18th and 19th centuries, warfare and hegemonic violent attacks by maritime raiders (*Iranun* from the coast of Western Mindanao, *Balangingi Samal* from a poor island in Sulu and *Iban* from Borneo) were conducted for tribute extortions and enslavement of the people living on the shore lines of Palawan, the Visayan Islands and all the coasts of the Philippine archipelago as well as other parts of Islands Southeast Asia, going as far as the Bengale Gulf and Eastern Indonesia. All these facts are known to historians who collected written documents.

If we focus our attention on the very episode of any of the ten *tultul*, I was able to record, transcribe and partly translate, when the world turns chaotic and speech styles, postures, gestures, attitudes, of the two antagonist groups are exemplified by their respective leaders, confronting each other, we are facing a fuzzy time, from which any temporal marker is missing. The temporal vagueness of the narrative does not refer to primeval time nor to exact dates. Here the acme of the plot is not expressed by dancing the duel with a sabre as among the Manobo groups of Mindanao, nor can we hear a modal shift in music as a marker of this moment around midnight like in a javanese *Wayang kulit* performance. Instead, a sung dialogue develops between *Kudaman*, as a Pala'wan *Pänglimaq* and the *Ilanän* "Chief," *Pägibitän* of *Ilanän*, conducting the raid. The intentionality, the speech style of each of these main character as a person, his ethos and deontology, become emblematic of his ethnic group.

*"Le style, c'est l'Homme", Paul Valéry.*

Two ways of speaking, Two ways of being

In order to capture the speech style of two opposite characters, we shall refer to several *tultul*

Example 1: "Kudaman", (2nd night taped in Tabud and in Bungsud from 1971 to 1972, 6 Nights on 28 BASF tapes UHER, speed 9,5) sung by Usuy the beloved "shaman", *bälyan* and "singer of tales", *mānunultul* of the *Mākägwaq* Valley

See Ateneo website <<http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics>> BOX 15 Palawan: Box 15.10

The hero, by his way to address to others, to move and behave embodies a person extremely calm and confident, very seductive, highly sophisticated and gifted with self control. He is a Pala'wan model of man and speaks on a recto-tono with "tactful words" *māqintur bāräs*:

*māsampilaq* his elegant posture as he seats crossed legs in order to listen and talk

*Kudaman diki mu nā mākilala kānyāng pägdagbäs atin...*

Kudaman, you would not recognize his aspect...

Facing the *Pägibutän ät Ilanän*, the Leader of the Iranun raiders, he astutely choses a ruse and by the art of “inversion” *bäliwät*, simulates sympathy by using “polite formulae” *päribasa* in addressing him, inviting them all to come up to his home :

*...Ägsanän kämyu pälan ingasiq ku nä dimyu in*  
Cousin, It's you of course, I am full of sympathy for you  
*tindal käw mänä bä ät dibwat niq dimyu märidyan säntin*  
do come up all of you, you shall get dirty down there .

Ilanän's answer is a brutal decline and a straight forward loud order, demanding the soft spoken and graceful host to come down and enter the fight on the spot, in order to confront their magic power:

*Damän mändiq kay tuq ku tindal in.*  
We, we do refuse to come up  
*panäw kay damän tuq kaya mäkwit kay damän atin bäng mälutuq*  
We are certainly not to stay long but to set all afire  
*Tugpa käw batän ägsanän mägsulay syu bä ät käsäg !*  
You come down on the ground, Cousin, let us test our magic power!

Kudaman then turns to his lovely wives, asking them to reiterate the invitation in the most seemly manner and by doing so he audaciously pretends to dare exposing them to the danger of being captured:

*Näq pinägtawän kä dimu ipätindalaq dyä ät mänunga in.*  
My first wife, make them come up in a nice way  
*Atin dä Ägsanän ingasiq ku nä kädyä kunuq baq diki dyä nä kätindal*  
I am sorry for the Cousin, if they are not coming up  
*ipätindalaq pinägtawän kä dimu tyap ikäw näga tuq puqun*  
make them come up as (it is your role ) for you are still my first wife.

Ilanän turns all the more rude and aggressive and proclames Kudaman' wives are theirs:

*Hin dakän mänä bä in Ägsanän*  
For me, Cousin,  
*siban tuq äsawa mu bäng damän...*  
from now on, your wife are ours...

Kudaman is then provoking the aggressor by the softest inverted device *bäliwät* - another figure of speech in their rethorics - offering his wives and refusing to fight, a mistake towards the Weaver.

*Ägsanän kaya imut ku dimyu batän ari äsawa ku in.*  
Cousin, I am not possessive of my wife  
*sukur atin tumindal käw näga aniq ät dibwat*  
it is enough that you come up here  
*mändiq ku lang ägsanän kisyu mägbunuq dakän mäsaaway ku batän bä ät Nägsalad.*  
I do not want Cousin, that we fight, for me it is a fault towards the Weaver

However Kudaman has to commit himself. Then he apologizes to the Weaver, and moves on to enter the fight with the Ilanän' Chief, moving to tears every part of the house ...

*Na Nägsalad kä dimu dakän manäw ku päq tuq*  
O Thee, Weaver, as for me I do have to go  
*dakän digwangiq ku ät mänunga mägsalaq pämanäw ku in banar in.*  
watch well upon me as I am about to make a mistake  
*Kanya baq nanaw ät lawasan*  
As he walks on the main floor  
*mäkäsiyak kunuq räpäd kunuq ät sapäw räpäd kunuq ät sapäw yä sälus in.*  
the story says, all the edge of the roof burst into tears  
*nämaläk nä ginsan känyä räpäd kunuq batän bä it älabat in bulawan*  
the edges (of the roof) and the golden handrail of the stairs, the story says

*pägdagbäs kunuq ät Kudaman in.*  
 at Kudaman's aspect  
*känyä mägäläng nga älabat yäng bulawan.*  
 The golden handrail still bents...

In this dialogue, we can perceive a totally opposite speech style and two ways to relate to others. On the one hand, a precise subtle and refined manner of speaking with a regular calm speech flow, a low pitch of the voice, composed and distant, a timbre somehow impersonal, convey by Kudaman's recto-tono in order to politely avoid violence; on the other hand, a loud brutal voice, violent behavior and loud fast speech flow in an attempt to intimidate, to provoke a fatal outburst in an attempt to dominate the other by physical force and magic power.

This is not a "fiction" and the work of historians shall help us comprehend what has been the reality of the Pala'wan and Tagbanuwa peoples on the shoreline and the Hinterland of Palawan, the Visayas islands, of many other coastal peoples in northern Luzon, as well as many other archipelagos of Southeast Asia from 1768 to 1898: *"The biggest Iranun slave raids in SEA were systematically directed against the Philippine archipelago. Between 1755 and 1775, The Sultanate of Cotabato was the primary springboard for maritime raids against the Philippines. For year, Iranun slaving craft en route to the Visayas, hugged the shores from Zamboanga to Caraga on the north coast of Mindanao"* (Warren, 2002:72-73). Thanks to the many written documents related to this long period of time, historians are able to collect the extension in time and space of these intensifying raids, then can describe and explain them.



"Slave raiding became fundamental to the Tausug state as its economy expanded. In the period from 1768 to 1848, slave raiding contributed significantly towards making the Sulu Sultanate one of the most powerful states in Southeast Asia. Because the Tausug aristocracy depended for its prosperity on the labor slaves and sea raiders, maritime raiding became the exclusive vocation of the Samal speakers in Balangingi and the wider region who fused their activities with certain Iranun groups from Jolo Island and Mindanao. In addition to being fierce warriors and slaves, the Iranun were artisans (smiths, shipwrights, weavers and carvers) and shrewd traders". . . .

"Between 1754 and 1757, a series of attacks against the shipyards, churches and landed estates of southern Luzon began the trend making intrusions in towns and religious centres. The Iranun and Balangingi had the fastest ships of the day and they could row their swift raiding ships up-river. If the target was some distance from the river, they would leave their ships and headed over land for their chosen convent or village. Well trained and disciplined, the raiders had superior weapons and were able to raid with impunity" (J.F. Warren, 2013:148).

**Example 2:** "Käswakan, Broken Branch", (Taped in Tabud, 1990, on Sony, 4h 30', excerpt of the epic) sung by Mäsinu Intaräy, National Living Treasure in 1991.

Let us focus now on the very beginning of a sung narrative, quite explicit on the description of a hamlet after the Ilanän (Iranun) sacked the place and massacred the people:

....

023 - The story tells that he walked for a long time and had already crossed seven mountains and seven plateaus... This is as far as he went.  
 He saw just a single house on the slope.

*Here, a house... I hope good people are living there.  
Whether good or bad people, he went to the house.  
As he was proceeding to the house, he looked around and saw that the sugar canes  
were covered with blood, and he said to himself: "Why all this blood here?"  
He looked around the house and saw nothing else but blood, the story says.*

*030 - Reaching the stair log, he said immediately: "Is there anybody upstairs?"  
I am not a bad person  
May I come up?  
Whatever you may say...  
Not a single word as the answer.*

*041K-. He said: "What could have happened to the people of this place?"  
I feel pity for them.*

*044- As for him, what do you think he did?  
He climbed up the stairs with no hesitation  
And what did he see once upstairs?  
There was blood everywhere, even on the main floor.  
What could have happened to the people here? I feel so sorry for them!  
He looked all around and when he reached the alcove, he saw a large winnower  
turned upside-down, the story says.  
He lifted it, and what did he see?  
A baby with only two teeth.*

*053- I feel so much pity for this little baby.  
He spoke to her, but she's pure smile,  
She does not know yet how to answer.  
He said to himself: "What am I going to do?  
Shall I bring her with me or not?  
But if I do not bring her, poor little one!"*

*059- And so he took her in his arms  
And said to himself, "I'm going to try to keep her alive," the story says.  
As for him, from then on, he did not proceed with his journey around the world...  
He went back home carrying the infant on his hip  
And shortly after, he arrived home, the story says.  
He made a hammock  
and hurriedly started to prepare rice porridge.*

*070- So the story tells us that he fed the little girl by hand  
What do you think?  
Käswakan did nothing else but taking care of her  
All day long, he feeds his infant-wife, little by little.*

*Käswakan* had left his home in quest for a wife and on his way encountered a devastated hamlet and the only being left was a lovely smiling baby girl whose life had been spared thanks to a winnower covering her.

Then he decided to take care of her and to raise her, *mängipat*. When she became nubile he married her... *the Lady of Mäldaqi*. This is the first part of the *tultul*.

The second part is the encounter of a powerful lady, *Pandikaran*, who brings luck to the hero, and inspires him a passionate love.

The whole plot has to solve this drama and restore balance and harmony between the protagonists.

This excerpt gives the listeners an authentic description of the how the feared *Ilanän* sacked hamlets of the hinterland and corroborates the written relations and testimonies of ferocious bloody attacks by *Iranun* and *Balangingi*, on slave raidings experienced in the past

and related in a written form by other peoples (merchants, priests, missionaries, administrators and travellers...) various relations helping the historians today.

“*Nakoda of prahus, captains of trading vessels bound for Batavia, Penang, Singapura, Makassar and Manila, other larger sailing ships of western merchants from England and continental Europe, laden with arms, opium and textiles for the China market, then at the end of the 18th century started to appear in Canton and began exporting tea along with other goods, the expansionists Iranun set up forwarded bases accross SEA ignoring Dutch, Spanish and British authority with impunity*”. (J. Warren, 2002, Ch. 10, Blood upon Sea and Sand: 267-308). This latest book presents the numerous documents collected and analyzed by the historian.

The Pala'wan lived experience of these violent sacks followed by capture and enslavement of the surviving people is not transmitted by *surat*, the syllabic script on bamboo or on *lontara* palms as in Java and Bali, but rely upon Orality, the people's memories and their voices. Their testimonies are not expressed in the form of a factual relation like *tenes-tenes* among the Sama Dilaut (See in Annexe: Harry. A. Nimmo's collection of recordings deposited in Ateneo), but in the form of a long poetical sung narrative, *tultul*. As a matter of fact, how can we hear the voice of these captives, their emotions and anguishes, when they were chased, captured, taken away on boats and later sold as slaves to an unknown master in a faraway land, how can we reach the subjectivities of so many victims through listings and compiled facts?

Some historians do integrate Oral History, taking into consideration these authentic oral testimonies and evocations as they can enrich the written documents and help the analyst to understand deeper.

**Example 3:** “*Durus Mata, Oblique Eye*” (DM)) (2h, 1 BASF tape, Speed 9,5 on UHER) sung by Kariq in the large meeting house of Bungsud, 1972. PALAWAN BOX 15.15

This woman singer of tales, *mānunultul* came from the spring of Tigaplan River, where the forest is beautiful with huge damars and dipterocarps trees. Her breathing capacity was short, but her timbre very acute, *mäsning*, was quite representative of the Highlands and highly appreciated, provide there was no “crocodile” lament”, *lalam bwaya*. Her narrating style was “straight”, *mābantäl*, without “inversion”, *baliwät*, nor “polite formulae”, *päribasa*.

This is the story of a young orphan lost in sorrow as his elder brother and relatives were slaughtered by the *Känipaqan* when they raided the upland hamlet of his kins, two months and a half ago. The loss of his elder sibling takes the hero back to wilderness, an orphan is no longer a social being, but a rootless wandering being in the forest.

His encounter with Cordyline lady *kilala* (Käki) whose pink and sweet flowers, is a magic cure for wild boars, *tabang ät byäk*, and her first cousine, *kulasi*, Violet Basels lady (Käku), whose fragrant “smoke”, *abu-abu*, favors “clairvoyance”, *pibiriq*, and brings him back to a social life. He is invited to stay and hunt with a blowpipe but in a limited safe area, where birds and pigs are numerous, he brings back abundance to the home with the delicious viand, *isdaqan*, that complement the “staple food” *käkanän*. A division of work between man and woman, hunting in the *lagwas* and cooking or sawing inside the home reckons life in peace and harmony.

But the two ladies have given a limit. A transgression brings the hero off limits and another encounter is taking place with *Kälagusan* (KL), a young man who went through a similar fate and becomes the necessary substitute for the lost brother as you cannot be alone, without a relative, in a given social world. The plot now sketches a new balance and another transgression is necessary to acquire the psychological qualities to become an accomplished man.



Secretly, the two friends decide to go to the faraway place where their enemies, the *Kānīpaqan* people are hiding in the Nipa vegetation (*Nipa fructicans*) along the mouth of the river. Eight mountains have to be crossed, an ordeal that will take them to the real confrontation with the raiders, a men' affair.

These raiders were hiding in the palms along the rivers mouths and estuaries in order to ransack hamlets and violently capture the highlanders.

(N.B: *in ital.* dialogues; in roman: the narrative in english only)

00-D.M. *Where shall I go,  
I am walking at random my brother is no more*, said he.

004- His body is covered with weeds  
As he keeps on walking,  
he is at age when one has all his teeth.

007- Around two and half months, since his older brother died  
*Where shall I go...* said he.

011-As he keeps on walking, Durus Mata,  
has already reached a mountain ridge.

015- His steps took him to [Cordylines Land](#)  
I keep on walking, I have lost my brother  
I have no more brother to care for.

020- When he was half way in [Cordylines Land](#)  
He looked up and saw a house alike a closed betel box  
The house of a Lady, the story says.

024-*I am afraid of Andalimaw, in case there is a Malevolent  
Where shall I take shelter?* said he.

026-*The Lady might see me, where shall I stay?*

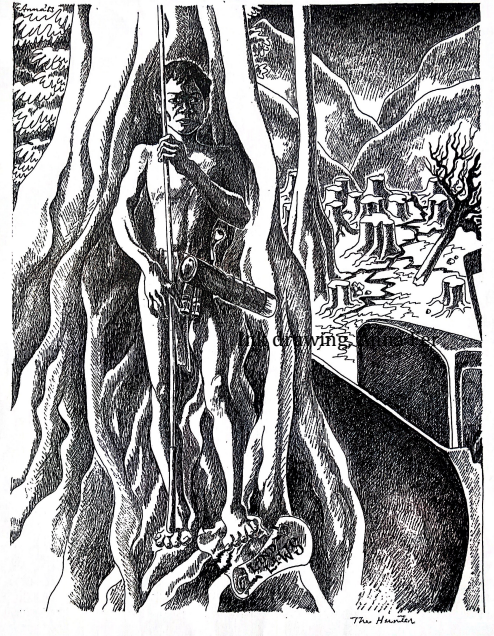
027- Kāki. She can see him by looking over her shoulder  
*Friend, it is maybe you, I pity you really,  
Come upstairs, you are still small and you keep on walking...*

040- D.M. *Madam, I just pass by,  
Maybe I cannot come up to your home  
Who could come up by himself, I am alone.*

043- Kāki. *You speak too much,  
Friend, come up, we are two here with my cousine,  
what are you afraid of?*

045- Kāku. *Friend come up,what are you afraid of?*  
Said the Basels Lady .

048- *As for me, Madam,  
I am coming up,*  
The story says, he went up.



The fight is a progressive one. They proceed step by step, first by a polite dialogue raising question. The answer is straight and brutal with one single offer: a fight anew in order to kill the young man. The use of magic devices and dodging technique follows; then the fight of revenge takes place and the raider is wounded by spear...

069-KL They keep on walking, the story says.  
They followed the ridge of Nipa Mount,  
What did they follow, only nipa are growing there.

072- They went across Nipa land  
And then they noticed a house like a closed quid box  
And they stand on the space around the house.

075- D.M. *Friend, is someone upstairs? what if I come up?*  
*Here we are, you might be surprised,*  
said Durus Mata.

081-Kāni. *Cousin,*  
*let us have a look downstairs, who is calling,*  
said Kānipaqan

131-*Cousin, it seems there are some people,*  
said Kānipaqan

133- Kani. When he looked down, what did he see?  
*Cousin, do you recognized them,*  
*it seems to me that they are the left over* (of our former raid)  
What does he see in looking down, they are partly visible.

137- Kāni. *Friend, it is you of course, you were our left over !*  
*You have a good fate in coming to visit me*  
*On the spot we are going to resume the fight.*

141- D.M. *As for us, Friend,*  
*We did not come to fight,*  
*on the contrary, we came to visit you,*  
*although you have killed my older brother, let us speak amicably.*

145- D.M. *We might be blamed by Āmpuq, the Master.*  
*Friend, we are coming to raise one single question:*  
*Who killed my older brother? This is what we are asking you.*

159- Kāni. *Friend, if this is your question,*  

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*It is really me who cut your brother into pieces, said Kānipaqan.*

161- Kāni. *Friend, you just wait there.*  
Instantly, he puts his saber on his belt.  
Once it was fixed, where do the two cousins go ?  
They went down, they were shouting  
and instantly they slained Durus Mata.

166- Kāni. *Friend, you are a left over*  
*I did not see you...*

168- D.M. *Friend, you said the truth,*  
*You are the one who cut my brother into pieces.*

170- Kāni. *Friend, even if you do not say a word,*  
*Let us try really, the two of us...*

174-D.M. *The two of us, this is the one who cut my older brother into pieces*

177- *If you are the one who cut him into pieces*  
*then cut us into pieces, now!*  
*Cousin, we ask you in a nice way, if you are really the one.*

As for him, he hits Durus Mata, the story says,  
What does he hit?  
When Kānipaqan looks backward, Durus Mata is smiling in his back.

178- Kāni. *Friends, let us try really  
the strongest shall live.*  
He pursues Durus Mata  
What does he pursue?  
When he looks backward once more, Durus Mata is smiling in his back.

183- KL. Then he chased his friend  
*What kind of a man are you?* said Kālusagan

187- D.M. *Friend, it is that you have magical power*  
When they keep on hitting with their spear, what do they hit?  
The spear falls far away  
*Friend, you are really a man.*  
And he keeps on hitting and hitting his friend.

208-As for him  
What does he hit? The spear falls far away.

212-D.M. *Friend, let us be extremely careful now,  
the friend could have the highest magic power!*  
When they started to hit, what do they hit?  
*Friend, let us try really this time.*  
*You have to put my brother onto the ground*  
*We are now taking revenge on your former aggressor.*

.....  
229-Kāni. *Friend, even if you do not say it!*  
*We are going to confront our strength now really,* said Kānipaqan  
When he hits, what does he hit?  
His friend, is far from reach.

237-And him, when he hits his friend he keeps on shouting  
He does not stop yelling and his screams have a meaning:  
*Madam, do not wait for us we have encounter bad people*  
*and we cannot go back home*  
As for them, they keep on hitting...

After striking the raider who then begged for mercy ...the young man beheaded him and the two friends played *sipa* with the rolling head.

Then *Durus Mata* chewed a quid in a peaceful attitude and smiled in an oblique discrete way (hence his name) when they returned to the two ladies' home.

The ordeal is over, the rite of passage is accomplished, but the attitude is one of modesty, a valued quality and understatement is its manifestation in speech acts. The last sentence is a litotes: lowing down the expression of one's thought, meaning more by saying less. No show off, is a highly priced quality among the Pala'wan. From now on, Durus Mata is a reliable man who can be trusted and is eligible for marriage.

330-D.M. *Friend, you are still speaking...*  
He jumped there  
and hit him with his saber  
and even throwed the head to the earth.

335-They kicked the head like a *sipaq* ball and turned it into a chopping board  
*It is you, Friend, who took the head of my older brother?*  
The friend cannot sound any longer...



341-Instead of him, a tailor bird is speaking now:  
*Friend, what can I do? I killed your brother intentionally.*  
The man is asleep on this spot!

344-*It is indeed my fault.*  
He does not breath any more.

347 D-M. As for Durus Mata, he chewed...  
On top of a tree trunk, they are enjoying a quid.

In this *tultul*, the respective profiles, skills and intentions are illustrated and the very contrasted ways to speak of the main characters reflect the same contrasted attitudes and opposite *Adat* as in “*Kudaman*” and in “*Datuq ät Pänärängsangan*”, “*Sunset Datuq*”. On the one hand, the aggressive maritime raiders Ilanän or Balangingi, on the other hand the discrete peace oriented Pala’wan Highlanders potential preys, particularly when they live not too far away from the costal lines of the Sulu Sea, a raid prone area.

*As for us, said Ilanän, Little One, we are not trained to speak*  
*As for us, we are not trained to talk*  
*As for us, we are not used to drink*  
*As for us, we fight, just to compare who is the most powerful in another world.*

Once, I was the witness of these two opposite behaviors in a modest cockfight on Tabud market day between a Pala’wan highlander and a Tausug merchant visiting the foothills: a quiet man on one side silent, concentrated on his cock, and on the other side a man very confident of his superiority, intimidating, provocative, shouting loudly, trying to impress and destabilize his opponent. Finally, the cock of the Highlander killed the cock of the alien visitor...

As observed in Bali by Clifford Geertz (1973:447), “... *what the cockfight talks most forcefully is about status relationships and what it says about them is that they are matters of life and death*”.

In the majority of the *tultul* I know of, Life and Death are the very core of the story. By their attacks, the raiders show a dominant attitude imposing by massive warfare, tributes extortions and enslavement, an hegemony on the Pala’wan and many other peoples on the coastal lines of the entire Philippine archipelago.

#### Some Partial Remarks

“*Balangingi raiders (initially Samal from a poor island in Sulu) probably brought between 2000 and 3000 captives to Sulu each year from voyages which focused on Central Philippines. Many were absorbed in Sulu population but many more were resold to rulers in Borneo and further afield.*” “*During the period 1770-1870, between 200.000 to 300.000 captives were taken to Sulu most of them from the Philippines*” (J.F. Warren, 1985: 208). “*At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, slaving expeditions were composed of scores fleets, the largest and most important included more than 100 joanga – and between 10 to 15 000 raiders*”.

(...) “*They generally cruised in squadrons of 30 to 40 joanga with a single fleet commander and a nakodah*”<sup>6</sup> “*a shipmaster*” on board of each joanga, they were many

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<sup>6</sup> G. Rixhon gives the etymon : *Nakhoda* is a Persian word for “Shipmaster” also used in Malay and becomes *Nahudag* in Tausug (2010: 326). It is also in sinama a term used the by the Sama Dilaut and the Bajau Laut as “group leader” on a flotilla *nakura*’in Samporna and Bangau-Bangau, Sabah , (C. Sather, 1997).

warriors of various ethnic groups and slaves would be used to fight”(J.F.Warren, 2002, *The Sulu Sea as Heartland of Piracy* : 20.)

A *tultul* named “*Käqislam-islaman*”, compares the fast speed arrival of raiding boats to “a typhoon” *bagiu buraq*, as the crew of a *joanga* (150 to 200 men) had shifted to “narrow boats” *salisipan*,<sup>7</sup> used in coastal and inshore attacks.

A gigantic human traffic affecting the shorelines of Visayan islands, Ilocos in northern Luzon, Albay, Samar and Leyte, was the counterpart of a growing external trade involving China, India and the Europeans: tea for the benefit of the British, opium for the benefit of the Chinese, guns, powder and slaves for the benefit of Tausug datus, some Sama and other chiefs in the Malay world.

During the former centuries Indian merchants from the coast of Coromandel took part in this vast Asian trade. Islam too introduced commercial exchanges to Sultanates and new Law (C. Majul, 1973).

Then the Europeans entered pre-existing trading networks, the Dutch world system introduced other changes. A nebula of foreigners, chinese, muslims merchants of the various polities were involved in this global economy *that affected Southeast Asia through a long term pattern of expansion and contraction*. (A. Reid: 1993). Many captives died at sea. After 1830, mortality among them increased because of new engagements between slaves raiders and the colonial steamships. Then, the Iranun and Balangingi used their captives as human shields “*la muralla de sangre*” (J Warren: 2002, Chap 11 The Captives : 335).

According to Denys Lombard who analyzed “Le carrefour javanais” this was “*a long process that paved the way to mercantile European colonialism* (D. Lombard, 1990, II).

As an insight unto women’ voice, I wish to invite the reader to go to the link ([here insert the code related to this homage on the web](#)) to present an excerpt of Käri’s voice . I was able to meet and record this lady singer of tales in 1972 in the Highlands. Her voice testifies that in traditional cultures of the Philippines, as you have often illustrated Ricardo since 1972 and beyond, women do perform and their voices and styles are highly appreciated particularly as “singer of tales”. I recall from 1991 to 2001, we were able to listen and record beautiful women voices and narratives among the Tala-andig Bukidnon (Box 5), the Panay Bukidnon (Box 12), the Itneg of Northern Luzon (Box 9) They are now accessible on the si website the “*Philippine epics Epics and Ballads Archive*” ” we built on a website monitored by Ateneo : <http://epic.ateneo.edu/epics>.

We present two excerpts of “*Durus Mata*” Box 15. 15 as they correspond to two characters: The young hero “*Durus Mata, Oblique Eye*” and “*Linamin Käkilalanan, Cordilyne Lady*”, his protective host.

The acoustic analysis has been conducted by Dr. Deidre Bolger with my collaboration. with her.

While si Kunyas could no longer sing when by chance I met her, Si Kariq sang for me and I could record “*Durus Mata*”, a *tultul* that precisely valorizes the compassionate and kind role of two cousins towards the hero, orphan of his elder brother, killed by the Ilanän during a violent raid and since then, wandering in despair.

In 2015-2016, I invited Dr. Deirdre Bolger to collaborate with us on the one year joint research Program conducted by Pierre Couprie, *New Trans & Interdisciplinary Approach of the Voice, NATIV* (2015-16), associated to l’Institut de Recherche en Musicologie (IReMUS) Université Paris-Sorbonne.

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<sup>7</sup> *Joanga* (or *lanong*) and *salisipan* are two of the many varieties of boats roaming the Straits. and the South Seas. Drawings are illustrating J.Warren ‘s book 2002, Figs. 9 and 10 , pp. 99-200, while the weapons are in fig. 12 p. 202 and in the Paris exhibition catalogue 2013, Photos 81 to 87 pp. 151-158)

In homage to Ricardo Trimillos who always encouraged interdisciplinary research, we present the beginning of the acoustic analysis of this *tultul*:

In the following example we compare *Durus Mata*, the young hero and one of the two cousins, *Linamin Käkilalanan* “Kaki”, Cordyline Lady. The following analyses were carried out using both Praat (Boersma, 2001) software and Matlab (MATLAB version 7.0).

The pitch contour of each excerpt (figures 1 and 3) together with the spectrogram (figures 2 and 4) presented and these representations will guide our exploration of the timbre. To begin, on a general scale, a switch from one character to another, the character of the two ladies (Kaki and Kaku, Basel Lady) and *Durus Mata*, implies a change in melody. These melodies act as motifs heralding the entrance of each character and, as such, constitute a point of departure for the sonic analysis of this epic.

In comparing **the melodic contours** of each character’s motif, a clear difference in average pitch emerges: 537Hz for *Durus Mata* and 421Hz for Kaki. However, despite this difference, the range of each motif are comparable : 347Hz for *Durus Mata*, while that of Kaki is 386Hz. In addition, both melodic contours are characterised by a positive slope, in other words, they both ascend. Having not yet applied this analysis to other instances of these two characters as well as to other characters, we cannot say, at this point, if these differences persist throughout the entire epic as an overall hallmark of these characters’ melodic motifs.

The spectrogram of *Durus Mata* (figure 4) reveals a concentration of energy in the frequency band below 2000Hz, with an almost abrupt decrease in energy in the higher frequency bands (>2000Hz). This characteristic is less evident in spectrogram of Kaki (figure 2), which presents a greater spread of energy across frequency bands, a characteristic generally suggestive of a richer timbre.

The brightness coefficient of each of the two excerpts was calculated using the MIRTtoolbox (Music Information Retrieval Toolbox: Lartillot et al, 2008). Our results reveal a higher brightness coefficient for Kaki (0.215) than *Durus Mata* (0.16). The brightness of a sound is, in large part, driven by the amount of energy in the higher frequencies of the spectrum and is directly correlated with a sense of clarity. In relation to singing, higher brightness indicates that the singer is putting more energy into their vocal production.

Here, the clarity of the voice of Kaki reflects the spontaneous outpourings of the lady as she invites the hero to stay with her and her cousin. She is sincere, compassionate and confident and the cordyline flower is the symbol of her clairvoyant skill, as it is always found nearby a shaman’s house. Her confidence is in contrast to the homeless, desperate and shy *Durus Mata*, which the singer characterizes by a less energetic vocal production and which is reflected in the lower brightness coefficient. However, little by little, thanks to the two ladies who give him their kind support, he becomes very accomplished in hunting, in sharing, in relating to others, and blossoms into strong young man, *subur*.

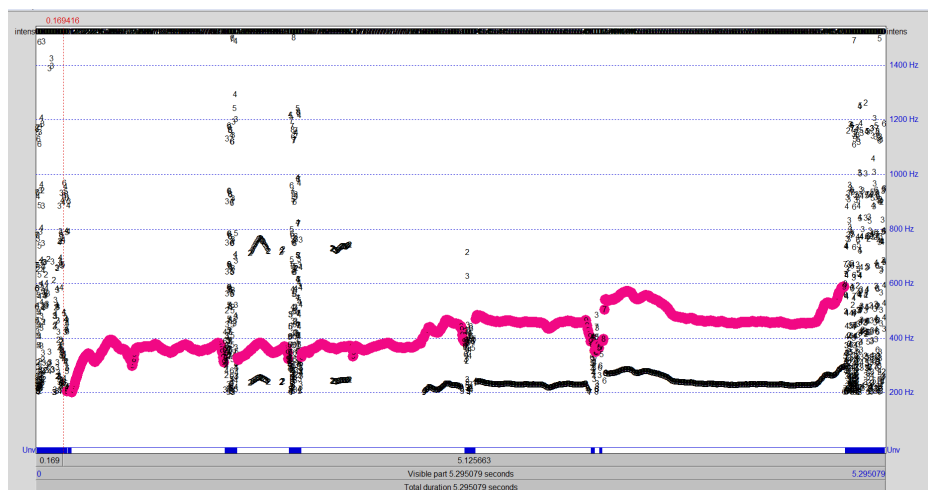


Figure 1. Pitch contour of Kăki extracted using Praat.

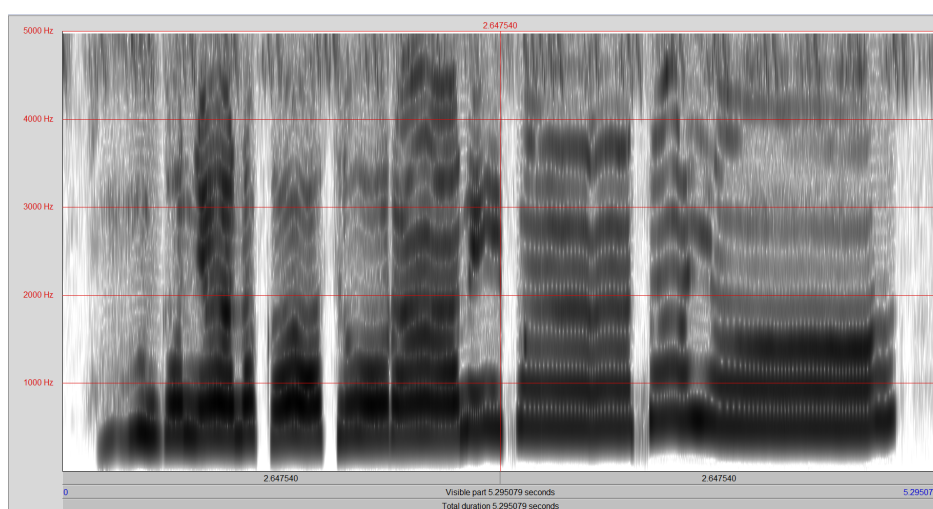


Figure 2. Spectrogram of Kăki extract (extracted using Praat).

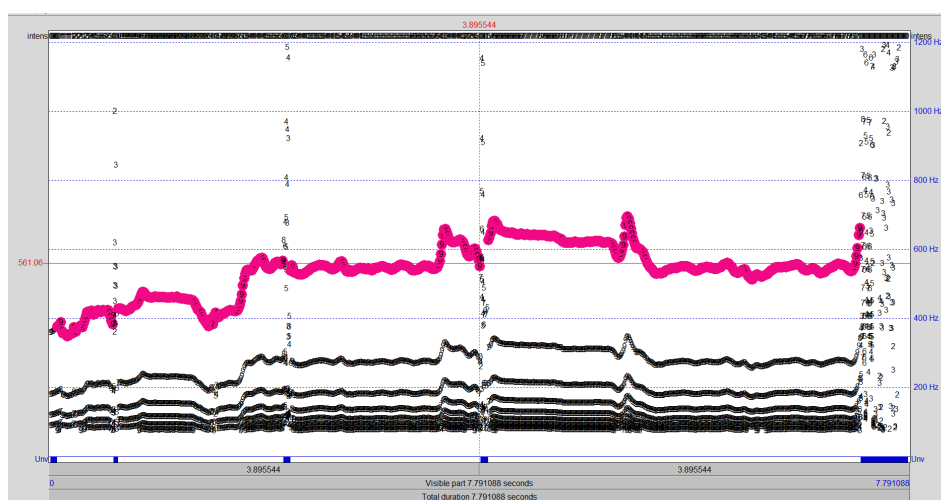


Figure 3. Pitch contour of Durus Mata excerpt (extracted using Praat).

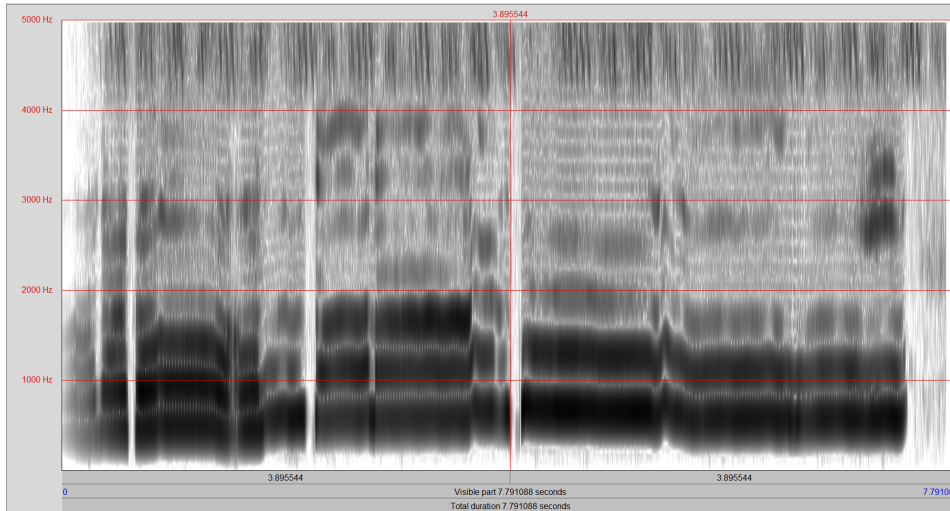


Figure 4: Spectrogram of Durus Mata excerpt (extracted using Praat).

The **amplitude envelope** illustrates the variation in vocal energy over time allowing us to observe the extent to which it remains more or less constant over time. To calculate the amplitude envelope, we first apply a bandpass filter with an upper and lower cut-off frequency of 2500Hz and 200Hz, respectively, to the signal so that our analysis concentrates on that part of spectrum corresponding to the human vocal range and then we extract the envelope using the Hilbert transform. Then a moving average smoothing with a constant time-window of 80ms is applied.

Figures 5 and 6 present the amplitude envelopes of Käki and Durus Mata, respectively. The envelope of Käki (with a mean amplitude of 63dB) excerpt remains stable over time while, in contrast, that of Durus Mata (with a mean amplitude of 59dB) presents greater amplitude variation.

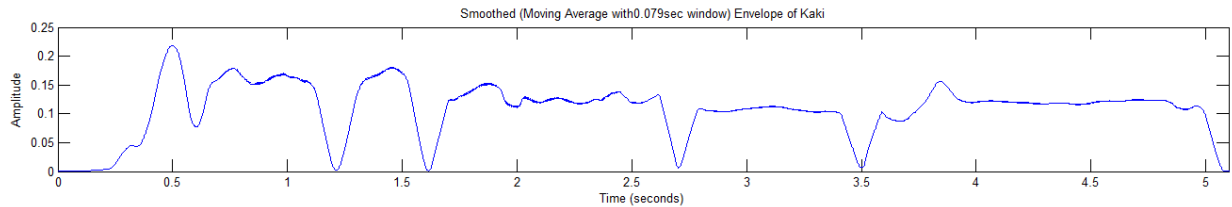


Figure 5: Amplitude envelope of Käki excerpt.

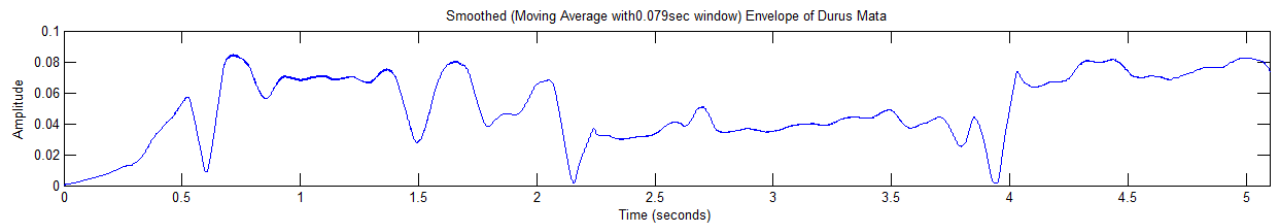
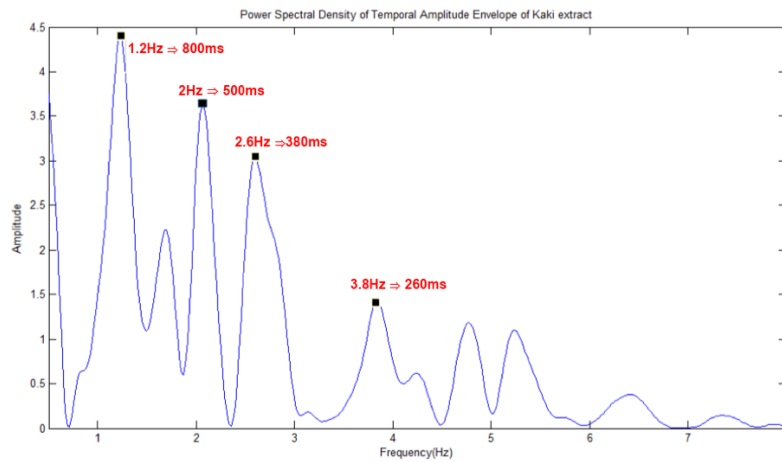


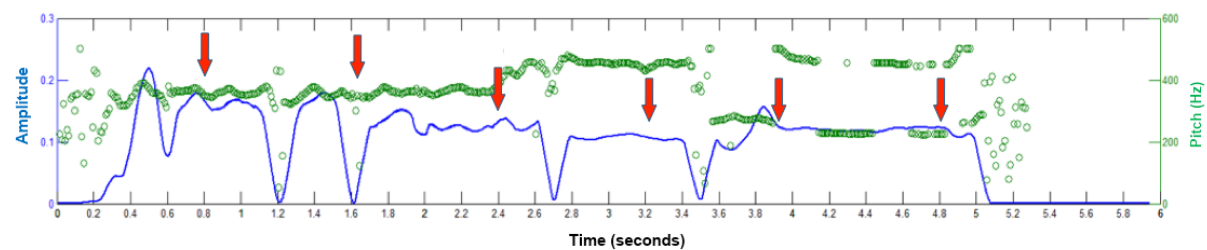
Figure 6: Amplitude envelope of Durus Mata excerpt.

An aural comparison of the two extracts could suggest that the Käki excerpt, due to its accent structure, has a more regular rhythmic structure than that of Durus Mata. One way of exploring possible underlying regularities is to perform a spectral analysis of the amplitude envelope. To this end, we calculated the PSD (Power Spectral Density) of the amplitude envelope of the Käki excerpt. Figure 7 presents the spectrum revealing a maximum peak at 1.24Hz, corresponding to a periodicity of 800ms. In figure 8, the

amplitude envelope of Käki is plotted against the pitch contour and red arrows are presented at 800ms intervals to indicate the underlying rhythmic structure suggested by our analyses. This exploration of the underlying rhythmic structure is but a first step and the results presented here need to be confirmed by applying this analysis to a larger number of excerpts corresponding to Käkä and to the five other characters.



**Figure 7:** Power Spectral Density of Amplitude Envelope of Käkä excerpt revealing peak periodicities at 1.2Hz (800ms), 2Hz (500ms), 2.6Hz (380ms) and 3.8Hz (260ms).



**Figure 8 :** Amplitude envelope (in blue) plotted against the pitch contour (in green) ; the points of rhythmic structure suggested by a periodicity of around 800ms, as revealed by our analysis, are marked with the red arrows.

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- J. F. Warren, 2013, "The Role of Maritime Raiding or Warfare in the Economy of the Sulu Zone—1768-1878, *Philippines an Archipelago of Exchanges*, Catalogue of the Exhibition at Musée du quai Branly (April 9 - July 14 2013, Paris, Acte Sud, :pp. pp.147-151.

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## Annexe

### The Harry Arlo Nimmo and Tarabasa Idji Collection of Songs <sup>8</sup>

I would like you to be aware of the collection of songs, stories and music on 3 DVDROMs recorded in Tawi-Tawi by Dr Harry Arlo Nimmo in 1965-67, and deposited in Ateneo by Dr Nimmo, Gerry Rixhon and myself, as a supplementary collections to the *Epics and Ballads Archives*, Pardo de Tavera collection, Ateneo de Manila University in 2009.

*"These recordings were made during the course of my anthropological fieldwork in the western Tawi-Tawi Islands and the community of Sitangkai among the Sama Dilaut (AKA Bajau) people from September 1965 through April 1967.*

*My chief intent in making the recordings was to document the rich musical traditions of the Sama Dilaut, but I soon learned that the shore-dwelling Sama and Tausug people had equally rich traditions and I consequently recorded some of their music also, especially the long narrative tenes-tenes ballads of the Sama. I feel confident that I recorded the gamut of songs among the boat-dwelling Sama Dilaut of Tawi-Tawi, but much less confident that I recorded all of the Sitangkai Sama Dilaut music traditions. I only sampled the music of the shore-dwelling Sama and the Tausug. Instrumental music is underrepresented in these recordings.*

*Some of the Tawi-Tawi recordings of Tausug and Sama music were made by my research assistant Tarabasa Idji, in his home village of Karundung, Sanga-Sanga, Tawi-Tawi. Anyone interested in these recordings should read my writings about Sama Dilaut songs:*

1. 1968. "Songs of the Sulu Sea." *ETC. XXV* (4): 489-494.
2. 1972. "You will remember us because we have sung for you." *Philippine Studies XX* (2): 299-322.
3. 1976. "A Functional Interpretation of Bajau Songs." *In Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature*, edited by Adrienne L. Kaeppler and H. Arlo Nimmo. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
4. 2001. *Magosaha: An Ethnography of the Tawi-Tawi Sama Dilaut. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. (pp. 183-202) "*

From this collection deposited and in relation to this paper, I like to refer you to :

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<sup>8</sup> The introduction to this collection written by H. Arlo Nimmo has been published by G. Rixhon in *Voices from Sulu* 2010, (Part 4 :365-367).

3 Sama Dilaut *kata-kata*, numerous *tenes-tenes* “long sung ballads” and many already gone *Kalangan baliu* “Wind songs” and also a Tausug *Kisa* “True story”

TAPE 6B.

*Kata-Kata* chant. Sitangkai (?).

TAPE 9A. PART 1.

*Kata-kata* chant recorded at Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi on September 4, 1966. Chanted by Lansa.

TAPE 9A. PART 2.

Continuation of *kata-kata* chant on TAPE 9A, PART 1.

TAPE 9B.

Continuation of *kata-kata* chant on TAPE 9A, PART 2.

TAPE 10B.

Continuation of the *kata-kata* on TAPE 10A.

TAPE 11A.

Recorded at Karundung, Sanga-Sanga, Tawi-Tawi, November 1965.

3. *Kata-kata* (“*Tuan Ismail*”) recited by Adjarani Kojaasan (Tausug).

TAPE 14A. PART 1.

Recorded at Karundung, Sanga-Sanga, Tawi-Tawi in 1965.

3. Tausug songs. A long narrative *kisa* ballad (“*Badun*”) by Hativ Mama (Tausug).

Alain Martenot, and Haji Musa Malabong,  
Talib Sangogot and Hja Massaat Sangogot works  
deposited in *Philippines Epics and Ballads Archive* .

To this collection, I like to add the beautiful record: «*Sama de Sitangkai (Phils.) Archipel Sulu-1* by Alain Martenot & Dr. José Maceda, with Song and Music transcriptions, and translations, published by B. Surugue, Orstom, 1982, Paris, deposited in the archives by Gerry Rixhon.

In 1995, Alain Martenot returned to Tawi-Tawi and met once again his former friend and collaborator in 1975-76 Haji Musa Malabong. We both entrusted him for the transcription of the seven sung *kata-kata* we were able to record in 1995-98. Translations were done by the three of us in collaboration with Talib Lim Sangogot, a knowledgeable teacher, Supervisor of the schools in ARMM, Tausug by his father, Sama by his mother and speaking English fluently. The *kata-kata*, we published in 2005, “*Silungan Baltapa*”, is the result of this joint endeavor.

Talib who was a mathematician, together with his sama wife, Hja Massaat Sangogot, dedicated their life to the safeguarding of Oral Tradition in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. They worked on six narrated *kata-kata* and during the last years of his life, he continued a major work on four tausug sung *kissa* on *parrang sabil*. He contributed an analyses of these songs (2017: 61-85) at the Conference on “*Mindanao History in the context of National History*”, convened by the Historical Society in Butuan and published in 2017 by Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Editor) & Rolando O. Borrinaga (Issue Editor).

In addition, he worked on a trilingual Tausug /Sama /English Dictionary (still unpublished).

6 sung *Kata-kata*, 1 *kissa* recorded in Tawi-Tawi SAMA BOX 2 on Ateneo Epics website:

2.6 *Si Jairatul Allah* “Jairatul Allah”.

2.7 *Si Jambangan Bismillah maka si Sinag Buahan* “Jambangan Bismillah and Sinag Buahan”.

2.8 *Si Pagdatugan ma Dunya maka si Kumalaq Intan* “The Datship of the Earth and Lady Diamond”.

2.9 *Silungan Baltapa* “The Journey to Heaven of a Sama Hero”.

2.12 *Usaha Di Laut* “Earning from the Sea”.

2.13 Untitled *kata-kata*.

2.14 *Kissa Ma si Jawaji* “The Story of Jawaji”.

2.15 *Tandanan*, “A Sama Dilaut Respected Leader of Tong Bangkaw, Belatan”.

4 sung *Kissa* on *Parrang sabil* in Sulu TAUSUG BOX 3 on Ateneo Epics Website :

- 3.4 Kissa on *Parrang Sabil of Jikiri* "The Story of the Fight of Jikiri".
- 3.5 Kissa on *Parrang sabil Abdulla Iban Hi Putli' Isara* " Abdulla and his wife Putli' Isara".
- 3.6 Kissa on *Parrang Sabil of Sahirun Pagbunuq ha Bud Dahuq* "Battle of Mont Dahuq".
- 3.7 Kissa on *Parrang Sabil of Panglima Saiyadi* "The Fight of Panglima Saiyadi against Filipino soldiers in Tapul".
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