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Editor's Note

There is truth to the adage that the only constant thing in life is change. Bearing this in mind, the *Historical Bulletin*, the official journal of the Philippine Historical Association in celebration of its 60th year ushers in change. This change is seen as the journal transitions to being a refereed journal and having an editorial board composed of respected scholars in the field of history. The Editorial Board is composed of Dr. Reynaldo C. Ileto of Nanyang Technological University of Singapore; Dr. Rommel A. Curaming of the University of Brunei, Darussalam; Dr. Satoshi Ara of Fukushima, Japan; Dr. Raquel A. G. Reyes of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; and Dr. Francis A. Gealogo of the Ateneo University.

As the *Historical Bulletin* transitions to this new change, this issue reproduces papers of two plenary speakers during the International Conference on Historical Education sponsored by the Philippine Historical Association and held on August 27–29, 2015, at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. These papers are those delivered by Dr. Reynaldo C. Ileto entitled “Historians and ‘Unfinished Revolution’: Trajectories of Philippine Historical Writing from the U.S. Conquest to the Present” and by Taufik Abdullah on “Historical Reflections on the 70th Anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia.” Both scholars reflect change as Ileto looks back at the way Philippine history has been written and Abdullah on how the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia has been documented.

Change also becomes the thread which weaves through the articles found in this issue. The 1589 Last Will and Testament of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas is revisited by Ian Christopher Alfonso. The Last Will and Testament of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas was first discovered by Isabelo de los Reyes and later studied closely by Luther Parker who saw it as a source in the writing of Philippine folklore. Alfonso attempts to use the said Last Will and Testament to shed light on precolonial Philippines in general and to reconstruct the genealogy of a *maginoo* in the person of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas. Alfonso's article thus embodies change in examining a primary source in history.

Change in marriage rites and practices among the Maguindanaons is seen in the article of Mohamar D. Rindo. With the advent of modernization and the strict adherence to Muslim tenets, the indigenous marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons of the Municipality of Dinas, Zamboanga del Sur, are slowly being compromised.

Change is also seen in the way of communicating history. No longer confined within the four walls of the classroom, the teaching of history assumes an innovative way. This innovative way is discussed by Randy Madrid in his article entitled “Teaching History Through Heritage Walks and Food Trips.” This article touches on the emerging field of public history wherein the historian no longer confines his role as writing for history but reaches out to a bigger audience, the community, and in so doing democratizes knowledge production and consumption.

Change is likewise seen in the use of primary sources in the teaching of Philippine history instead of the use of a textbook. Historical thinking skills such as making historical assertions and formulating historical interpretations were discussed by the article “Paggamit ng Primaryang Batis sa Paglinang ng Pang-unawa at Interpretasyong Pangkasaysayan” of Ana-Liza Ani Bojocan. Bojocan concludes that the use of primary sources by the students helped them acquire the skills of a historian rather than become passive recipients of knowledge as what happens when students are dependent on a textbook.

With this thread of change in the articles and the change which the *Historical Bulletin* is embarking on, who is afraid of change? Change is healthy. The Philippine Historical Association welcomes change for the better.

MA. LUISA T. CAMAGAY
Editor

Historians and “Unfinished Revolution”: Trajectories of Philippine Historical Writing from the U.S. Conquest to the Present

REYNALDO C. ILETO

*Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Australian National University*



When the *Samahang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas*, also known as the Philippine Historical Association, was founded in 1955, I was only nine years old and a student in the Ateneo Grade School at Padre Faura. And yet I am rather proud to announce today that my outlook as a historian was shaped by the vision and hopes that gave rise to the PHA in the first place. This was due in great part to the influence on me of two of the PHA's founding members: Teodoro Agoncillo of the UP history department and Horacio de la Costa S. J. of the Ateneo history department.

Professor Agoncillo was present at the first meeting of the PHA on September 18, 1955. He was elected to the first Board of Governors together with Esteban de Ocampo, Gregorio Zaide, Gabriel Fabella, Encarnacion Alzona, Donata Taylo, Nicolas Zafra and other pioneering historians. Father de la Costa is absent from this initial list because he was abroad at that time, but he nevertheless was elected to the board of editors of the PHA's *Bulletin* on October 2. In De la Costa's absence, Gregorio Zaide took his place in the editorial board. By the third issue of the journal in 1958, however, De la Costa, Rex Drilon and Encarnacion Alzona comprised the editorial board, with Alzona as editor-in-chief.

Neither De la Costa nor Agoncillo became my mentor, if only because I did not major in History at the Ateneo and I never set foot on the UP campus during my college days. I got a glimpse of Father de la Costa in the flesh at the Ateneo sometime in 1967, after his return from Rome, but I didn't attend any of his courses. As for Professor Agoncillo, I had never even heard of this UP icon until I arrived in Cornell University in August 1967

to do a graduate degree in Southeast Asian History. So how did Agoncillo and De la Costa come to influence my career? Some of you may have heard this story already: My supervisor, a British historian of early Southeast Asia named Oliver Wolters, warned me at our first meeting: “Do not write like Agoncillo!” Wolters then showed me his copy of the 1960 Agoncillo & Alfonso textbook, *A Short History of the Philippines*, as an example of “bad history.” Agoncillo who?—I thought to myself. As a student at the Ateneo in the mid-sixties, we were never introduced to Agoncillo’s books. They were considered anticlerical, subversive, and therefore taboo. Thanks to Professor Wolters’ warning, however, I became interested in finding out more about this mysterious Agoncillo.

Father de la Costa was actually a friend of my other British adviser, D.G.E Hall. Professor Hall made me read De la Costa’s Harvard-published book, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, particularly the chapters on the Jesuit relations with the Muslims in Mindanao. “Write like De la Costa,” Hall was telling me in so many words. And trying to be another De la Costa was how I got started on my MA thesis on the career of the nineteenth century Datu Utto of Maguindanao. Although I suppose a shared experience of the Ateneo—Jesuit philosophy of education bound together De la Costa and me, I must admit that it was Agoncillo whom I really wanted to emulate. I read his 1956 book, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*, around 1969, at the height of the student movement in the U.S. as well as the Philippines. Without *Revolt of the Masses*, my thesis on *Pasyon and Revolution* could not have been written.

Agoncillo, originally a literary writer and journalist, published his first historical work in 1941: *Ang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas* (History of the Philippines), written jointly with Gregorio Zaide. He continued to devote his time to Tagalog poems and literary essays until the late 1940’s when he began to write magazine articles on colorful rebels, bandits and revolutionaries of the past. By 1950 he seems to have decided upon a career as historian, publishing numerous essays on controversial events during Spanish times and the Philippine revolution. *The Revolt of the Masses*, although written as early as 1948 for a Bonifacio biography contest, was published only in 1956 due to efforts by the Church, the intelligence services, and even Aguinaldo himself to block it.

Perhaps President Magsaysay's patronage of the PHA facilitated the publication of *Revolt of the Masses*. On December 12, 1955, the President was invested with the title of Honorary President of the Association. The PHA's citation states:

Faithful leader of the people, symbol of social justice, and defender of democracy, Your Excellency has shown a heroism that is now written in our history. In your desire to make all men equal you have initiated laws beneficial to all. In your fight against the enemies of democracy you showed a high sense of justice, understanding, and a keen grasp of Christian principles.... Wherefore, in recognition of your greatness as a leader, the Philippine Historical Association has the honor to make you its Honorary President.

Minutes after the citation, Magsaysay inducted the first officers of the Association. Agoncillo would have been present at that event, probably fidgeting uncomfortably because his book, *Revolt of the Masses*, was rather incompatible with the principles that the CIA-backed Magsaysay stood for. Fighting against the so-called "enemies of democracy" (i.e., the Communists), and upholding "Christian principles," was more in line with De la Costa's thinking, but the Jesuit historian was out of the country at that time.

Revolt of the Masses was followed in 1959 by *Malolos: the Crisis of the Republic* wherein Agoncillo continued the saga of the revolution up to the fall of Aguinaldo. The PHA's *Historical Bulletin* reviewed it favorably; Celedonio Resurreccion even praised Agoncillo's thesis of the "Haves versus the Have Nots," inspired by Marxist ideas, as the root cause of the crisis of the Republic. A year later (1960), Agoncillo published within the UP the first edition of the textbook, *A Short History of the Filipino People*, initially co-authored with Oscar Alfonso.

On September 23, 1960, the PHA presented Agoncillo with a certificate of appreciation "for active participation in and generous support to the promotion of the aims and purposes of this organization, more particularly for his outstanding books on Philippine History." This citation appears in the fourth issue of the PHA's *Historical Bulletin* that also carries an

essay by De la Costa, “Three Lectures on History,” in which he gently criticizes historians who employ Hegelian and Marxist frameworks. The Ateneo historian obviously was not happy with Agoncillo’s approach to revolutionary history, but this did not at all threaten the collegial relationship that existed between these two pioneering historians and founding members of the PHA.

The first ten years or so of the PHA witnessed a sort of “Golden Age” of Filipino historical writing, thanks to the efforts of the PHA itself and its rival association the Philippine National Historical Society. In his inaugural address, the PHA’s first president, Gabriel Fabella of the UP, stated that

In the past, writers on Philippine history were for the most part foreigners. It was only very recently that Filipino scholars, in the face of public apathy and straitened circumstances, devoted some of their time to writing the history of their country. Of course we need the viewpoint of foreign writers to lend balance and provide challenge to different evaluative interpretations. But at the same time Filipino historians should make their own contributions to historical knowledge for only Filipino scholars can present a true historical perspective of the history of the Philippines.

It was in this spirit of welcoming and facilitating specifically *Filipino* perspectives on their history, that the PHA could accommodate the works of Agoncillo and De la Costa, however disparate they were. Why the urgent call in 1955 for Filipino perspectives? The answer may be obvious to us, but allow me to probe a little bit more into the state of Philippine historiography that confronted Fabella’s generation after the country’s independence was obtained in 1946.

I know how *passé* and even politically incorrect it is to say this nowadays, but the problem was, to put it simply, American colonial historiography. The textbooks that appeared during American rule, starting with the works of Prescott Jernegan and David Barrows, were clearly designed to justify a bloody and illegal conquest. Think of the more recent illegal invasion of Iraq and the “humanitarian” destruction of Libya, and you get the idea. The United States had to maintain the high ground, insisting

on its continued adherence to the ideals of the American Revolution and the Founding Fathers. This was necessary lest its behavior in acquiring the Philippines be confused with what those greedy and power-hungry Europeans (and later, Japanese) were doing elsewhere. It was to be an exception among the Imperial Powers.

The broad characteristics of U.S. colonial-era histories were as follows: To begin with, the record of the previous colonizer, Spain, had to be presented as negatively as possible. There is no doubt that Spanish rule, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, was haphazard. After all, Spain itself was hobbled by power struggles between liberal, clerical, and monarchist forces throughout the century. We all know the consequences for the Philippines of the rapid alternation between liberal and conservative administrations and personnel on the ground. It raised false hopes for the Filipinos, giving rise to frustrations that led to agitation, repression, reform movements and, finally, a separatist revolt. The aim of American colonial-era histories was to turn a complex nineteenth century situation into a “Dark Age” of late-Spanish rule. Needless to say, the notion that the Spanish era was a Dark Age was vigorously disputed by Father De la Costa.

Facilitating this rewriting of history was the selection and translation of Spanish documents and their publication as the Blair and Robertson collection. No doubt this is a useful set of documents and it has been put to good use by historians lacking access to the Spanish originals. The collection enabled historians to write about the Spanish period with scholarly references but without having learned the Spanish language. Nevertheless, serious questions have recently been raised concerning the exclusionary practices and questionable translations by the compilers. Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson were, after all, key players in the effort to provide historical justification for the American conquest.

The histories that appeared from around 1905 on invariably latched on to the aspirations of the native clergy and the ilustrados of Rizal’s generation, promoting the familiar narrative of the birth of nationalism in 1872 and its steady growth until the century’s end. Filipinos who went through the American educational system knew the story of the Filipinos struggle for Liberty very well—indeed, more than the youth of today

do. The bad guys were the Spaniards and the good guys the enlightened Filipinos exemplified by Rizal. Much is made of Rizal's life and works, which were made accessible in translation, providing a sound but safe template for the nationalist indoctrination of the Filipino youth under American tutelage. There was, of course, more to Rizal than what came to be harnessed by the American educators for their project of democratic tutelage.

In this scenario, the Dark Age of Spanish rule eventually gives way to the dawn of a new age, and this is where a fundamental instability reveals itself in these American-era history textbooks. The United States had to be written into history as the liberator of the Filipino people from the rule of cruel and backward Spain. The policy of Benevolent Assimilation needed to have humanitarian and redemptive underpinnings. But the fact is, there was a native revolt against Spain, which by late 1897 had spread well beyond the original eight provinces in Luzon. By June 1898 a Filipino leader was able to proclaim independence and by early 1899 a republican government was inaugurated. How could the United States, which played only a minor role in the final stage of this revolt, claim the mantle of liberator? The event called the Philippine Revolution had, therefore, to be interpreted in a certain way as to deny the Filipinos the achievements they claimed.

This wasn't that easy to achieve. Thus we see the beginnings of the ongoing historical controversy over what the Katipunan really was: Was it a masonic secret society; a revolt of the masses; a Tagalog-only affair; a precursor of the national armed struggle; a millenarian movement; or just an unruly mob? And who, really, was Bonifacio: a genuine patriot from the working class; a hotheaded ignoramus; a selfless revolutionary who was hailed as a king; a friar-hater and murderer; an inspiring orator—but only to fellow Tagalogs; a distant second to Rizal; or even a complete fiction, as Glenn May would have it? And what about Aguinaldo: his military skills may have made him more suitable than Bonifacio to lead a nationwide revolt, but wasn't he really just a Chinese-mestizo mayor not long ago, a local strongman garbed in the trappings of a Republican head of state? Did the Republic, comprising as it did a populace still trapped within the feudal relations characteristic of the old Spanish colony, deserve to exist

in 1899? Although these historiographical issues may sound quite current, they were already being raised a century ago.

The aim of the early histories was not to deny that the Katipunan and Bonifacio ever existed but to locate them in a developmental series from primitive to developed, that would enable their eventual displacement. Most writers in the American period concede that the Katipunan exhibited the early stirrings of liberty, but it is tagged as a movement with vague goals, the “rabble” that made up its mass base prone to degenerate into a mob in the absence of enlightened leadership. Bonifacio, while inspired by a sense of primitive justice, is seen as lacking the intellectual sophistication and vision to create a disciplined revolutionary army out of his motley band of followers.

As for the way Aguinaldo is written into history, clearly he is seen as a superior agent of modernity compared to Bonifacio and so the execution of the latter is justified in this interpretation of the revolution. Furthermore, American writers would note approvingly Aguinaldo’s proclamation that the Republic would embody the liberal ideals of its model, the United States. But as soon as Aguinaldo outlived his usefulness as a U.S. ally, and, worse, seemed determined to carry through his revolutionary republican project despite the treaty transfer of Filipinas from Spain ... well, at that point American publications started to describe Aguinaldo as an oriental despot. The killing of Antonio Luna and Mabini’s criticisms were readily mobilized into this argument. Even today Filipinos moved by the film “General Luna” unwittingly repeat the wartime smearing of the “insurgent chief” Aguinaldo by quoting General Hughes remark that “The Filipinos had only one General [i.e., Luna] and they have killed him.” The Republic with all its trimmings such as a flag, anthem, congress, army, etc., was made out to be simply a facade beneath which the Dark Age was perpetuated by a native and mestizo elite lacking the qualities needed to organize and run a state properly—thanks to having been nurtured by the backward institutions of Spain. The Black Legend (*La Leyenda Negra*), the tradition of anti-Spanish propaganda by her Protestant rivals dating from the 16th century, received a boost by the Yankees during the Spanish-American War. It was subsequently applied to Spain’s former colonies and helped to cast the Philippine revolution in a negative light.

The U.S. conquest thus came to be interpreted as a necessary stage on the road to modernity. Occupying the Philippines would finish up what had been initiated by the pre-modern Katipunan, Bonifacio, the Republic of 1898, and Aguinaldo. The events called “the Philippine Insurrection” would be lamented in these early textbooks as, to quote David Barrows, a great misunderstanding on the insurgents’ part of the benevolent and progressive aims of the U.S. government and military.

By the mid-1920s Filipino scholars from Conrado Benitez onward took over from their American tutors the business of writing history textbooks. Educated in the colonial system but committed to independence, they were able to smooth over much of the negative representations of the revolution against Spain, the republic, and even the so-called Philippine insurrection. Rizal, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo became transmuted into foundational characters in the grand narrative of an independence struggle that was being realized under the guidance and tutelage of the United States. In short, the project of justifying a bloody and illegal conquest had succeeded. Filipino history textbook writers, in tandem with their compatriots who entered the political arena from the time of the *Asamblea Filipina* of 1907 on, became partners of the American colonizers in the making of a modern nation-state.

This is not to say that other versions of the national narrative were absent. The story of the revolution was retold in different ways in vernacular literature and in handbooks used by the labor and socialist movements from the 1920s on. These existed in the margins, however, as a dominant narrative took form that would be deployed in the school system by the American, Commonwealth, and postwar Filipino governments. The over-riding feature of this narrative is that intervention by the United States was necessary in order for the Dark Age of Spanish rule to be completely lifted. By sweeping over the inconsistencies and contradictions in the elements of the story, the American coming was hooked onto the narrative of the reform and revolutionary movements led by Rizal, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo. A historical record of imperial greed, deception, and destruction was thus transformed into a narrative of emancipation and humanitarian assistance.

Although the Japanese invasion and occupation is a very brief period in Philippine history—just three and a half years or about the same length of time as the Filipino-American War—this was enough to shake up the American colonial narrative somewhat. No doubt the majority of the population, having attended colonial schools and internalized the official history, was predisposed to collaborate with the Americans in the anti-Japanese resistance. But the unanimity of the collaboration with the U.S. against Japan was undermined by ghosts and memories of the Filipino-American War, which returned in the persons of Aguinaldo, Ricarte and other veterans who saw something positive in the Japanese intervention. Labeled Japanese collaborators, of course, they exploited the opening provided by the Japanese military administration to de-Americanize Filipino culture, including the selective remembrance of the past.

Suppressed narratives of the revolution and the resistance to U.S. occupation began to reappear by 1943, encouraged by President Laurel, no less, whose family had suffered during the Filipino-American War. Mockery was made of the claim that U.S. troops led by General Arthur MacArthur had arrived on August 13, 1898 to liberate the country from Spain. Now it could be openly stated that MacArthur really came to prevent Aguinaldo's forces from laying claim to victory and to take the Philippines for themselves. Declared "collaborator" Benigno Aquino Sr., "On that day 46 years ago, the Philippines entered upon a phase of history characterized by American rapacity and Filipino vassalage to American imperialism and imperialistic aggrandizement."

Memories of the revolution reached their height of intensity on Independence Day in October 1943. This event was not the farce that it was made out to be in postwar histories. Multiple sources reveal that the crowds at the Luneta ceremonies wept as they were inundated with symbols, speeches and musical sounds from of the revolution of 1898. The Unfinished Revolution again came to life in 1943. Had the Japanese occupation lasted longer and had the population come to terms with the new regime, a major reconfiguration of the narrative of Spain's departure and America's arrival would have been carried out in the 1940s.

A reconfiguration of the narrative did take place, but only after the Japanese had been pushed out. When the Americans and their client Commonwealth government returned in 1945, all the makings of Liberation *redux* were there—the U.S. Army’s arrival in 1898 became the precursor of the liberation of 1945, this time led by General Arthur MacArthur’s son, Douglas. The Japanese occupation, a complex though brief period, was reduced to a Dark Age, just as late Spanish rule was. Pre-war official history textbooks were reinstated and naturally the “End of History” for these post-1945 texts was Liberation and the granting of independence on July 4, 1946.

But there could also be an ironic twist in this repetition of the past. The guerrilla war against the Japanese had taught one army, the *Hukbalahap*, what true liberation could be in the territories it controlled. And so when the Americans returned not just to drive out the Japanese but also to reinstate landlord gentry control over the liberated zones and to disarm the Huk army, a rebellion soon broke loose. The Communist Party and Huk army openly proclaimed, in defiance of Presidents Roxas and Quirino (and their American advisers) that the United States had come in 1898 not to help liberate the Filipinos from Spain but instead to crush a genuine revolutionary movement. Parallels were drawn between the imperial *deceptions* of 1898 and 1945.

During the late 1940s, in the context of worldwide opposition to the return of prewar colonialism and support for national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, a significant proportion of the Filipino intelligentsia, including many journalists and academics, took the side of the Huk rebels. Among them was Teodoro Agoncillo. He started to write *The Revolt of the Mosses* in 1947 in order to revive the narrative of Bonifacio and the Katipunan, which had been tamed during the colonial era to serve the goals of American tutelage. A more subtle aim of the book was to establish a parallel between the Katipunan-led revolt of 1896 and the Communist-led revolt of 1947.

This brings us back to the 1950s and 1960s—the Golden Age of the PHA and its two founding fathers, Agoncillo and De la Costa. Agoncillo rose to prominence as a historian of the revolution of 1896 and the Republican crisis of 1899 that was sparked by the U.S. invasion (see his *Malolos: The*

Crisis of the Republic). Then the Agoncillo & Alfonso textbook appeared in 1960. What a departure this was from previous histories in the generous amount of space devoted to the revolution and the Filipino-American war. For the first time, the use of torture and scorched-earth tactics by the U.S. Army was presented for the consumption of Filipino students—or at least those enrolled in the UP, where the textbook was first used.

The Agoncillo & Alfonso textbook also asserted that a truly Filipino history ought to begin in 1872, the year that three Filipino nationalist priests were executed at the behest of the friars. The rebels and heroes of the old history no longer functioned simply as interruptions to a basically civilizing Spanish-Catholic era. The Revolution was seen as a repudiation of Spain and the attempted recovery of a lost indigenous heritage. Father De la Costa predictably took exception to this view. As he put it in 1960, Spanish rule did not constitute a Dark Age because Filipinos, through their exposure to Christianity and western civilization, had become a people with a common outlook:

[They] had matured as a people, both spiritually and politically; and if that movement issued in the tragic violence of the Revolution, this was because the ruling power either failed to read the sign, or refused to recognize it. Spain, or to speak more accurately, Spanish officialdom insisted on treating Filipinos as children when they were no longer children. They were no longer children because *they had learned from Spain itself* the rights and obligations of maturity. Yet this was precisely what Spain could not or would not concede—it is thus that we must interpret the Philippine Revolution of '96.

Both Agoncillo and De la Costa subscribed to the notion of “unfinished revolution” in the 1950s and 60s. Agoncillo clearly sympathized with Laurel’s assertive nationalism and revolt of the “Have Nots” that found expression in the Huk rebellion. De la Costa, writing in the 1950s, also sensed that a revolution was unfolding but for him, “the issue is who is to control that change? Who is to direct it?” To make it succeed, De la Costa urged activists among the clergy to hook it onto history, specifically the (unfinished) revolution that Rizal started. But unlike the Communists,

they must demonstrate to the masses that their revolutionary projects are animated by a faith that is “all the more human because it is of Divine origin.”

The context of the founding of the PHA in 1955 and its activities through the 1960s was a growing awareness of a need to promote the “unfinished revolution.” The association sought to implement this through historical research and teaching, but always worked through the state, and not against it. Towards this end, Gabriel Fabella, Chairman of the UP history department, first president of the PHA and subsequently its president *emeritus*, worked to change Independence Day from July 4 to June 12. As early as 1955, Fabella wrote an article broaching this idea, which was published a year later in the *Sunday Times Magazine*, titled “June 12 or July 4?” Many, even among his UP colleagues, laughed off the idea, but the story goes that Fabella merely shrugged his shoulders and said, “I will keep up the campaign until June 12 becomes the day for our Independence celebrations.”

In 1959 the PHA adopted Fabella’s resolution, which was filed as a Bill by Congressman Ramon Mitra. Public speeches and radio programs conducted by Fabella and other PHA members kept up the momentum until in May 1962, President Macapagal finally proclaimed June 12 as a public holiday. Macapagal claimed credit for the idea, as politicians are wont to do. However, the reality is that Fabella was “The man who fathered June 12 for our Independence Day celebration”—which is the title of Celedonio Ancheta’s article in the June 1962 issue of *Historical Bulletin*.

Why was this change of date so important for the unfinished revolution? Setting Independence Day at June 12 would ensure that the present-day Republic would be hooked definitively onto the revolutionary past, and not the American period of so-called “tutelage.” Since the PHA always worked through the government of the day (remember that Magsaysay was its first honorary president), it is not surprising that the notion of “unfinished revolution” would eventually find its way to President Macapagal’s presidential discourse. In his address on Independence Day, 1963, Macapagal declared:

On this our noble day of freedom, we therefore call upon all our countrymen to join the ranks of our Unfinished Revolution

and in so joining, brace ourselves as true revolutionaries for the ordeal of struggle that awaits us, confident that by our fortitude and sacrifice, the ancient chains of poverty and misery shall be broken and there shall come to our people a new birth of freedom, justice and abundance for all.

Here is as direct a statement about the “unfinished revolution” as can be uttered by an otherwise-conservative head of state. What is even more remarkable is Macapagal’s rationale for thinking that the revolution is “unfinished.” Elsewhere in the speech he alludes to the U.S. invasion and its long-term, negative effects, which previous Presidents dared not touch upon:

American power intervened at the very moment when the movement was about to achieve total success and resulted in the rapid dissipation of the force behind it as well as in the abandonment of its ultimate objectives in the political, economic and social fields. An exclusively Filipino revolution, following the overthrow of Spanish rule, would have addressed itself to the task of reconstructing Philippine society from top to bottom. It would have attempted to alter radically the economic and social relationships of the people as the only way by which the national economy could prosper through increased productivity so that the dead weight of poverty may be lifted from the backs of the people. *The American tutelage in political democracy over us interrupted this natural course of the Revolution.*

Who wrote this speech, I wonder? Could it have been Renato Constantino, who was Claro Recto’s ghost writer in the late 1950s, or was it perhaps the young Adrian Cristobal? Was it someone from the ranks of the PHA? I don’t know and perhaps it doesn’t matter. What is significant is that “Unfinished Revolution” had entered public discourse at this point. Significant also is the assertion that the revolution was disrupted by American intervention, thus preventing social and economic changes from taking place. And finally, it seems that a Filipino president was made to state publicly—whether he personally believed it or not—that

American tutelage carried negative consequences for the country's future. Behind such statements is the work of Filipino historians, amateurs as well as professionals, who were fulfilling the PHA's dream in 1955 of writing history from a Filipino perspective, not Spanish and certainly not American.

It is but fitting that we should remember them on the 60th anniversary of the Association.

The Indonesian National Revolution: A Historical Reflection

TAUFIK ABDULLAH
Indonesian Academy of Sciences



1. Introduction: the *National Revolution* and the related events

Last week, on August 17, 2015, Indonesia celebrated the 70th anniversary of its Proclamation of Independence. It is understandable, if the whole nation—from the President in the capital city to the poor peasants in the small villages participated in the various types of celebration. In the old days—when Sukarno was the President of the Republic—the festivity of the Proclamation of Independent officially began after the President had given his rousing and unforgettable spelbounding speech in front of the Merdeka Palace. Soon after the speech the school children would sing a number of memorable national heroic songs. However later, after the fall of the so-called Guided Democracy regime, during the Suharto’s New Order years, the festivity officially began after the President had given his annual report to the Parliament. This tradition continues until today. The present President, Mr. Joko Widodo presented his Independent Day speech in front of the members of the MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*—People’s Consultative Assembly—that consisted of the members of the Parliament and that of regional representatives) on August 15. It is, indeed, better this way, after all who can match Sukarno’s magnificent oratorical skill?

Whatever the case, August 17 is the day of national celebration. It is the day to eulogize the sacrifice of the departing national heroes and to remind the people of the still unfinished struggle in the effort to bring the nation onto the stage where they can enjoy the sphere of the just and prosperous society. In the process not only each province or perhaps district may have its own style of commemorating the unforgettable national event, every village can also have its own way of celebrating what we usually call the *Hari Proklamasi*—the day of proclamation.

Seventy years have passed since the time when Sukarno and Hatta, “on behalf of the Indonesian nation,” proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. Looking back at that time one can only ask two unanswered questions, “How many success stories can be told and proudly remembered. But how many national tragedies hardly disappeared from the memories of the nation?” Whatever the case, the proud moment cannot be simply celebrated without linking it with two other historical events that have also been elevated into the sphere of national myths. “October 28, 1928” and “November 10, 1945” can hardly be separated from the glorious event of August 17, 1945-- the date when Indonesia bravely proclaimed its national independence.

It was on October 28, 1928 that the so-called *Sumpah Pemuda*, the national Youth Pledge, took place. At the closing session of the Second Youth Congress—the congress that was attended by practically all insular-based youth organizations, such as *Jong Java*, *Jong Sumatranen Bond*, *Jong Ambon*, *Jong Celebes* and others, and also by the newly established Islamic and all-Indonesian youth organizations. The participants took an oath that they belonged to one nation, the Indonesian nation (*bangsa Indonesia*). They had one fatherland (*tanah air*), Indonesia, and that they highly respected one national language, the Indonesian language (*bahasa Indonesia*). A few months after the event one by one the insular based youth organizations disbanded themselves and together they established a new youth organization, *Indonesia Muda*, the Young Indonesians.

No one can argue that the Youth Congress of 1928 was not the real beginning in the process of nation formation. Several years before the event the Indonesian students in the Netherlands had already established an organization called *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, Indonesian Association. In the early 1920s its chairman, Mohammad Hatta, had already attended the anti imperialist congress, held by the leaders of the still colonized nations in Europe. In 1925 the organization published a journal called *Indonesia Merdeka*, the Freedom of Indonesian, and used the words “*Indonesie vrij, nu*” as its slogan. *Indonesia Vrij* was also the title of the independence speech of the chairman of the *Perhimpunan Indonesia*, Mohammad Hatta, who was then still a student of Faculty of Economics in Rotterdam. In the already classic independence of speech Hatta, he eloquently gave the historical and sociological as well as philosophical underpinnings for

the independence of the country that had been called Indonesia by the nationalist students. Other important and memorable events that took place before October 28, 1928 can also be mentioned. However, despite these facts it was the Youth Congress that ceremoniously and gallantly took the word “Indonesia” as the name of the newly born nation—the nation that consisted of many ethnic groups, each with its distinct local language, tradition and, of course, historical experiences.

That is the story why in the course of history the memorable event of October 28 has gradually been taken as the “official birthday” of the new nation. The event has since then been taken as a symbolic boundary between Indonesian and “ethnic-based” nationalism. Since that time the process toward the mythologization of the nationally significant historic event also began. After all which nation could stand by history alone? Or by simply reconstructing the past event as nothing more than what Ranke once insisted on “*wie es eigentlich gewesen*”—without the support of the growing importance of the national unifying myth? The moment a new nation had been established in people’s system of consciousness the forces of nationalism would simply wait for the right time to unleash itself.

A few years after the the Proclamation of Independence and after the nation had to undergone the bloody national revolution—in the early 1950s—when the world had officially recognized Indonesia as an independent nation-state and welcoming it as a member of the United Nations, the memories of the events that took place in the days before and after the Proclamation of Independent began to be unfold. After learning and reading the stories that had been written and published on the historical event the then Vice President, Hatta, one of the two most important actors in the history of state formation, could only gave a comment of how “*Dichtung and Wahrheit*” had easily been mixed up and how “legend and reality” could hardly been differentiated. Because of this tendency Hatta, one of the major actors in the decisive moment—and later also Sukarno—gave their rather similar versions of the memorable episode. In what political and social context did the historical moment of the Proclamation of Independence take place? Who played the major roles before the historic event of the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945?

However hardly any major different statements have been offered about the event that took place shortly before and after “November 10, 1945,” the day when the Allied forces had practically destroyed the city of Surabaya. It was the day when tens of thousands patriotic youth lost their lives in defending the freedom of their fatherland. Remembering the heroic event who then can deny the key role played by Bung Tomo—the youth leader who became the mouthpiece of the heroic, youths of Surabaya? Thousands of students of religious schools in and around Surabaya armed with sharpened bamboos moved forward to attack the Allied forces who were armed by modern weaponry. In the process Surabaya had given a real lesson in history—national independence means nothing less than the willingness to sacrifice. Who would then be wondering if until the so-called “transfer of sovereignty” (the term used in the official document presented by the Queen of the Netherlands to the Vice President/Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Mohammad Hatta) that Indonesia would be a country that consisted of many “Surabayas”—that is, the battlegrounds of the patriotic youths? It would not be surprise to see if every towns—big and small—have their own respective heroes’ cemetery and that “November 10” has since then officially been called as the “day of the heroes” (*Hari Pahlawan*)?

The text of the Proclamation of Independence that consists of only two sentences and signed by the two most prominent national leaders—Sukarno and Hatta—has from the beginning been simply taken as a call for the willingness to sacrifice for the sake of the country. In the memory of the nation the Proclamation of Independence is not simply a political declaration it is also a call to fulfill the national dream and ideals.

2. The Proclamation of Independence

The moment pages of the history of the Proclamation of independence was opened, the opportunities of the Pacific War was clearly seen. Without forgetting the different types of physical tortures suffered by the people and the humiliation that nation endured—from economic poverty to the different types of military cruelties. The last months of the Japanese occupation period is still remembered as the time when the Japanese military regime established the *Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha*

Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia/ BPUPKI (the Investigation Body for the Preparation of the Independence of Indonesia). Although the Japanese authorities only appointed persons whose name had already been registered as “prominent people” in Java, the members of the BPUPKI represented the ethnic, religious or even ideological pluralities of Indonesia. For the first time people who at one time might belonged to different political parties and had different ideological orientations, now had the opportunity to discuss their divergent ideas and even their views of the future openly and directly. When the sessions of the BPUPKI, which officially began in March 1945, had ended, the nation had written a draft of a constitution and a commonly shared basic political ideology. This document was later better known as the *Piagam Jakarta* or the Jakarta Charter.

Soon after the dissolution of the BPUPKI, the Japanese military regime formed a committee that would directly address itself to the process of the formation of the nation-state. In early August 1945 the *Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekoan Indonesia* (PPKI—Preparatory Committee for the Independence of Indonesia) was formed. In addition to re-appointing 12 former members of the BPUPKI (among whom were Sukarno and Hatta) the Japanese military authorities also appointed new members: three from Sumatra, two from Sulawesi and one each from Kalimantan, Moluccas, Lesser Sunda Islands and from the Chinese Ministry.

However, before the PPKI could hold its first meeting, the Allied Forces had dropped the Atomic Bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The Emperor of Japan had no other choice but to fly the white flag. The moment the news of the Japanese surrender reached Jakarta, one of the most hectic days in the memory of modern Indonesia began. Finally at 10 o'clock Friday morning, on August 17, 1945, the most decisive event in the history of Indonesia took place. At the veranda of his house and in front of the PPKI members and a few hundreds youths of Jakarta, with Hatta on his side, Sukarno solemnly read the Proclamation of Independence. After flying the red and white flag—the national flag—that had been sewn by Mrs. Sukarno that night and the people who were present at the short historical moment sang the national anthem, *Indonesia Raya*.

The next day the PPKI, that had officially been dissolved, had its meeting. After agreeing to some minor revisions in the “preamble of the constitution” and in a chapter of the provisional constitution that had been drafted by the BPPKI, the former PPKI members and leaders of the radical youths of Jakarta unanimously elected Sukarno and Hatta as the President and the Vice President respectively of the newly established Republic of Indonesia. The so-called “minor” revisions, however, were very decisive. The first revision was the abrogation of what was once called as the “Jakarta Charter.” The “magic seven words” that were put behind the word “*Ketuhanan*” (Godhead)—*dengan kewajiban ummat Islam menjalankan syariat agamanya* (“with the obligation of the Islamic adherents to follow the law of their religion”) were deleted. Since then the first basic principle of the state (the *Ponca Silo*) is *Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*—“The One Almighty God.” The other changes were made in the body of the Provisional Constitution. The words “*don beragama Islam*” (whose religion is Islam) in Article 6 of the Presidency in the Provisional Constitution were deleted. Article 29, 1, was changed to “The state is based on the belief in One Almighty God.” After the changes had been approved the newly elected Vice President, Hatta, a grand son of a great *ulama* of Minangkabau, who had the courage to introduce the historic changes, put on record the following words. “These are the most important changes that would unify the whole nation.” After making some other less emotional changes, the meeting was dissolved. In the process the PPKI became the council of the national leaders of the newly proclaimed nation-state.

“Having been elected to the highest office in the land,” Sukarno said in his autobiography, *As Told To Cindy Adams*, “the new President walked home.” On the street I passed a sidewalk vendor selling barbecued bits of skewered meat which is our favorite national dish. His Excellency the President of the Republic of Indonesia hailed the barefoot, bareback restaurateur and issued his first executive order, “Please make for me 50 sticks of chicken *sate*.” I squatted right there in the gutter and the muck and we ate them and that was the whole celebration feast in my honor.” (*Sukarno. As Told to Cindy Adams, 196S, 222*)

Soon after the decisive moment the newly established Republic of Indonesia was divided into eight provinces—Sumatra, West, Central and East Java, Borneo, Celebes, Little Sunda Islands, Moluccas and Papua.

Except for the three provinces of Java, members of the delegation who came to attend the meeting of the PPKI were appointed as the governors of the newly created provinces. Three experienced bureaucrats were appointed as the new governors of the three provinces in Java. In September the Presidential cabinet was formed. Most of the ministers were former high officials during the Japanese interregnum. With the additional of some new members, the PPKI was transformed into the *Komite Nasional Indonesia—Pusat*, KINI-Pusat or *Central National Committee of Indonesia*—an institution that had practically been part of the executive body. The process of establishing the state was still at its earliest stage when at the end of September the Allied Forces landed in Jakarta. Not long after the winners in the Great War made their presence felt in other big towns in Java and Sumatra. By the beginning of the new year the Allied Forces had occupied the important islands in the Eastern parts of Indonesia.

At this crucial moment—the time when the “enemy” of the Proclamation of Independence made their presence felt and skirmishes between them and the heroic *pemuda* had become daily occurrences, Vice President Hatta issued (October 16) the historic *Maklumat no. X*, (Decree number X,). By simply transforming the *KNI—Pusat* into the provisional legislative body, the official decree not only started to make the system of governance clearer but more importantly—laid the foundation of the democratic tradition in independent Indonesia. Soon after the historical decision was issued, the newly formed Republican provinces also established their own local KNI (legislative body). With the establishment of this new branch of government, the young Republic of Indonesia showed its determination to become a modern national democratic state. When the Republic of Indonesia officially announced the establishment of its official armed forces on October 5, 1945, the decision not only strengthened the numerous *barisan perjuangan* (the people’s armed forces) that been formed soon after the Proclamation of Independence but also made clear that the newly proclaimed nation state had fulfilled all requirements for it to be acknowledged as an independent state. Finally on November 14 President Sukarno installed the first parliamentary cabinet, with Sutan Sjahrir, one of the most influential leaders of the underground political groups during the Japanese Occupation Period as the first Prime Minister in the history of the Republic of Indonesia.

However since the Allied Forces (accompanied by their allies, the Dutch military and bureaucratic personnel) had begun to threaten their safety, the President and the Vice President decided to move to Yogyakarta, the special royal territory, under the rule of Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, who had publicly announced his loyalty to the newly established Republic of Indonesia. For sometime the new Republic had two capital cities—while President and Vice President had moved to the safer place of Yogyakarta, the Republican cabinet remained in Jakarta. However, due to the growingly aggressive attitude of the Allied Forces, with the assistance of the returning Dutch soldiers, the Republican leaders decided to make Yogyakarta as the temporary capital of the Republic. The other towns in Central and East Java served as centers of other political activities.

In the meantime the threat to the integrity of the newly established nation-state had become greater and greater. The presence of the Dutch military units amidst the Allied Forces had also become more predominant. What basic strategy should be used in this growingly threatening situation? “War” or “Diplomacy” or both? Moreover by the year 1947 the national revolution had practically become the business of the former colonized country. The Allied Forces had departed from the former Netherlands Indies—the country that had gallantly emerged as the Republic of Indonesia. The Dutch had returned in their efforts to re-occupy their former colony.

3. The Regional Dimension of the Revolution

Every region in the present Republic of Indonesia has its own story to tell during the early days of the Proclamation of Independence. At the time when radio and other electronic facilities and even newspapers were limited in number and under the control of the Japanese occupying forces, it took many days or even weeks before the news of the Proclamation of Independence reached the whole country. However, as the actors of history tried to recollect their experiences, one can say that by the end of August the news of the Proclamation had practically reached many towns and districts in the islands of Java and Sumatra. Although one can easily suspect that each region had its own stories to tell on the crucial event that had taken place in Jakarta, one can suspect that the divergent stories actually share an almost similar pattern.

The history of the revolution at the grass roots usually began when the group of radical *pemuda*, youth, took the initiative. They immediately tried to persuade or even forced the influential local elite to take the initiative to officially announce the establishment of the Republican government. Soon after the critical internal events, the local youth began to form the different kinds of *lasykar*, voluntary armed youth groups who were usually based on a particular kind of ideology. In some regions the Islamic *Hizbullah* or *Sabilillah* might emerge as the strongest fighting groups, but in other region it could be the *Pesindo*, the socialist youth group or whatever. Since *lasykar* also tried to steal the weapons from the Japanese soldiers one can easily guess that the earliest so-called revolutionary armed conflicts took place between the divergent *lasykar* groups against the Japanese soldiers. However by the end of the revolution, it was the state army, the TNI, that emerged as the strongest fighting group. Of course by this time the central government of the Republic of Indonesia had already conducted some kind of what was then called RE-RA—reformation and rationalization—in the armed forces. It was, however, a process that had to be paid by scattered internal armed conflicts.

Since September of 1945 in addition to Jakarta, in the other big towns in Java, most notably Bandung, Semarang and Surabaya the people had begun to realize that the desire to have an independent nation state meant nothing less than inviting the military opposition from the winners of the Pacific War. Since then, minor and even major encounters between the well armed foreign soldiers and heroic youths armed with their sharpened bamboo became a daily affair. By the end of the year 1945—after the heroic big battle of Surabaya (November 10)—other important towns in Western Indonesia had also been occupied by the Allied Forces. Without exception, they were also in the company of the Dutch military forces.

Before the people of the Eastern parts of Indonesia had the time to establish the Republican authority, the fully armed Allied Forces, most notably from Australia, had landed. They not only disarmed the Japanese soldiers and took care of the prisoners of war but also established some kind of political and even administrative authority. Only in Bali some patriotic youths managed to form a Republican army. Therefore one can say—with some exaggerations to be sure—that the leaders of the struggle, the so-called *pemimpin perjuangan* of Java and Sumatra fought the Allied

Forces and the returning Dutch military authorities in order to *defend* the newly proclaimed independent state. The Eastern part of Indonesia could instead bravely state they did it in order to *remain* part of a united Indonesia.

Since the main tasks of the Allied Forces were only to safeguard the war prisoners and to disarm the Japanese soldiers they were also eager to settle the so-called Indonesian-problem. Finally they managed to persuade both sides—the Republican government and the Dutch returning authority—to settle the armed conflict. That was the time when the so-called *Linggajati Agreement* was finally signed (November 1946). By signing the agreement, the Republican government was forced to agree that only Java (and Madura) and Sumatra were under the direct authority of the Republic. After all, by that time the Dutch had already managed to persuade some leaders in the Eastern part of Indonesia to establish the so-called *Negara Indonesia Timur*—the Eastern Indonesia State, with the capital city, Makassar Sukawati, a Balinese aristocrat, had been chosen as the President.

In time when the new Republic had to face the threat from the former colonial power it also had to solve its internal problems. What is the meaning of the “national revolution.” Does it simply mean the struggle to achieve the independence of the country or should it also be understood as the time to change the inherited social structure? Should the nation also get its rid of its alleged feudal system? How does one deal with the Dutch and the Allied Forces? Should “blood and tears” be the only way to achieve independent? Or should “diplomacy” be used? However, what should be basis of the negotiation—if indeed the negotiation should take place?

It is therefore understandable if both internal and external conflicts could not easily be solved. While the returning Dutch authorities might demand this and that and the newly established Republican government had also to defend itself from the open and sometimes harsh criticisms from the opposition parties, whose leaders usually insisted on the Dutch recognition of Indonesian independence before any negotiation could be held. The internal situation of the Republic had become worse after the Renville agreement of 1948 was held. The government of Republic was forced to agree to proposition that demanded the army of the Republic to

abandon the areas behind the so-called “van Mook line.” This agreement meant nothing less than allowing the Dutch to have the full control on a large portion of the Republican territory. The situation became worse because in the meantime several so-called “federal states,” directly or indirectly sponsored by the Dutch, had also been established.

The Indonesian Prime Minister, Amir Sjarifudin, a leftist leader who had replaced Sutan Sjahrir, had to pay a very high political price for this forced agreement. The strong opposition of the revolutionary parliament, the KNI-P, forced him to return the mandate as the Prime Minister to the President. When finally the President appointed Hatta, the Vice President, as the new Prime Minister, the Republic would have had a stronger cabinet, but at the same time it opened up a new source conflict. The former Prime Minister, Amir Sjarifudin, openly acknowledged that he was actually a communist, despite the fact that he was generally known as an important leader of the socialist party as well as “a good Christian, with a Bible in his pocket.” Whatever the case was by siding with the restless and radical leftist group, the former Prime Minister helped to bring the internal affairs of the Republic to its critical climax. That was the time when the communist-influenced “*barisan perjuangan*” (armed struggle groups) staged the so-called “Madiun affairs”—a serious challenge to the authority of the cabinet of the Republic which took place in a middle-sized town in East Java. It was nothing less than an open major rebellion against the Republican government. That was the time when the struggling young Republic had to experience the major threat to its existence. It took a few tragic months before the national army of Republic (TNI-*Tentara nasional Indonesia*) managed to restore authority of the Republican government. In the meantime a few hundred citizens of the young Republic lost their lives and a feeling of national betrayal could also not be easily erased in the memory of the young nation.

The domestic affairs of the young Republic might have been temporarily settled but that was also the time when the Dutch launched its second major aggression. On December 19, 1948, the Dutch army not only managed to enlarge its occupied territory by capturing Yogyakarta, the capital of the Republic, and other territories but also—more importantly—arrested the President and Vice President and several ministers. However

a few hours before the national tragic event, President Sukarno and Vice President/Prime Minister Hatta managed to send a telegram that ordered the Minister of Finance, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, who was at that time in Bukittinggi Central Sumatra, to establish the Emergency Government in case the Dutch managed to capture the President and the other members of the cabinet. Although Sjafruddin did not receive the cable on time, but three days after the occupation of Yogyakarta and Bukittinggi, the town that had practically been used as the capital of Sumatra, Sjafruddin and other Republican leaders in Sumatra managed to establish the so-called Emergency Government of the Republic of Indonesia (*Pemerintah Darurat Republik Indonesia*, PRRI). Apparently Sjafruddin Prawiranegara did not forget the main reason of his visit to Central Sumatra. Hatta had ordered him to prepare for any eventuality that might threaten the sanctity of the Republic.

In spite of the fact that several the Dutch-sanctioned and newly established “federal states” had begun to make their existence strongly felt, the army of the Republic, with the support of the villagers managed to continue their guerilla warfare which was gaining strength. The most important leaders of the Republic might have been silenced in the two or three isolated places near the lake of Toba in the northern part of Sumatra and in the island of Bangka—under the Dutch military guards, the international community had become more convinced that the only solution to the so-called Dutch-Indonesia problem was very much dependent on the recognition of the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

Finally under international pressure a series of negotiations were conducted until finally the so-called Round Table Conference was held in The Hague. Many members of the Republican delegation were disappointed with the agreement, but on December 27 1949 the Queen of the Netherlands officially “transferred the sovereignty” to Mohammad Hatta, the Prime Minister of the United Republic of Indonesia (*RIS—Republik Indonesia Serikat*).

Before the RIS, the federal state of Indonesia, could function properly, one by one the newly created or Dutch—sponsored “federal states” transferred their respective power to the Republic of Indonesia, with its capital in Yogyakarta. Finally on August 17 1950 Indonesia returned to

its original structure—as a unitary state. Sukarno and Hatta re-occupied their respective places as the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. Jakarta was again the capital city of the whole Republic of Indonesia.

4. A Historical Reflection

What is the meaning of the Proclamation of Independence? Should it be simply stated as the time when the country had liberated itself from colonialism? Or could it also be understood as the beginning of a social revolution?

In his highly controversial treatise, that was written only two months after Indonesia proclaimed its independence, Sutan Sjahrir, the leader of the underground activities during the Japanese Occupation period, in his highly controversial pamphlet not only criticized the newly formed Presidential cabinet that mostly consisted of former high bureaucrats under both the Dutch colonial and the Japanese military regime but also put forward his ideas on the nature of the Indonesian revolution. “Looking from the outside,” he said, “our revolution is a national revolution. But seen from within it is a democratic revolution.” He wrote this Controversial treatise, entitled **Perjuangan Kita** or *Our Struggle* while he was still a political outsider. However soon after Hatta issued the so-called Maklumat no. X, *Statement number X*, (October 16, 1945) that had changed the function of the KNI (National Committee of Indonesia) from that of a newly established Republican administration into the revolutionary provisional parliament, the political situation of the young Republic changed dramatically. The direction that had been taken by the new Republic became clearer and more obvious when in November 1945 the Vice President issued another historic Presidential Decree. It allowed the citizens to establish political parties “in order to defend our independence” and “fight for social security.” With the issuance of the two historic decrees, Indonesia had not only showed that it was a democratic nation state but also showed the way toward a change in character of the government.

The controversy as to the way of dealing with the advancing former colonial power soon began. Should the newly established Republic conduct a dialogue with the advancing colonial power? If yes, on what basis should

the dialogue should be held? The answer to this question was apparently dependent on the way one looked at the revolution itself. Sukarno Hatta and Sjahrir might put more stress on the “national character” of the revolution that put strong emphasis on the independence of Indonesia, but Tan Malaka (whose name, by the way, was quite familiar to those who have studied the history of the communist party in the Philippines and his followers—even to some extent the commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic stressed the idea of the dual character of the revolution. It was a revolution that not only wanted to establish an independent nation state but also one that was aimed at creating a new type of society. The revolution that Indonesia had been experiencing constituted both a national as well as social revolution. Therefore any negotiation with the Dutch could only be held on the basis of full recognition of the independence of Indonesia. The controversy however, could only be settled after a minor conflict that finally resulted in the arrest of Tan Malaka—the decision that was made soon after the followers of Tan Malaka managed to kidnap for a few days Prime Minister Sjahrir.

At the intellectual level, the controversy between “the idea of national revolution” and “the notion of the dual character” of the revolution could hardly be solved in time when the newly proclaimed independent state itself had to face the threat of the returning colonial power. At the lower level, however, no intellectual debate was ever conducted. It was the direct action that clearly demonstrated the kind of answer that had been taken. The period from the second to fourth year of the national revolution could to some extent be seen as a panorama of the scattered local “social revolutions.”

“Social revolutions” at the regional levels took place in North Sumatra. The ordinary people, mostly the Javanese workers who worked in the Dutch-owned plantations, staged the so-called “social revolution” against the royal aristocrats at Langkat, Deli, and other kingdoms, in the early 1947. Only the intervention of the army of the Republic, that managed to stop the rage against the Malay aristocrats. About the same time the *ulama*, religious leaders, in Pidie and in the other districts of the Eastern part of Aceh, attacked the *uluebalang*, the local rulers, by accusing them as being counter-revolutionaries. These scattered armed conflicts could

hardly be forgotten. In the Northern part of Central Java, people had to experience the frightening affairs of the “*tiga daerah affairs*”—“the three regions affairs.” It was the bloody events that took place when the so-called revolutionary people attacked the local aristocrats, the “native ruling class” during the colonial period.

As has been said earlier, it was the so-called “Madiun Affairs” that took place near the capital city of Yogyakarta, that caused Sukarno to ask the people to make a choice between “Sukarno-Hatta,” who had proclaimed the independence of Indonesia, or “Musso-Sjarifuddin,” who had betrayed the “Proclamation of Independence.” The “Madiun Affairs” remains until to day an affair that can hardly be forgotten in the memory of the nation.

However it was the rebellion of the Darul Islam in West Java that took much longer time to settle. The rebellion began as an angry reaction to the Renville Agreement that forced the withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces from the area behind the so-called “van Mook line”—that is behind the boundaries of the areas that had been occupied by the Dutch armed forces. With this agreement the Republican army had to abandon the area of West Java. Under the leadership of the former Republican Vice Minister of Information, Kartosuwirjo, the Darul Islam was the only armed *lasykar* that remained active in opposing the Dutch power and, of course, the state of Pasundan that was supported by the returning colonial power. Unlike other rebellious elements of the Republic, the Darul Islam continued well until the early 1960s, the period when the Republic of Indonesia had by already undergone several cabinet changes and had also managed to hold the first national general election.

Finally who would then be surprised to learn that despite the so many political or otherwise crises that had hit Indonesia since the so-called “transfer of sovereignty” (but President Sukarno always referred to the event as “the recognition of sovereignty”) that took place on December 27, 1949, Indonesia kept looking at the national revolution (1945-1950) for inspiration? Who would also be wondering why President Sukarno preferred to look at Indonesia in the continuing sphere of revolutionary struggle and saw himself as the Great Leader of the Revolution? Whatever one might say about Sukarno, he was certainly the man with romantic notions about the state and the nation. What about Suharto? In spite of his

policy of abandoning the notion of the revolutionary spirit and changed it to the “spirit of development” (*pembangunan*), President Soeharto took his role as a high officer of the national army during the revolution as one of the bases of his legitimacy to occupy the head of the nation state. Was it not he, the military commander who attacked the Dutch—occupied Yogyakarta, the provisional capital of the Republic, in the early morning that had since then been immortalized as the six hours of Yogyakarta “the six hours in Yogyakarta”?

However regardless of their involvement in the national revolution of involvement in the national revolution as the bases of power—Sukarno and Soeharto—were only two of the most prominent examples—who remain a source of national inspiration. Why should the young heroes take arm to defend Indonesia, the country that belongs to so many ethnic groups? Who would then be wondering why any blatant behavior and attitude—be it corruption or whatever—can easily be taken as the treason to the idea of the national revolution and to the sacrifice that had been given to its ideals. And who would also be surprised to learn if some successes in the social, political and even economic endeavor that have been achieved can sometimes be easily be promoted as the consequences of the sacrifices that had been made during the revolutionary national struggle?

Revisiting the Provenance of the Very Strange 1589 Last Will and Testament of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas

IAN CHRISTOPHER ALFONSO

National Historical Commission of the Philippines



Abstract

Notwithstanding the fact that the formal writing of *testamentos* (last will and testament) only began during the Spanish period, epics and legends also contain genealogies of some folk heroes and nobles. In his 1663 posthumous work *Labor Evangelica*, Fr. Francisco Colin, S.J. mentioned about “fabulous genealogies” of the natives of Manila and its suburbs embedded in their songs and legends. The interference of the religious fathers influenced the stylistics of the *testamentos*. A Spanish-period testament usually starts with a prayer and then the genealogy of the testator, which is haply inspired by the recounting of gospels of Luke (3:23-38) and Matthew (1:1-17) of Jesus Christ’s genealogy.

However, there is this *testamento* by a certain Don Fernando Malang Balagtas written in 1589 that contains “fabulous genealogies,” that by the second half of the 20th century, many historians paid insignificant attention to. “The authenticity of this Malang Balagtas ‘Will’ is not yet definitely established,” historian Gregorio Zaide argued. He further continued: “On this point, as on many other points, in Philippine history, the living scholars and historical pundits had better come together and arrive at an official decision or understanding. It is to be regretted that there is no official board of historians or historical society in the Philippines that can pontificate on disputed and vague passages in the history of the Filipinos.”

This paper aims [1] to establish the events and circumstances leading to the discovery of the testament by Luther Parker, a Thomasite initially assigned to Pampanga, in the early 20th century, and [2] to provide a critique of the English translation he popularized in comparison with

four extant Spanish copies of the testament, provided by Isabelo de los Reyes, a 19th-century Filipino folklorist, and by the descendants of Balagtas. Instead of contributing to the reliability of the testamento, Parker manipulated the important contents of the document in the said English translation, which became popular and circulated the most.

Despite contentions and issues, Balagtas' testamento is still one of the most interesting materials in Philippine history. During the height of 20th-century American studies on the Philippines, Luther Parker became interested in studying Balagtas' testamento and had poured significant effort in collecting sources to corroborate it and culling substance out of it. These constitute a part of what is now the Luther Parker Collection (LPC) of the University of the Philippines Diliman Library's Filipiniana Special Collection.

Introduction

One of the most controversial documents in Philippine historiography is the *testamento* (will) of a certain Don Fernando Malang Balagtas, allegedly recognized by the Augustinian missionaries on 25 March 1589, four days after the testator's death in San Carlos, Pangasinan.¹ The execution of the *testamento* was said to have witnessed by a certain Juan de Jesus, O.S.A., chief chaplain of the San Carlos mission, together with Capt. Juan Francisco Campanis² and Sebastian Cajia, the latter a nephew of Balagtas.³ The *testamento* also provided the age of Balagtas (*“assi otorgó y declare ser dispuesta de su presente edad de ochenta y seis años tres meses y cinco días con éste ...”*), hence he was born on 16 January 1503, quite contentious as this predates the introduction of western calendar to the Philippines in the second part of 16th century. Even the usage of the name “San Carlos” predates its usage in the 18th century as the said Pangasinan town was then known as *Binalatongan* (founded in 1581).

Balagtas was born in Tabuñgao in the Province of Calumpit (*sic*, Alcaldia de Calumpit) as *Pansomun* (Pangsomon⁴ in several versions), derived from an archaic Kapampangan word “*sumun*” which means “*Subir gente de mauli,⁵ á paralaya⁶”* (“people moving from south to east”). Balagtas claimed he was among the first natives to be baptized in Cebu in “1524” (*sic*, 1521). His baptismal name “Fernando,” on the other hand, could have been an allusion to Fernando V, the king of Castilla y Leon who initiated the first Spanish expeditions to the New World (Americas) in the late 15th century; while the names “Malang” and “Balagtas” were his association to the maguinoos (old Tagalog term for nobles) of Luzung (Luzon): *Malang* in honor of his father Malangsi (Sri Malang or Si Malang), and *Balagtas* his paternal grandfather, Prince Balagtas, the sovereign of Sapa (now Sta. Ana, Manila). He identified himself as “*El Señor Instructor y Maestre de campo general Almirante, principal, Comandante doctrinero... como primer bautizado en esta Sagrada Conquista de estas Islas, a quien doy fe conozco*”⁸ (“the Instructor and Field Master and General Admiral, principal, Chief Teacher of Christian Doctrine ... as the first person baptized in this holy conquest of these islands”⁹), which only means he was among the native rulers who helped the Spaniards in their conquest of Luzon. As

a reward to the rulers like him, Spaniards gave him various privileges like maintaining his *maguino* status in the society and tax and forced labor exemption, which would be enjoyed by his descendants and immediate kin for a number of generations. Then he must leave a document appertaining to his properties and his kin, as other principales had done so, hence a testamento. The highlight of Balagtas' testamento is his genealogy, tracing his roots back to Kingdom of Sapa and, surprisingly, to Brunei, Ternate, and even to the Holy Roman Empire. The testamento provides peculiar place names, most of these are untraceable now, mentioning prominently the name "Capangpañgan" (region of riverbanks; corrupted by the Spaniards as *Pampanga*) where these place names are located.

Balagtas' testamento was annulled as a legal document since the 20th century.

Parker's Discovery of Balagtas' Will

Parker's first interest was Philippine folklore, developed when he became a practical arts instructor in Arayat, Pampanga in 1901.¹⁰ His first exposure to Philippine folklore was the legend of Sinukuan of Mt. Arayat. He became principal of the Bacolor Trade School (now Don Honorio Ventura Technological State University) and maximized his spare time by visiting various towns of Pampanga, and parts of Bulacan, to collect materials for his folkloric studies.¹¹ While doing a research on Macabebe, a town in Pampanga, he realized that not all materials could be used as references in writing the Philippine history, until he realized he must pursue what he called *municipal history* (now known as *local history*):

It was while on this long quest for records that I chanced upon another mine of information that I followed up for a long time. In an old Macabebe family was found a jealously guarded list of the presidentes of that town from 1615 on. Now since Manila was founded in 1570 [*sic*, 1571] this list of the executive officers of Macabebe, dating almost from the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, and only forty-five years after the Dons had entered Manila, was a find that *have me such satisfaction and started me off on a new line of research in municipal history*.¹² (Italics are mine)

His curiosity of the old ruling families in Macabebe led him to meeting some families in Candaba, Pampanga claiming to be descendants of the old nobles of Luzon he loved to call “Gats” and “Lakans” (both were maguinoos titles):

It was during my early quests among the old Pampangan families that I first stumbled upon the trails of the Gats and the Lakans, which were titles of nobility among the Luzon people at the time of the Conquest. This search for the Gats and Lakans in later years opened up the doors of pre-Spanish history for what now promises to be a period of several hundred years and about which a large volume could easily be written.¹³

Parker’s quest on tracing the history of the ancient maguinoos of Luzon began in 1911.¹⁴ He found out later that Isabelo de los Reyes, a Filipino folklorist and propagandist, had previously studied in the late 19th century a very bewildering document containing the genealogy of maguinoos found in the possession of alleged descendants in Pampanga. This is no other than but the Balagtas’ testamento. De los Reyes published Balagtas’ testamento in his book *El folk-lore Filipino* in 1890 as a folkloric material. Parker sought to secure a copy of the book.¹⁵

Surprisingly, Parker was not familiar of de los Reyes, despite the latter’s popularity in 1911 as a labor union organizer and founder of Iglesia Filipina Independiente (Aglipay). Parker revealed his desire to meet de los Reyes in his “Miscellaneous Notes” found in LPC: “Ask Isabelo de los Reyes where he got the two testaments, Malang Balagtas and Andres Mangaya ...”¹⁶ In 1931 Parker mentioned in one of his articles that he met de los Reyes in person.¹⁷ Evidence of this is the 39-page handwritten manuscript of Balagtas’ testamento in Spanish (with cover page missing) with de los Reyes’ signature found in the LPC.¹⁸ Parker said de los Reyes obtained a copy of Balagtas’ testamento from a certain principal from San Simon, Pampanga, “but he could not remember who gave it to him.”¹⁹ The LPC, however, does not include the actual Balagtas’ testament that de los Reyes had obtained from the said principal.

Aside from de los Reyes’ copy, Parker obtained another copy of Balagtas’ testamento from the Philippine Library and Museum (now

the National Library of the Philippines). It was part of the historical and cultural materials the Municipal Government of Candaba had submitted to the Philippine Library and Museum,²⁰ in compliance to the Executive Order No. 2 by Gov. Gen. William Cameron Forbes on 26 January 1911, requiring “all provincial and municipal officials to collect historical documents, including traditional materials.”²¹ This Executive Order was actually a brainchild of Parker.²² The copy of Balagtas’ testament was owned by Esteban Arroyo, a physician from Candaba who claimed to be a descendant of Balagtas.²³

A third copy of the Balagtas’ testament was obtained by Parker from the Municipal Government of Villasis, Pangasinan, also through Executive Order No. 2.²⁴ According to Parker, Pedro Paterno told him that the said copy was given to him (Paterno) by a descendant of Lakan Dula living in Villasis. (Paterno was claiming to be related to the ancient maguinoos.) Unfortunately, LPC has no copy of that “Paterno copy.”

The Fourth and Fifth Copies and the Alleged Tagalog Original

In 1911, Parker met another descendant of Balagtas, Maria Sumang y Arceo, a native of Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, who had her own copy of Balagtas’ testamento. Parker learned about this through Atty. Carl Kincaid, also a Balagtas’ testamento enthusiast. On 2 September 1911, Kincaid permitted Parker to make copies of his documents on Balagtas which include Sumang’s copy of the 87-page Balagtas’ testamento with notaries, and sketches of Sumang’s genealogy and that of her forebears Madlangesakay, Gatbaliti, and Balagtas.²⁵ Also in Kincaid’s collection was another copy of the testamento, a 12-page one, obtained from a certain Mariano Punsalang Vergara Lacandola of Apalit, Pampanga, and a 14-page document containing the family tree of a certain Tiburcio Balagtas with a Royal Cedula. The LPC has a copy of both Sumang and Lacandola’s copies of the testamento, but not that of Tiburcio Balagtas.

What fascinated Parker the most was Kincaid’s copy of the alleged Tagalog original fragment of the Balagtas’ testamento, also in Sumang’s possession. Parker believed it was “an original page of the will of Malang Balagtas, written in Tagalog,” and “a magic key for the unlocking of doors to past Philippine history.”²⁶ Parker left a note in the photostat copy of this

fragment in LPC saying “[t]his should be compared by a good Tagalista with the Spanish translation of the will of Fernando Malang Balagtas of San Carlos, Pangasinan, 1589.”²⁷

The Tagalog fragment was turned over to Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, then the director of the Philippine Library and Museum, which he framed and hanged on the wall of the Filipiniana Division. Parker claimed he encouraged Sumang to donate it to the government.²⁸

The only scrap of anything that Doña María had left to tie her to the past history of her family was a page or two of the original will of Malang Balagtas which pages I induced her to leave by will to the National Library, where I saw them after Doña María’s death. They were framed and hanging in the Filipiniana Division which was then presided over by that ardent bibliophile, Don Manuel Artigas.

However, this contradicts Parker’s own note in LPC when he said very clearly that it was Kincaid who did it:²⁹

This fragment, in Tagalog, was placed in the Phil. Library by Kincaid, where it hung framed in the Filipiniana section for many years. The photo copy I have was made by Squires & Bingham from the original fragment.

It is irreplaceable and invaluable. *Doña Maria Balagtas, of Cabanatuan[,] N. Ecija, gave it to Kincaid for the government. It [?] was a repository of the history of her family.*

The Tagalog fragment was lost during the Battle for Manila in February 1945 when the Philippine Library and Museum was destroyed (the Old Legislative Building). Only a facsimile survived, found in LPC,³⁰ reproduced through photocopying technology by Squires, Bingham & Co. according to Parker.³¹ The following is the transliterations (in painstaking effort) of the Tagalog fragment:

- Line 1: na si Maylag na pinuno nitong [sang/bang]...
2: may anac ñg dalawa [nasi] Gatpandan, at si

- 3: Lontoc, ang nasabing si Gatpandan may anac
- 4: ñg anim at sila haña ang nag[l]adhisa[?] ñg Ca
- 5: harian sa Tarnate at yaong si Lontoc nag
- 6: asaua sa Señora sa pasig nasi calañguitan
- 7: na silay [?] nag anac ñg apat si pañguinuan,
- 8: Salalila at Cahija at Gaguija[?] at Gayondin
- 9: naman Pañguinooon nitong isang[?] Ysla ang na
- 10: sabing Pañguinuan nag asaua sa Burnei gat[?]
- 11: Balagtas na anac ng Emperador Soledan at
- 12: ng Emperatris Sa Samban Sa Caharian ng
- 13: ng Sapa sacop ñg Roma na naging Sacop ng
- 14: tatlo na si Malanci, ama nitong May Testamento si
- 15: Don Fernando Malang Balagtas, at ang ca
- 16: ni ang (caniang) capatid si Dapat manoc at si Ma
- 17: yabong dili at ang nasabing nag testa[-] may [-]
- 18: cami ng apat na si D. Pedro Musngi Ma[d?]
- 19: lang bayan[;] si D^a. Magdalena Bulindaxan ay[?]
- 20: D^a. Maria de Maranga[?] at D. Pedro Lubayan at
- 21: ang nasabing Salalila nag anac ña tatlo
- 22: nasi Lacandola junio[?] at ibang caharian ñg ra
- 23: ja Matanda at si ladia Mora at ang
- 24: nasabing si Lahat n^ag anac ñg siam
- 25: Cay Bine Mal/Hine Ral/Mal[?] timog na si laña/Saña[?]
si Gatbunton
- 26: si Monmon Gatsalian Gatmaytang,
- 27: si Gatmaytan Monmon Gatchalian Gatmaytan (sic)
- 28: Mag caralaga Gatmaitim Mandig Gatdula, at si
- 29: Dumandan at, ang nasabing S/G/bayaw[?] si Cahiya[?]
- 30: nag anac na tatlo poro hindi co na ñga quiquilala

- 31: ang pañgalang nila hindi naquiquilala ang caniang
 32: apo at ang aqing pamang quin na si D^a Sebas
 33: tian Cahiya at ang nasabing Gatbunton mina[?]
 34: na [—] nag asaua cay Macayubong dili Capa
 35: tid ñg sabi [—] ama nag anac sila ñg lima na
 36: si Sañga Lubera Malacabat/Macabat[?] Capitañgan Tagui[?]
 37: ci[?] [—] Magsalang/Macapagal[?] [...ia] ñga pinañgi

The following is the part in the Spanish version, highlighting the portion that mentioned in the Tagalog fragment:³²

*“El principal Arao y su mujer **Maylac Señores de estas Islas tuvieron por hijos al principal Gatpandan y Lontoc y dicho Gatpandan tuvo seis hijos que son los fundadores de Ternate, y dicho Lontoc se caso con la Señora de Pasig que es Calañgitan: tuvieron cuatro hijos que son Pañginoan, Selalila, Lahat y Cahia dueños y Señores de estas Islas y dicho Pañginoan se caso con el Principe Balagtas, hijo de Soberano Emperador Soledan con la Emperatriz Sasanban del Reyno de Sapa, parte Romana; tuvieron tres hijos que son Malanci, mi padre, Dapat-Magmanoc y Macayabongdili y dicho Malanci se caso con Mandic, hija del Principal Lahat y tuvieron por hijos yo el otorgante testador, que anteriormente de infeles empleando el ser Lacandola, y me llamo Pansonum, y me dicho hermano si llama Pambagsic; me casé con Samac que se bautizó por D.a Juana Sisunan, Señora de Tabun, y tuvimos nuestros citados hijos; y mi dicho hermano tuvo dos hijos con D.a Magdalena Cadcad que son D.a Maria Labay y D. Lucas Tangui, y dicho Salalila tuvo tres hijos que son Lacandola menor y los dos rajas Matanda y Ladiamora y dicho Lahat tuvo nueve hijos con la Principal Timog que son Gat-Bonton, Monmon, Gat-Chalian, Gat-Maitan, á Macaralaga, Gat-Maitim, Mandic, Gat-Dula y Dumandan y dicho Cahia tuvo tres hijos, pero ignoro sus nombres; solo be conocio por su nieto a mi sobrino Don Sebastian Cahia,***

*y dichos hijos de Lahat con Timog se fundaron sus pueblos desde Dalayac, Duyong, Calantipay y Baliuag formo **Gat-Bonton y caso con Macayabongdili, hermana de mi dicho Padre; tuvieron cinco hijos que son Lovera, Macabat, Capitañgan, Tauí y Pampalong que nombraron por Macapagal ...***

(...Principal Arao and his wife, **Maylac, rulers in these islands, were the parents of principal Gatpandan and Lontoc, and the said Gatpandan had six children who are the founders of Ternate, and the said Lontoc married the Lady of Pasig who is Calangitan. They had four children, namely, Panginoan, Selalila, Lahat and Cahia, owners and Lords of these islands, and Panginoan married Prince Balagtas, a son of the Sovereign Emperor Soledan with Empress Sasanban of the Kingdom of Sapa, part of Romana: they had three children, namely, Malanci, my father, Dapat-Magmanuc and Macayabong-dili, and the said Malanci married Mandic, a daughter of principal Lahat, and their children were I, the maker of this will, who formerly employed as a ruler amongst the non-Christians, and my name is Pansonum, and my said borther (sic, brother) si (sic, is) named Pambagsic; I was married to Samac who was baptized as Juana Sisunan, Lady of Tabun, and we had our said children: and my said brother had two children with Magdalena Cadcad, namely, Maria Labay and Lucas Tangui, and the said Salalila and three children, namely Lacandola Junior and the two rulers, Ladiamora; and the said Lahat had nine children with principal Timog, namely, Gat-Bonton, Monmon, Gat-Chalian, Gat-Maitan, Macaralaga, Gat-Maitim Mandic, Gatdula and Dumanda (sic, Dumandan), and the said Cahia had three children, but I do not known their names, having only known as his grandson my nephew, Sebastian Cahia; and the said children of Lahat, with Timog, founded their towns from Dalayac, Duyong, Calantipay and Baliuag; he founded **Gatbonton, and married Macayabongdile, a sister of my said father. They had five children, namely, Lovera, Macabat, Capitangan, Tauí, and Pampalong whom they called Macapagal ...**³³)**

E. Arsenio Manuel, anthropologist who studied Balagtas' testamento, noticed discrepancies between the testamento and the Tagalog fragment.

Manuel suggested that the Tagalog fragment is just a translation of the Spanish version:

However, in view of the fact that the clerk who wrote down the WILL and the Notary Public before whom it was sworn to were apparently Spaniards, the WILL must have been written in Spanish. This view contradicts Parker's discovery that the document he found with Dona (sic) Maria Sumang y Balagtas (Phil. Mag., Feb. 1931, p. 372) was in Tagalog. Our hunch is, looking at the almost unreadable photography of that part of the supposed WILL reproduced in the same page, this appears to be a draft, *possibly a Tagalog translation of the Spanish original*. Besides, it appears to be incomplete. We are not certain, however, whether Parker was translating from the original and the English translation in three solid printed pages (see Phil. History Quarterly, Sept. 1919, 17-20), leads us to favor the theory (sic, theory) that the WILL was written in Spanish. The only problem remaining is whether the Spanish version in Artigas' book is the original version of the WILL. This point cannot be explained categorically at the present time...³⁴
(Italics are mine)

The Extant Balagtas' Will is No Longer the Original

So far, there are three other copies of Balagtas' testamento, all to be found in the LPC, to corroborate some details missing in de los Reyes' or to one another. However, none of these is nuncupative will (oral-type will, written by others in behalf of the testator based on what the latter dictates) but extractions of a notarized document by the *Juzgado Ordinario de la 1.^a Elección* of Bacolor, Pampanga on 23 April 1845, validated by the Court's interpreters, Alejo Hilario Francisco y Casiano³⁵ and Manuel Mijares, and approved by Mariano Escalante. (De los Reyes' copy does not bear the name of Escalante.) All of these came from the notarized copy of the testamento by Domingo Posadas dated 20 May 1698 in Bacolor. One can notice that the mode of narration in the first few parts of Balagtas' testamento is in first-person narrative and then switched to third-person narrative, which

is by Posadas. Posadas said the original nuncupative will is twenty pages. This intervention done by the court in 1698 could be the reason why the place where the will was executed “Binalatongan” suddenly becomes “San Carlos” for clarity; and, perhaps owing to clerical errors, instead of 1521 as the year when Christianity was introduced in this part of the world and the instance when Balagtas was baptized, the copies of testamento bear 1524; the same thing could have happened on 1539 and 1589 (the year when Balagtas died and the testamento was executed).

With exception to Arroyo’s, all copies of Balagtas’ testamento include two other testamentos by Balagtas’ descendants: one by Agustin Mangaya dated 12 November 1792 in Bacolor, and the other by Andres Mangaya, son of the former, dated 3 October 1653 in Macabebe. De los Reyes presented these three documents separately in *El Folk-lore Filipino*:³⁶ that of Balagtas is entitled “Testamento de D. Fernando Malang Balagtas, uno de los regulos de Filipinas del tiempo de la conquista,”³⁷ while the other two are grouped under the title “Otro Testamento Curioso (Material Folk-Lorico para la Historia).”³⁸

Balagtas’ Will in English

In 1910, Parker commissioned the Translator Bureau in Manila to translate Balagtas’ testamento in English.³⁹ De los Reyes’ copy was used as basis, as evidence of the title of the translated version, “Very Curious Unpublished Document: Will of Mr. Fernando Malang Balagtas, One of the Rulers in the Philippines at the Time of Conquest,” which is a direct translation of de los Reyes’ title in *El Folk-lore Filipino*.⁴⁰ Parker omitted de los Reyes’ annotations to conceal the copying. In the handwritten copy made by de los Reyes found in LPC, one can see Parker’s notes to the Translation Bureau: “Note, do not translate,”⁴¹ “Not this Page,”⁴² “Do not translate,”⁴³ “Do not translate all this,”⁴⁴ “Do not Tr.,”⁴⁵ “Do not translate this,”⁴⁶ and “Translate only to here.”⁴⁷ Parker also did not include the following supplements from de los Reyes’ copy:

- “Parrafo Muy Curioso” (de los Reyes’ annotation and list of dubious elements in Balagtas’ will);
- “Partida de Definición: Extendida a continuación del testamento,” additional parts of Balagtas’ will with de los Reyes’ annotation;

- “En Escrito M. I. S.—Don Agustin Mangaya, natural y (legionario?) de pueblo de Apalit y actual soldado en la Compañía de Maestre de Campo D. Tiburcio Balagtas,” a 1792 will of Agustin Mangaya;⁴⁸ and
- “Otro Testamento Curioso (Material Folk-Lorico para la Historia),” a separate will of Andres Mangaya (erroneously attributed to Geronimo Talaib, Macabebe gobernadorcillo who was among the witnesses) of Tabon, Macabebe (now Sta. Lucia, Masantol, Pampanga) dated 3 October 1653.⁴⁹

Parker’s English translation remains to be the most widely used reference for Balagtas’ testamento than the *El Folk-lore Filipino*. He used this translation for his master’s thesis at the University of the Philippines, *The Early Bisayans* (1914).⁵⁰ He stated in his thesis the importance of Balagtas’ testamento:

While it takes but a few lines to tell of the search for data regarding the Lakans, yet it took many years to gather the data, since it was necessary for me to wait for vacation periods to make researches. A hint caught one year would be followed up another year or perhaps several years later. Even at this late date, there are certain points that remain unverified or uninvestigated due to lack of opportunity or for other good reasons.⁵¹

The English translation was first published in the maiden issue, and happened to be the only issue, of *Philippine History Quarterly*, journal of the UP History Department in September 1919 edited by Craig.⁵² Because of the inaccessibility of *Philippine History Quarterly*, the *Historical Bulletin* (Vol. XI), journal of the Philippine Historical Association, reprinted the English translation from *Philippine History Quarterly* in June 1967. In 1990 Gregorio Zaide reprinted the translation in his *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*,⁵³ and in 1995 by Manuel in *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, both citing the *Historical Bulletin* as source.⁵⁴

Aside from Parker’s English version, Ricardo E. Galang, a Kapampangan ethnographer from Apalit, Pampanga, also translated in 1920 Balagtas’ will to English although almost nobody knows it exists.

Problems of Parker's English Translation

Despite his remarkable collection on Balagtas' testamento, Parker had no extended study on the document save for articles about it. De los Reyes' annotation of Balagtas' testamento in *El Folk-lore Filipino* remained the only historiographic work on the topic until Ricardo A. Reyes José made an independent study on the testamento on 27 July 1935. Reyes José entitled his study "El Testamento de Lacandola," delivered in a conference called *La Balagtasiana*.⁵⁵ Even though unpopular, Reyes José was the first scholar who critically studied Balagtas' will using the Spanish copy in de los Reyes' *El Folk-lore Filipino*. His main thesis was "Lacandola: Era este su nombre propio o el titulo que poseía?" ("Lacandola: Was it a Proper Name or a Royal Title?"). He tried to point out that Balagtas' testamento clarified the usage of Lacandola or Lakan Dula as a royal title rather than a proper name of the ruler of Tondo. Surprisingly, Reyes José's study contradicts Parker's popular English translation of Balagtas' testamento, owing to glaring mistranslation of this part, which is about the nuance of the title *Lacandola*:

Spanish version:

*...y dicho Malanci se casó con Mandic, hija del Principal Lahat y tuvieron por hijos yo el otorgante testador, **que anteriormente de Infieles empleado el ser Lacandola y me llamo Pansomun,** y mi dicho hermano se llama Pambagsic ...*⁵⁶

Direct translation:

*... and the said Malanci married Mandic, daughter of Principal Lahat and have their children were I, the testator, **who was the formerly unbaptized Lacandola and my name is Pansomun,** and my brother named Pambagsic ...*⁵⁷

Parker's version:

*... and the said Malanci married Mandic, a daughter of principal Lahat, and their children were I, the maker of this will, **who formerly was employed as a ruler amongst the non-Christians,** and my name is Pansomun, and my said brother is named Pambagsic ...*⁵⁸

Another glaring error in Parker's English translation is the omission of the name *Matanda*:

*...y dicho Salalila tuvo tres hijos que son Lacandola menor, y los dos rajas matanda y Ladiamora ...*⁵⁹

Direct translation:

... and the said Salalila has three sons, the Lacandola menor and the two rajas Matanda and Ladiamora ...)

Parker's version:

... and the said Salalila has three children, namely Lacandola Junior and the two rulers, Ladiamora ...

It is clear that there are two Lacandolas in Balagtas' testamento: the *former* Lacandola of Tondo (Balagtas) and the Lacandola menor whom the Spaniards met in 1571.

Whether mistranslated or intentionally done so, these details in Balagtas' testamento are too obvious to miss. De los Reyes himself noticed this part in the testamento, although in a sarcastic tone: "It seems to be that he (Balagtas) wanted to say that he used to be then a Lacan, and to say, a ruler, among the gentiles" ("*Parace ser que quizo decir que anteriormente estuvo empleado de Lacan, es decir, régulo, entre los infieles*").⁶⁰

In the testamento, Lacandola menor has two siblings, Matanda and a certain Ladiamora, and they were the sons of Salalila, brother of Balagtas' grandmother Pañginuan, therefore they were Balagtas' uncles.⁶¹ In his reading of the testamento, De los Reyes concluded that Lakan Dula and Matanda were one, while Lacandola menor was no less than the "Rajah Soliman:"

*El que llamaban Raja Matanda (régulo viejo) era Lacandola, régulo de Tondo, en contraposición del Raxa bago (régulo joven) que fué Soliman ó el Lacandola menor; pero con este document aparecerían hermanos, cuando en la Historia consta que Soliman era sobrino de Lacandola. Acaso porque Lacandola menor no sea el mismo Soliman ...*⁶²

(Raja Matanda [the old ruler] was no less than the Lacandola, the ruler of Tondo, and the so-called Raxa Bago [the young ruler] and the said Lacandola menor was obviously the one named Soliman; they appear brothers in this document, when in history Soliman was a nephew of Lacandola; otherwise, Lacandola menor and Soliman could also not be same.)

Most probably de los Reyes was influenced by Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609). Morga narrated the arrival of the Spaniards in Manila in 1571 stating that Manila was governed by *Rajahmura*, while "another large settlement" opposite Manila and across Pasig River, Tondo, was "under another chieftain, Rajah Matanda."⁶³

Accounts on the arrival of the Spaniards in Luzon clearly state that Manila and Tondo had three rulers who were "the greatest chiefs of that country then; the old Rajá, Rajá Soliman, and Lacandola;"⁶⁴ Lakan Dula is sometimes referred to either as Alcandora⁶⁵ and Lacandora,⁶⁶ and Matanda, in another account, as "Laya."⁶⁷ In a letter of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi letter dated 18 May 1572 he mentioned the real name of Lakan Dula as "Sibunao Lacandola" while Matanda was "Raha Ache el Viejo."⁶⁸

Cesar Adib Majul, a Muslim historian, said that Matanda was actually the young prince, son of the King of Luzon and the *laksamana* (captain general) of the King of "Burne" (Brunei), whom Ferdinand Magellan's remaining fleet had captured in Sulu Sea on 29 July 1521 (recorded by Antonio Pigafetta). The king of Burne was Sultan Siripada I (Sri Pada, Si Pada, Saripara, Saripada), who is also known as Sultan Bolkiah (Bolkeiah) or Nakoda Ragam, the conqueror of Selurung (said to be referring to Luzon), in Bruneian *selsila* (royal genealogy). In 1623, Fr. Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz, O.A.R. corroborated Pigafetta's account and revealed the name of that Luzon prince as *Mahomet-ben-Suleiman*. The Recollect historian provided the alleged statement of Mahomet-ben-Suleiman to the Spaniards:⁶⁹

You find me just returning from the punishment of a rebellious city which chose rather to pay tribute to the Maharajah of Java than on its rightful lord, the Sultan of Bruney, my grandfather, whose captain-general I am.

My father was ruler of the great island of Lusung to the north but after his death, while I was still a child, my mother was unable to guard the throne of Maynila for me against my powerful cousin who rules in nearby Tonduk. So she sent me here to Borneo and I have been learning war in my grandfather's service. The fleet which you mistakenly thought was intending to attack you has been fathered to recover my inheritance.

You captured my flagship but you have released me and my ship because of the kindness shown you at my grandfather's court. Let me know that we on this land are equally capable for gratitude. Here is the Koran, the sacred scriptures of my religion, and upon it, I, Mahomet-ben-Suleiman, swear that should at any future rime you or any other Spaniards meet me I will remember this day and not make war upon you for any cause, but receive and treat you or them as friends who have been my benefactors.

Fr. Aganduru Moriz did not disclose his source to this alleged speech of Mahomet-ben-Suleiman. If Majul's theory is correct, Salalila, based on Balagtas' testamento, is Mahomet-ben-Suleiman's father, while the latter's father's "powerful cousin who rules in nearby Tonduk" is Infante Malangsi, Balagtas' father. Balagtas, as the former Lacandola, was probably dethroned by Mahomet-ben-Suleiman after the latter had successfully recaptured Manila from his uncle. Mahomet-ben-Suleiman then installed his brother Sibunao as the new Lacandola until the Spaniards arrived. Balagtas related in the testamento that his father secures all the insignia and royal fleece of his brothers Manduquit and Liqueo, both were lords of Macabebe. It could be possible Malangsi took advantage of Salalila's death to conquer Manila. It could also been possible that Manila had conquered Sapa, which was the origin of Balagtas' maguinoos lineage.

Meanwhile, the aforementioned political rift among the maguinoos around Manila Bay communities could be the reason why Sibunao Lacandola's authority had extended to Bulacan, with his sons Magat Salamat the ruler of Hagonoy (based, at least, on folklore in Bulacan),

Felipe Salonga of Polo, and Dionisio Capulong of Candaba. These territories were actually *within* Balagtas' family's ancestral domain in Central Luzon. Also, Balagtas' testamento is silent on the details about Lacandola menor, Matanda, and Ladiangbata. In the same way, the Lacandola documents of the National Archives of the Philippines are silent on Balagtas.

Spanish accounts cleared that the Rajahmura mentioned by Morga is no other than but asserted Matanda's nephew and heir of Manila, *Soliman* (simply because "[t]he Rajah did not leave any sons"⁷⁰). Before Matanda died, he requested Legazpi to declare his nephew Soliman "whom he loved very much" to "follow in his place as the Lord of Manila."⁷¹ Legazpi announced Soliman's installation in public. Legazpi himself referred to this young prince "Raha Solimane el Mozo."⁷²

Most likely, Ladiamora mentioned by Balagtas is not Rajahmura. Ladiamora could have possibly died before the Spaniards came to Luzon in 1570 or 1571. Another possibility is that Ladiamora left a son named *Rajahmura*, whom Matanda adopted.

On the other hand, there is also a "Raxa el Vago" that might add to confusion. Raxa el Vago was the only son of Soliman (the Rajahmura) to his cousin from Brunei.⁷³ (They also had a daughter, María Larán; Soliman also adopted the sons of his unnamed deceased brother—Augustín de Legazpi, Gabriel Tuambasán, and Jerónimo Bassi, all of whom participated in the 1588 Tondo Conspiracy.⁷⁴) This Raxa el Vago was identified in Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, O.S.A.'s *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698) as "Rajabago," but failed in providing details of his (Rajabago) affinity with Sibunao Lacandola and Soliman. This "Rajabago," according to Fr. San Agustin, was imprisoned together with a relative, Numantay (Numantan), by Gov. Gen. Guido de Lavezaris.⁷⁵ The Governor-General suspected Rajabago and Numantay for conspiracy after receiving the news of Borneans attack of Manila in 1574. After an hour of imprisonment, Rajabago and Numantay were found dead with their heads cut off, only to find out that the one rumored to attack Manila were actually Chinese under Limahong. This stimulated great wrath among the Tagalogs, resulting to an uprising led by Sibunao (Lakan Dula) and Soliman. The uprising was, however, calmed down.⁷⁶

Perhaps, “Soliman” became the standard name of any Manila rulers, same as Lakan Dula for Tondo, and Matanda, as research shows. On the other hand, H. Otley Beyer, anthropologist who was influential in Philippine studies, made a problematic suggestions: that the Ladiamora in Balagtas’ testamento is Rajah Soliman II, and this rajah of Manila had a son with the same name, thus, Soliman III; while Salalila is known as Rajah Soliman I.⁷⁷ However, these titles (*i.e.* Soliman I, II, and III) are not even in Balagtas’ testamento.

Post script

In 1826, Fernando Pañganiban, a descendant of Balagtas from Hagonoy, Bulacan, had written a will in Tagalog, and it is found in the National Archives of the Philippines.⁷⁸ Pañganiban mentioned that his relatives live in Tabuñgao, Minalin, Pampanga, and that he was a descendant of Balagtas:

... ang Ama nang nasabing Tatuan ay si D. Fernando Balagtas,
maguinoo rin sa nasabing Tabuñgao ...

(TRANSLATION: The father of the said Tatuan was D. Fernando
Balagtas, also a principal in the mentioned Tabuñgao⁷⁹)

The Tatuan mentioned by Pañganiban was Balagtas’ daughter, Magdalena Tatoan, hence, maternal great-great-grandmother of Pañganiban.

Undeniably, de los Reyes was the first to saw the importance of Balagtas’ testamento. De los Reyes believed this is more than just a “*material folk-lorico*,”⁸⁰ leaving the work to the scholars of history. After de los Reyes, it was Parker who paved the way for the popularization of the usage of the Balagtas’ testamento. Parker became an authority on the testamento and his English translation becomes the most circulated version of the document. Nevertheless, Parker expressed his gratitude to de los Reyes in the article “The Last of the Lakans” in *Philippine Magazine* (1931):⁸¹

In the earlier years of the search there were a number of
persons who gave me invaluable aid and encouragement and I

wish to set down here the names of a few of them and express my gratitude for their assistance.

One of these was Isabelo de los Reyes from whom I learned of the location of old Pampangan families along the Pampanga river, who still held in their possession documentary evidence of their relationship to the Gats and Lakans of pre-Spanish times ...

Parker firmly believed in the potential of the Balagtas' testament in unveiling the country's pre-colonial past:

In the somewhat isolated town of Candaba (Pampanga) I stumbled upon a copy of an old will of Don Fernando Malang Balagtas, made in San Carlos, Pangasinan, in 1589, just before his death. Through this wonderful document, and by means of those subsequent researches carried on to verify it and trace the family history of Balagtas before and after the Conquest, I came into possession of *a key that unlocked doors to the past for a thousand years or more of Philippine history*.⁸² (Italics are mine)

Parker indeed had left to posterity a legacy in the field of local studies, but this was not an easy task but a quest to be continued:⁸³

But I must return from this brief digression to my earlier Pampangan adventuring in search of family trees, though the path that I trod, in the quarter of a century that I gave to this avocation, was never a straight path but was rather a series of depressions [sic], of following clues in the dark, of overcoming suspicion as to my motives, and in numerous ways getting the better of obstacles that appeared at every step.

As the establishment of its authenticity continues, Balagtas' will still has significant details worthy for history scholars' attention, like examining the role of the women in the pre-colonial times, tracing in today's Central Luzon map a number place names mentioned in the testament, and constructing the genealogies of ancient maguinoos.

Notes

1. Isabelo de los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino* (Manila: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1890), 195-6; "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba de la provincia de la Pampanga islas Filipinas, precedidos de unas copias que: Relatan hechos autenticos que versan sobre el origen de muchos pueblos de Luzon y genealogia de los principes Malayos de antes de la dominacion Espanola, Septiembre 29, 1911," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 3, Folder No. 50, Document No. 292, 14, University of the Philippines Diliman Library Filipiniana Special Collection (UPDL FSC); "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos: Testamento de D. Fernando Malang Balagtas, uno de los regulos de Filipinas del tiempo de la conquista," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, 26-7; and "Legalization of claims of Don Nicolas Fernandez, Doña Maria Sumang [Arceo] y Balagtas, and Don Jacinto Sablan Lapira (in Spanish), Binondo, 16 de Diciembre 1851," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 640, 19-20, UPDL FSC.
2. Campomanes or Campanes in the other copies of the will.
3. De los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, 193; this part is skipped in "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba;" "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 22; and "Legalization of claims," 17.
4. Ricardo A. Reyes José, "El Testamento de Lacandola, 1935," *Honorio Lopez Collection*, Reel No. 0083, 10, National Library of the Philippines Multimedia Division (NLP MD).
5. *Mauli* is an archaic Kapampangan word for southern region.
6. *Paralaya* is an archaic Kapampangan word for eastern region.
7. Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga, 1732* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Girauder, 1860), 228.
8. De los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, 177; "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba," 6; "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 4-5; and "Legalization of claims," 5.
9. "Very curious unpublished documents: Will of Mr. Fernando Malang Balagtas one of the rulers in the Philippines at the time of conquest," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 644, 2, UPDL FSC; "The Will of Fernando Malang Balagtas," *Historical Bulletin*, June 1967, Vol. 11, 177/175-97.

10. Cf. Parker's deployment in "Report of the General Superintendent of Education for the Year Ending September 1, 1902: List of American Teachers and their Respective Stations, September 1, 1902," in Bureau of Insular Affairs-War Department, *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission 1902, Part 2* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 324.
11. Parker later became principal of the school. Cf. John A. Larkin, "Luther Parker," *Singsing*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2004, 41.
12. Luther Parker, "Gats and the Lakans," *Philippine Magazine*, January 1931, 504.
13. Ibid.
14. Luther Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," *Philippine Magazine*, March 1931, 628-9.
15. "Miscellaneous notes, some are reliable hints of the history of Pampanga and the Philippines by a Pampango Soldier," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 3, Folder No. 50, Document No. 295, 14, UPDL FSC.
16. Ibid, 23.
17. Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," 628.
18. "Miscelanea Folk-Lorica [por] Isabelo de los Reyes," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, UPDL FSC; cf. "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos."
19. Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," *ibid*.
20. "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba," 6-14.
21. Mellie Leandicho Lopez, *A Handbook of Philippines Folklore* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 16.
22. According to Parker, their efforts in collecting various references about the Philippines "culminated several years later in Executive Order No. 2 of 1911." To continue, "As a result of this order a large amount of historical and traditional material was sent in to be filed in the Philippine Library. This material is now a part of the state archives where it will some day serve as a treasury of which the Filipino people will be proud since it was collected from the people themselves and represents what they had kept intact through three and a half centuries of Spanish rule ..." Parker, "Gats and the Lakans," *ibid*.

23. "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba," 14.
24. Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," 628.
25. "Acknowledgement receipt of Luther Parker regarding Carl Kincaid's Fernando Balagtas materials, Manila, Philippine Islands, September 2, 1911," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 185, Document No. 630, 1, UPDL FSC.
26. Luther Parker, "The Lakandolas," *Philippine Magazine*, February 1931, 573.
27. "Part of the will," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 185, Document No. 632, 2, UPDL FSC.
28. Parker, "The Lakandolas," 572.
29. "Acknowledgement receipt of Luther Parker," *ibid*.
30. Cf. "Fragment of the Alleged Tagalog Fernando Malang Balagtas' Will," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 185, Document No. 632, 1, UPDL FSC.
31. Squires, Bingham & Com. was established in 1905 Roy Squires and William Bingham, Shanghai-based English merchants. It was among the earliest photo print shop in the Philippines located at Calle Real, Intramuros, and later at Plaza Goiti, Sta. Cruz, Manila. They later expanded to general merchandise such as assortment of motorcycles, sporting goods, and firearms and ammunition. In the 1930's, they became known for sporting guns as "Sportmen's Headquarters." It was later sold to Don Celso S. Tuason in 1941. It's still operating today.
32. De los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, 179-81; "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba," 8; "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 7-11; and "Legalization of claims," 6-7.
33. "Very curious unpublished document," 178.
34. E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography, Volume Four* (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1995), 243.
35. In Sumang's copy, they are three: Alejo Hilario, "Francisco Icasiano," and Manuel Mijares. Cf. "Legalization of claims," 20.
36. De los Reyes, *El folk-lore Filipino*, 175-212.
37. *Ibid*, 175-201.
38. *Ibid*, 203-12.

39. "Acknowledgement receipt of Mr. F. L. Clyde to Mr. L. Parker upon translating a document from Spanish to English, Manila, P. I., December 16, 1910," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, 1, UPDL FSC.
40. "Very curious unpublished document," 1-17.
41. "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 2.
42. "Miscelanea Folk-Lorica," 3.
43. *Ibid*, 5.
44. *Ibid*, 6.
45. *Ibid*.
46. *Ibid*, 7 (twice stated), 9, 27
47. *Ibid*, 28.
48. "En Escrito M. I. S.—Don Agustin Mangaya, natural y (legionario?) de pueblo de Apalit y actual soldado en la Compania de Maestre de Campo D. Tiburcio Balagtas," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, 28-32, UPDL FSC.
49. "Otro Testamento Curioso (Material Folk-Lorico para la Historia)," *Luther Parker Collection*, Box No. 7, 33-9, Folder No. 186, Document No. 643, UPDL FSC.
50. Luther Parker, *The Early Bisayans* (Manila: Master Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1915); cf. *H. Otley Beyer Collection*, Bisaya Paper No. 94, Bey3/4 PN 94 1/5-3/5, NLP MD.
51. Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," *ibid*.
52. Cf. *Philippine History Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1919. The UP Diliman has its only copy, a Photostat one, at the Serials Section of the UPD Library. Cf. National Library of the Philippines Information Technology Division (NLP ITD) DVD TNL 00076, PDF TNL No. 10506.
53. Gregorio F. Zaide, *Documentary Sources in Philippine history* (Quezon City: National Book Store, 1990), Vol. 3, 121-36.
54. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, 245-54.
55. Cf. Reyes Jose, "El Testamento de Lacandola." The author is in debt to Luis Camara Dery who accidentally discovered the microfiche copy of Reyes Jose's

paper in Honorio Lopez Collection of the National Library of the Philippines in 2010.

56. De los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, 180; "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba," 8; "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 8; and "Legalization of claims," 7.
57. Venancio Q. Samson, tran., *Very Strange Unpublished Documents: The Testament of D. Fernando Malang Balagtas, English Translation of the Will attached in the El Folklore Filipino of Isabelo de los Reyes* (Angeles City: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University, 2010, unpublished), 3.
58. "Very curious unpublished document," 4; "The Will of Fernando Malang Balagtas," 178.
59. Ibid.
60. "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," 9; de los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, 180.
61. According to Manuel, the Lakan Dula whom Legazpi befriended in 1571 was baptized as Fernando Malang Balagtas, while the Carlos Lacandola was Malangsi, the one whom Spaniards called Matanda. Cf. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, 239-59.
62. "Curiosísimo Documentos Inéditos," *ibid*; de los Reyes, *El Folk-lore Filipino*, *ibid*.
63. Jose Rizal, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Don Antonio de Morga, anotada, 1890* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2008), 12.
64. Juan de Medina, "History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands, 1630, printed 1893," in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 23, 129.
65. "Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon, Manila, 20 April 1572," in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 3, 153.
66. Francisco de Sande, "Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao, 19 April 1578 to 10 June 1579," in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 4, 151.
67. "Relation of Conquest," 149.

68. Cf. Legazpi's document dated 18 May 1572 in William Henry Scott, "Cracks in Parchment Curtain," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 26, First and Second Quarter, 1978, 187. Manuel said Rajah Matanda "was the father" of Lakan Dula and his native name was Malansi. This is very impossible because Balagtas himself distinguished Matanda with Malansi, the former was a son of Salalila and latter, being Balagtas' father, was a "son" of Prince Balagtas and Pañginuan. Cf. Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, 241.
69. Cf. Austin Craig, ed., *Gems of Philippine Oratory* (Manila: University of Manila, 1924), 14-5.
70. Luciano P. R. Santiago, known archivist and genealogist of principalia, said "Contrary to most historians' assumption, Matanda had a son of his own, who was baptized Ambrosio Mag-isa. His surname means 'alone' and this might indicate that he was an only child of the old rajah, perhaps in the latter's old age, when Soliman had already been designated as the successor of the Kingdom of Manila." Cf. Luciano P. R. Santiago, "The Houses of Lakandula, Matanda and Soliman (1571-1898): Genealogy and Group Identity," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1990, 43.
71. Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas 1565-1615* (Manila: San Agustin Museum, 1998), 557.
72. Scott, "Cracks in Parchment Curtain," *ibid.*
73. Santiago, "The Houses," 43.
74. *Ibid.*, 44.
75. San Agustin, *Conquistas*, 659.
76. *Ibid.*, 675.
77. Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns (A. D. 1300-1955)* (Angeles, Pampanga: Mariano A. Henson, 1962), 215.
78. "Escritorio de convenio formalizada por todos los descendientes del Abolengo infiel Gatbondoc sobre partición de tierras, ante el Alcalde de segunda Elección Don Francisco de Legaspi del pueblo de Hagonoy, Partido de Bulacan en 1805," *Varias Provincias-Bulacan, 1806-1899*, National Archives of the Philippines (NAP).
79. In Pañganiban's testamento, Tabuñgao was already part of Minalin, Pampanga. Tabuñgao existed as a baranganic name until it became Sta. Maria, Minalin in the late 19th century. Tabuñgao, comes from a native gourd called *tabuñgau*,

on the other hand, is among the old settlements well-mentioned in several archival documents as a barangay of principales. When Balagtas wrote his will in 1589, Calumpit was a functioning *alcaldia*, aside from being a *pueblo* (colonial town) and *encomienda* (administrative unit for privileged soldiers for collecting tributes), likewise he stated that he was born in Tabuñgao, “Provincia de Calumpit.” In 1580 when Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa became the new governor-general of the islands, he ordered the *alcaldes mayores* of every *provincia* to strictly implement the *repartimiento*—dividing the population for forced labor that put the Governor General in bad light because of the recorded abuses. Pampanga, founded in 1571 from Capangpañgan region mentioned in Balagtas’ will and covered Calumpit under its jurisdiction, was greatly affected by the system: people of the province were used as miners in the gold mines of Ilocos, abandoning in farms, which led to massive starvation and death in the province. Abuses were committed by the officials of Gonzalo, of whom were relatives and friends of the new governor-general, as they took advantage of dividing Pampanga into four districts called *alcaldias* (headed by *alcaldes mayor* or civil governor) and a *corregimiento* (headed by a *corregidor* or a military chief). These were strategically positioned in five pueblos and at the same time encomiendas (the latter, a redundant unit): Candaba, Betis y Lubao, Calumpit, Bulacan, and the *corregimiento* of Bataan. Each *alcaldia* and *corregimiento* administered the justice system of Pampanga’s encomiendas and pueblos and functioned like a province. Calumpit, in particular, administered justices in Calumpit y Hagonoy (the later name of Calumpit, sometimes Calumpit y Agonoy), Macabebe, Apalit, and Capalangan (now part of Apalit). Calumpit’s *alcalde mayor* had jurisdiction over Macabebe, and Macabebe at that time was a big territory which covers what is now Minalin and Masantol, Pampanga. Tabuñgao was a barangay of Macabebe until Minalin was separate from the town in 1608. Cf. Bergaño, *Vocabulario*, 232; Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, “Letter from Peñalosa to Felipe II, 16 June 1582,” in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 5, 23-33; Gabriel de Rivera, “Letter of Captain Gabriel de Rivera to His Majesty upon Philippine Affair, 1583,” in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 5, 208; Miguel de Loarca, “Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas, 1582,” in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 5, 80; Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, “Account of the Encomiendas in the Philippine Islands, Letter to King Philip II, 20 June 1591,” in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 8, 104.

80. Resil B. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 311.
81. Parker, "The Last of the Lakans," 628.
82. Parker, "Gats and the Lakans," 504.
83. Ibid, 505.

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Marriage Rites and Practices of Maguindanaons in Modern Society

MOHAMAR D. RINDO

Dinas National High School, Dinas, Zamboanga del Sur



Abstract

This study investigated the marital rites and practices of the Maguindanaons in modern society. It included courtship and selecting of spouse, wedding ceremony, post-wedding traditions and Islamic Law on marriage with the Municipality of Dinas as the research environment. The study is a qualitative research which utilized the method of fieldwork, an essential tool in Ethnography. Courtship is considered a taboo in Islam, but there are parts of the Maguindanaon tradition which entertains love proposals. It starts with *kapananda* wherein the male promises to marry the female someday. There is also the *kapang'ng'dong* wherein the male's family will inform the relatives of the female about their intention to marry her. If approved, they will proceed to the *kapanalangguni*, wherein they will talk about the marriage proposal. Included in the negotiation are the *kawa-enggo-r'n* and the *mah'r*. The bride will be hidden in her room (*kabp'limbun*). There are series of wedding processions: procession for the *damak* and the *s'gkil*: the groom to the venue, fetching of the bride by the groom and lastly the groom and the bride. The groom will be wedded to the representative of the bride's family, a tradition called *kap'gkulu*. The Muslims are governed by the "Code of Muslim Personal Laws of the Philippines". The code is applicable to marriage wherein both parties are Muslim, or wherein only the male party is a Muslim. The essential requisites of marriage include the legal capacity of the contracting parties, mutual consent of both parties wherein no violence, fraud, or intimidation is being used. No particular form of marriage ceremony is required but the *ijab* and the *gabal* in marriage shall be declared publicly.

Introduction

The family, as the basic unit of the society, denotes the social organization for the conception as well the act of providing the costs for everyday life in human society (Engels, F. 2010; Hornton, A., et. al, 2008)). The role of family in the societies may change over time but its centrality in the human society remains as it remains the unit for the generational renewal and linkages to the larger society (Thornton, A., et. al., 2008). It is marriage which initially binds the family socially and spiritually through ritually recognized contract between a man and a woman which is the basis of conjugal or family life as well as rights and obligations between the couple and their families (Haviland, W., et. al. 2013). Marriage and family relationships are the most meaningful aspects of life wherein the former is considered as a social, emotional, and legal relationship between a husband and wife and society which further links people together socially and emotionally and the latter is a living institution which is considered as our oldest and most cherished institution (Brigman, 2008; Steffoff, 2007). As such, it is benign to say that marriage is the safest of all forms of relationships because the commitment and legal structure of marriage offers security not only of emotional and social aspects but also of economic aspect.

Marriage is one of the many things that an individual ought to do and commit to. It is the most significant of all forms of human relationships, as it is where a man and a woman finds the fulfillment of many basic individual needs (besides sex), such as the need for the pair to commit to love and nurture one another. The need for socialization and self-affirmation all of which are shared and mutually fulfilled by two persons in the marital relations (Keller, T., 2011).

Marriage is part of the skeleton, or framework of the society, so common and universal to all of societies in the world (Steffoff, 2007; Holland, J., 2013). It is undeniable that marriage plays an essential role to the advancement of our changing civilization and this fundamental role is acknowledged by many of the world's great religions. In many religious traditions, marriage is seen as a covenant sanctified by God. This is also

true to Islam which has a complete marriage system which takes into account all the human variables and provides men and women viable options. Marriage is not viewed merely as a means of uniting the male with the female body and producing offsprings, nor is it instituted just for purposes of satisfying natural desires or quenching passions but goals are much deeper in meaning than those obvious realities (Philips and Jones, 2005). Allah, the Most High, illuminates this fact in the Holy Qur'an:

"And amongst His signs is this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that ye may dwell in tranquility with them, and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts): verily in that are signs of those who reflects" (Qur'an 30:21).

Islam has placed great stress on the divinely ordained institution of marriage in order to protect society. It is ordained by Allah (S.W.T) as the correct and legal way to produce children and replenish the earth. Furthermore, this offspring of marriage become instinctive for mankind and animals (Jones, 2005). Although marriage is universal, marriage rituals and practices vary from one cultural group to another (Mibang, T., & Behera, M. C., 2006). Rituals and practices do not only vary but also undergo some changes. Modernization is one factor that has brought changes in the functions of family and marriage as well. For instance, modernization has given rise to institutions, such as schools, which contributed to the socialization of children and therefore had given rise to the transformation of family from a maternal to a dual career families (both the mother and father work) in order to meet the needs of the family. Mass media and peer influences have also brought changes in the family (Panopio & Rolda, 2001).

This is true to the Muslims in the Philippines. The Maguindanaons in the early days were of dignified political influence and thus established not only power but also identity as an ethno-linguistic group in Southern Philippines (Gonzales, D., & Guinness, P, 2011; Majul, C., 1973). But such identity had been challenged by events and modernization. The coming of Islam in the Philippines not only taught new ways of life but also tried to alter if not eliminate most of the traditions and practices of Maguindanaons which are not in accordance with the Islamic teaching. Today changes

has further intensified by modernization and technological changes as mentioned earlier (McKenna, T, 2000).

Prior to the coming of Islam in the Southern Philippines, the Maguindanaons were already established as a ruling power and were a distinct entity in the country. The introduction of Islam to the Maguindanaons in the Pulangi River valley was slow and protracted. Nevertheless, Islam had penetrated all the traditions at various levels without violence (Loyre, 2008). In this event, there was a confrontation between Maguindanaon traditional leaders and Muslims scholars. As the latter tried to refashion the social behavior and practices of the Maguindanaons to conform with the tenets of Islam, the traditional leaders counteracted by intensifying traditionalism with the belief that having preceded the arrival of Islam in the Philippines, they are to exercise moral authority. Aside from the confrontation in cultural arenas like that of marriage, both also argue in the practice of popular cultures, such as: the famous *dayunday* (a song duel) which for the *ulama* (Islamic scholar) constituted unlawful sexual relation (McKenna, 2000).

The researcher had seen in many events how modernization had brought about changes in the traditional rites and practices of the Maguindanaons. One time, the researcher could not answer a Christian brother who asked the researcher, “What had become of the traditional wedding rites and practices of the Maguindanaons in the early days which he hasn’t seen for quite some time?” There were also times when the researcher attended the feasting of Maguindanaons on or before the wedding day and noticed that the old folks were the ones playing the traditional *kulintang*, *agongs* and *dabak*. How about the young generation of Maguindanaons, do they even know how to play those instruments which are part of the material culture of their ethnicity? Given these sad realities, it is fair to say that what is left of the once magnificent culture of the Maguindanaons is being reduced to obscurity. It is in this context that researcher found necessary to conduct a study on the marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons in modern times. Focus will be on early practices and customs of the said ethno-linguistic tribe of southern Mindanao. The objective of this paper is describe the transformation and alterations on the Maguindanaon social life by Islamic tenets and

modernization. It is undeniable that the practices of the Maguindanaons had undergone innumerable transformations. It is the desire of the researcher not only to describe but to document what is left of the Maguindanaon traditional marriage rites and practices with the hope that the coming generations would kindle pride and dignity as Maguindanaon.

Framework

This study focuses on the marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons during on such matters such as courtship and selection of spouse, wedding ceremony, post-wedding traditions and Islamic Laws regarding marriage. The researcher also investigated the perceptions of Maguindanaon youth on marriage rites and practices of their ethnolinguistic group in modern society.

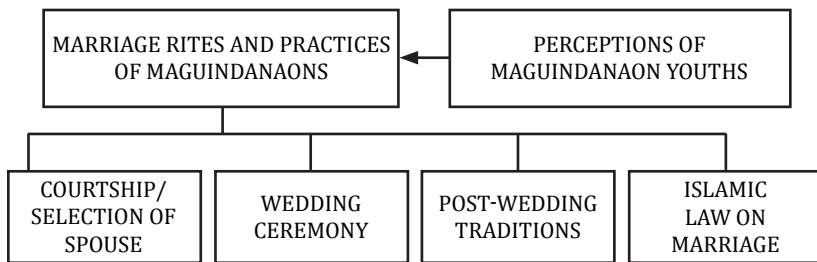


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of the Study

Methodology

Since this study is in line with Anthropology that is the study of all aspects of human life and culture (Fedorak, S. A., 2012), it used ethnography as research design. Ethnography deals with the study of the diversity of human cultures in their particular settings (Atkinson, P., et.al., 2001). Ethnography is most appropriate in this study as it deals with the culture, specifically on the marriage rites and practices, of the Maguindanaons in the Municipality of Dinas, Zamboanga del Sur. This study employed the qualitative method as it answered questions about the complex nature of

the phenomena, with the added purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participants' point of view. The researcher utilized the method of fieldwork, an essential tool in Ethnography, wherein the researcher resided in the field setting, participated and observed the activities and behavior of the people where the research took place. (Robben, A. C., & Sluka, J. A. (Eds.), 2012; Halstead, N., Hirsch, E., & Okely, J. (Eds.). (2008)). Whitehead (2005) defines fieldwork as a form of inquiry that requires a researcher to be immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group carrying out the research. Associated with fieldwork also is Participant Observation (PO) wherein upon immersing with the field setting, the researcher shared and participated in the life and activities of the person or group of people being studied (Whitehead, 2005). This is essential so as to develop an insider's view of what is happening thus building what Whitehead (2005) called "emic validity" wherein the researcher understands the people of study through their own system of meaning.

For acquiring more information, which direct and indirect observation cannot provide, the researcher utilized Key Informants (KI) considered knowledgeable persons who have the authority to talk on the subject i.e. marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons. In this case, the researcher considered old folks of Maguindanaons in the municipality of Dinas and the Islamic leaders and *ulama* (Islamic scholars) in the locality. In line with this, the researcher used personal interview as method of gathering data. Interview, according to Good & Scales (1954), is used for research purposes wherein the investigator gathers data directly from others in a face-to-face contact. In an interview, the interviewee may provide personal and confidential information which they would not ordinarily put into writing on paper. In an interview also, the researcher may enable to follow-up leads and take advantage of clues which is likely lead to other information.

The researcher also utilized Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with selected Maguindanaon youth in the municipality of Dinas. The youth were chosen from among students of Dinas who belonged to different year levels.

Field Site

The field site of the study was the Municipality of Dinas. Twenty-two percent of the population of Dinas are Maguindanaon Muslims, (Dinas Socio-demographic Profile, CY 2012) the target research subjects, a fourth class municipality in the province of Zamboanga del Sur, which was formally created on November 9, 1950 by virtue of Executive Order No. 362, Series of 1950, signed by President Elpidio Quirino.

Research Respondents

The research subjects of this study were the Maguindanaons in the Municipality of Dinas. The Key informants (KIs) in this investigation, were the old folks who were knowledgeable of the original marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons. The researcher identified Islamic leaders and *ulama* (Islamic scholars) who had knowledge on Islamic aspects of Maguindanaon marriage. The researcher also chose some Maguindanaon youth to participate in the FGD regarding their perception of changing Maguindanaon culture. The researcher utilized a non-probability sampling technique, the purposive sampling wherein the respondents were chosen depending on the kind of information they possessed. Specifically, the researcher employed snowball technique wherein the researcher increases its sample through informants by starting with one person who then suggests another and so-on. The research instrument employed in this study was an interview guide. The interview guide was composed of questions listed by the researcher based on information pertaining to the marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaons. The first step in gathering data was library work. This was for the researcher to ascertain if there were similar researches on the topic. Through a review of related literature, the researcher would be able to identify research gaps on the topic. In the attempt of the researcher to choose Maguindanaon as the ethnolinguistic group to be studied, there were difficulties in finding studies on them.

The researcher then made a concept map that illustrated the different aspects of marriage rites and practices. Based on the concepts identified, the researcher developed an interview guide. He then conducted personal interviews with KIs and FGDs with the Maguindanaon youth.

The transcripts of the interviews were then transcribed, analyzed and interpreted.

Results and Discussion

This part of the paper deals with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data gathered.

Courtship and Selecting of Spouse

Traditional Maguindanaons have a distinct form of courtship compared to modern time. In observance of the Islamic doctrine, a man and a woman are not allowed to experience dating because it is *haram* (forbidden) for a man and a woman to talk in private or even touch each other specially if they are not married. According to informant A there are different ways of courtship for Maguindanaons. When a man sees a woman and feels something special for that woman, this is called *kapananda* or *timanda* wherein the man seriously consider the woman as the person whom he will marry when the right time comes.

The strict prohibition of courtship is now a thing of the past (Joseph, S., & Nağmābādī, A.,2003). According to Informant B, most parents nowadays allow their children to engage in courtship before marriage, especially for Muslims in Dinas who are able to attain higher education. There is also the effect of media and social changes wherein the youth feel that they must conform. Nevertheless, there are parents also who strictly prohibit their children from dating. In most cases, those young Maguindanaon who are caught dating are brought to *bityalan* (trial) wherein both families agree of the better thing to do about them. If both families agree, the two might be wedded or if not, the boy might pay an amount which will serve as a penalty. This is called in local dialect as the *kasalan* which is usually in accordance with the demands of the girl's family. The family of the boy should comply to the demands of the other party because if not, the case might be brought to higher court or worst be a reason to start a *rido* (family feud). Rido (family feud) had been existing in most Maguindanaon societies, partly because of the *maratabat* (pride) of the family. Traditionally, parents choose partners for their children. A married couple may come into an agreement with another married couple

that when the wives shall give birth to a boy and the other to a girl, then these two children shall be joined in marriage when they reach the right marrying age. This is called *kam-boya* (arranged marriage). Usually, a penalty is imposed for either party who will not adhere to the arrangement.

In the early years, according to Informant C, arranged marriage used to be prevalent. This is the practice of the Maguindanaon wherein, it is the parents who decide the marriage partners of their children. This practice is dominant in a traditional Maguindanaon society because the parents believe that they know what is best for their children. The parents prefer arranged marriages because of various reasons. One reason is political. Marriage to another well-off family will extend the political influence of a clan. Another reason is economic. The parents want to secure a better future for their children, hence parents themselves decide for their child's marriage. But according Informant C, this practice is rarely observed nowadays especially in the Municipality of Dinas because most of the Maguindanaons in the locality are now educated and most parents allow their children to decide their marriage partners. The parents though can still propose marriage partners but it is the decision of the child which is considered final.

Informant D enumerated the preferences in the selection of spouse. The first consideration is *amal* (faith in Allah). In this sense, religion is the primary consideration in the marriage. It is strictly prohibited by Islam that a Muslim marries a non-Muslim for fear that he/she might lose his/her identity as a Muslim. In spite of this prohibition, there are still a significant number of intermarriages because the Maguindanaons exist in a community wherein they co-exist with other groups of people who are non-Muslims. Nowadays, there are cases where male Muslims marry non-Muslims, some say it is because of the bride-price. This is now allowed in the Maguindanaon society because there is now a tendency that the male will convince the female to embrace his religion. A rare case is when a Muslim woman marries a non-Muslim. This is the experience of the Informant E who married a former Christian. For her husband to be able to marry her legally, her husband had to first convert to Islam. The couple suffered some difficulties knowing that Muslim societies do not allow this to happen. The second consideration is inheritance. The wealthy

parents of the groom check on the bride if she comes from a wealthy family. The reason for this is for economic security and a better future for their children. The third consideration is character. The parents also check on the character of the female, if she really deserves to be a wife and that if she has the potential to become a caring wife.

Kabpang'ng'dung (whispering) is the practice wherein the *kamaman* (groom's family) will formally approach the parents or representative of the bride and inform them of the intention of marriage. Informant F described that this is also the stage where the family of the groom will investigate the background of the bride and her family. Based on her experience, Informant F narrated that it was her husband who approached her parents of his willingness to marry her. Informant F added that there are cases wherein respect of the bride to her parents made her agree to the marriage proposal. The *kamaman* (groom's family) will also inform the parents or representative of the relatives of the bride that they are willing to comply with whatever demands the family will have. If the *kababayan* (bride's family) will approve the proposal, then the next step will be *Kapanalangguni* wherein both representatives of the groom and bride will formally meet to agree and talk about the wedding. In the early days, there is what they call *kap'nggakit* (literally means two boats are tied together) to ferry the groom and his family to the venue for the *kapanalangguni* according to Informant A. "While ashore," they will be asked by the bride's representative of *bityala a lalag* (talk of good deeds) which must be answered carefully so that they may proceed with the *kapanalangguni* (negotiation on marriage). The *kamaman* (groom's family) is expected to bring food and refreshments to be served in the venue while the negotiation is taking place. Before the negotiation formally starts, there will be giving of *gunsina-maratabat* (key of pride) which includes the *kawa* (offering) and the *r'n* (offering) or *l'n* (offering). The former offering or *r'n* is given to the mediators involved in the negotiation for the marriage who are usually the bride's representatives. The latter offering or *l'n* is given to the females who are present in the negotiation and who prepared the venue and food. Nowadays these are usually in the form of money.

According to Informant F, during the *kapanalangguni* (negotiation on marriage), both sides will talk and agree about the dowry or the *mah'r*,

in the local dialect, or the *sunggudan* (bride price). The *sunggudan* will depend on the capacity of the groom. In most cases, this is also based on the family background and educational attainment of the bride. *Sunggudan* can be in a form of cash or property or a combination of both. The *sunggudan* will be given before, during or after the wedding ceremony as agreed upon by both parties. Part of the *sunggudan* is the *baw a badan* (penalty). This is paid when the husband divorces the wife at his expense especially for reasons, such as: maltreatment and abuse. There is also the *langkad* (gift in cash or in kind) to be given by the male side if the female to be married has an older sister who is still single. During the *kapanalangguni*, there will also be *apanton* (request). This refers to the request of the bride's family and relatives especially if they are of nobility. The family may request for *pakaragian* or *pakalagian* ([feasting] before the wedding date) according to Informant A.

Another thing to be discussed during the *kapanalangguni* is the venue and date for the wedding. The venue will always be in the place of the female. In the early days, the venues were austere and in traditional form, usually be held inside the house. Nowadays, for ordinary people, they will just construct a small stage for the venue and decorate it with traditional decorations. This small stage is constructed and decorated by the *kamaman* (groom's family). As influenced by non-Muslims and modernization, wealthy families nowadays usually hold their wedding ceremonies in hotels or resorts.

According to Informant G, since people co-exist with different groups or tribes, it cannot be avoided that there is amalgamation of Maguindanaon rules and those copied from Christian brothers. This is called acculturation wherein Maguindanaons copy the practices which are not against Islamic tenets. She continued with regards to holding ceremonies in hotels:

“It is allowed (wedding ceremony in hotels) because we do not have a church ceremony ... because in Islam there is a unity of Church and State. So, the wedding ceremony is a public ceremony and that being so, allows the ceremony to be held in hotels. After all the wedding ceremony is to bring to public knowledge the union of the couple.”

Some wealthy Maguindanaons now hire wedding planners, which could be expensive, but they (especially professionals) prefer this kind of preparation as a sign of their social and economic status. The venue for wedding rites signifies the social status of the families being united in marriage according to Informant E.

The date of the wedding is agreed upon by both sides. There is a new practice nowadays, wherein both sides agree on having the wedding ceremonies right after the *kapanalangguni* for practical or economic purposes. This is mostly done by ordinary Maguindanaon families. Having a separate date for the wedding means long days of preparation, more efforts and money for food and venue. Sometimes, the dowry is not enough to pay for the wedding expenses according to Informant C.

Once both families agreed on matters about the wedding, the groom and the bride are considered engaged. They will proceed then with the preparation of the wedding ceremony. The family of the groom will be the one to decorate the venue. Few days after the *kapanalangguni* (negotiation on marriage), the groom's family will raise the *pandala* (flags and flaglets). At the center is the *sambulayang* (a larger flag with three wings and sometimes embroidered with the name of Allah). These flags are a trademark of colorful and magnificent Maguindanaon culture. The *pandala/pandara* are always part of the practices of the Maguindanaon. These flags can cause a lot of trouble if the *kamaman* (groom's family) does not prepare for this one, not unless the wedding ceremony is held on the same date as the *kapanalangguni*.

The *igan* (complete set of beddings) will also be brought to the residence of the bride as part of the dowry. This includes the bed, foam, bed sheets, pair of pillows, with *ulol* (a traditional decoration for bedrooms). These will be placed on the *bilik* (room or quarter) where the girl will stay few days before the wedding day.

Kapamitin (act of decorating) will also be done by the groom's family and relatives when they decorate the residence of the bride with traditional Maguindanaon decoration. In this event, one can witness the artistry and beauty of Maguindanaon material culture. The moldings of the house will sequins embellished with *likos* (a decorative fabric embroidered with

colorful sequins and beads) which will be stretched in the entirety of the ceiling. Similar to the *likos* is the *lansay* (a colorful fabric) which is stretch like that of the *likos*. *Ulul* (Maguindanaon chandelier made of fabric with intricate flower design in the middle) will also be hung as canopy in the ceiling.

In the early days, *pakaragian* or *pakalagian* (feastings at night) were done for as long as one week before the wedding day and part of the *panton* (requests) according to Informant F, who also experienced this kind of celebration during her wedding. She added that in the *pakaragian*, her husband's family hired popular entertainment, the *dayunday* (a song duel) wherein local singers perform on stage in front of the locals. It is a modern adaptation of traditional songs to the accompaniment of guitars. Usually, this is participated by a man and a woman, or two men and a woman who will exchange romantic verses. But this practice was forbidden by the *ulama* (Islamic scholars) because according to them, it is a *shirk* or *bid'ah* (forbidden) because it displays affection and unlawful sexual relations, especially when the performers exchange romantic verses accompanied by unpleasant gestures (e.g. winks, nods, and nudges). Today, local Maguindanaon singers popularized some Maguindanaon songs using the tunes of popular songs. This is called by the locals as the *organ*. But then again, this kind of entertainment is condemned by the *ulama*, especially when the songs depict messages of love between a man and a woman.

In contemporary Maguindanaon society, the *ulama* are trying to alter this practice of feasting a night before the wedding date for practical and economic reasons. The host for the feasting can incur expenses, which when not within their means may later cause borrowing money from others, an act condemned by religious leaders. But if the families of the soon-to-be couple wish to hold this kind of event, they may do so using traditional entertainment using the *kulintang* ensembles composed of the *kulintang*, *d'bakan*, *gandingan* and the *agong*, which the *ulama* allows for entertainment.

Traditionally, there are also games as part of the practices of the Maguindanaons according to Informant F. There is what the Maguindanaons call the *sipa-sa-manggis* (traditional sport) wherein the *kamaman* (groom's family) will hang a miniature of a house with gold

rings or cash inside it. By kicking a ball, the males in the locality will try to let loose the miniature house to get whatever is inside it. This does not exist nowadays because the *ulama* forbid this games saying that it is not in accordance with the teaching of Islam yet is part of pre-Islamic tradition.

The women and men in the community help in the preparation of foods for the wedding, a practice unique to the Maguindanaon where you could see how the locals unite by means of helping those who are in need of their help. The good thing about this practice of the Maguindanaons is that the service of the people is rendered free.

***Kawing*: The Wedding Ceremony**

It cannot be denied that there used to be a clash between cultural and religious rites because some of the cultural practices of the Maguindanaon are against Islamic teachings. The campaign of the *ulama* to alter these practices of the Maguindanaons which are not in accordance to Islam was intensified. Thus, in the contemporary Maguindanaon society, the *kawing* or the wedding ceremony is becoming more and more Islamic, an aspect of the Maguindanaon culture which though becoming more Islamic is seen as union of Islam and Maguindanaon *adat* (tradition).

It has been a tradition of the Maguindanaon in the past to hide the bride in a room one week to one day before the wedding date according to Informant F. This is called in the local dialect as *Bp'limbun*. The powder made from pounded rice is applied to the entire body of the bride as a symbols of a woman awaiting her marriage. The groom is not allowed to see the bride. But the groom is expected to send "siwaka" to the bride. This is a gift in a form of cosmetics, garments and/or perfumes which will be delivered to the house of the bride. Nowadays, this is no longer being observed for reasons of cost and practicality.

According to Informant A, in the early days, the wedding dress of the bride is usually a traditional *malong* called the *inaul* (a Maguindanaon hand-woven fabric with multiple colors as well as gold and silver thread) paired with a white silk long sleeve called *binandusan-a-ayrit* or the *magabi-sa-maramag* with a *t'ndong* (veil) as the headdress. The groom, wears a traditional pair of pants and a long-sleeve shirt usually fashioned with *inaul* designs and *turban* as a headdress.

But nowadays, common to Maguindanaon wedding is the use of white gowns and western suits which clearly is an influence of the West. A new trend in wedding dresses nowadays is the use of glamorous gowns which are adaptation of Malaysian or Bornean fashion. The wedding robe of both the bride and the groom signifies the social and economic standing of the pair. Ordinary pairs are seen with simple wedding gowns and robes while for the wealthy and professionals, extravagant and glamorous wedding dresses are worn.

During the wedding proper, there will be four sets of procession or entourage, called *kuyug*. The first one will be the procession of the *damak*, offerings of the family and relatives of the groom according to Informant F. The procession is marked with the *ubur-ubur* and *panggi*, traditional decorations of the Maguindanaons usually placed in a bamboo trunk. Leading in the procession will be the *tang'ln* or *s'gkil*, a luggage or suitcase which serves as an offering to the bride, It usually contains cookies, traditional foods, thread, candles and/or cash. Traditionally the *damak* contain coffee, sugar, cooking oil, thread, cigarette, rice, and traditional delicacies. These according to belief symbolize a prosperous and bountiful married life for the couple. After the procession of the *damak* (offerings in kind) will be the procession of the groom. This will start from the residence of the groom to the venue of the wedding ceremony. In the early days, according to Benong (2013), the procession is led by an effigy of an *unta* (camel) or a carabao which dances to the beat of *agong* and *d'bakan*. But nowadays, we cannot see an effigy of any kind because it is being forbidden by the *ulama* as it is considered pagan in nature. The groom will be escorted by his *abay* or the groom's men carrying with them a traditional umbrella called the *sinilatan*. Nowadays, religious sectors forbid the presence of *abay* both the groom's men and the bride's maid because they believe that it is not a practice of Islam. But even so, there are still some places in the locality of Dinas which still observe the presence of *abay* but prefers to call them the escorts or ushers and usherettes.

When the groom reaches the stage, traditionally he will be seated in a *baul*, an old-fashion box. The ceremony will be started by a *kutba* or sermon of the religious leader in the community. After the sermon, there will be messages and reading of the genealogies of both families. This will

be done by the elders who are knowledgeable of the family background. Then they will proceed to the *kap'gkulu* or the reading of the wedding verses. There must be witnesses of the *kap'gkulu* from both the bride and the groom's family. In the traditional form of marriage, the witnesses will bring with them lighted candles which symbolizes harmony and peaceful living for the soon-to-be couple. But this is no longer allowed by the *ulama*. What is unique about the wedding rites of the Maguindanaons is that the reading of the wedding verses will be made between the groom and the father or male relatives of the bride (*wali*). They will hold and clutch hands together facing each other with their feet on pillows. The groom will then hand a white handkerchief to the solemnizing officer. The religious leader will recite the lines to be recited also by bride's father or *wali* (host) in translation:

"I marry you to my daughter Bai a Manisan"

The groom shall say:

"Yes, I accept."

This exchange of words shall be repeated for three times. And then the audience confirms with loud shouts.

Then the groom and the bride are considered husband and a wife.

Nowadays, the religious communities find ways to shorten the sermon during wedding ceremony. Another is the reading of the family genealogies which now nowadays have been shortened. In the locality of Dinas, this practice is rarely seen.

The third procession will follow wherein after being wedded to the bride's family, the groom will go straight to the residence or place where the bride is being hidden or the *bilik* (room or quarter). But seeing his wife isn't that easy. According to Informant A, there will be what the locals call *pamanwitan* wherein before the groom could enter the house of the bride, he will be asked by the elderly to catch a ring tied in a kerchief for three attempts. If the groom could not catch the ring for the third time, the ceremony could be delayed. But then again this practice no longer exists in Maguindanaon communities because it violates Islamic percepts. According to Benong (2013), the female relative of the bride will close and lock the house. This does not mean the bride's family opposes the wedding

but rather the *bungkal-s-abilik* or the *l'ka-sa-bilik* must given. This serves as a toll which could be in the form of cash. There is in no specific amount because it depends on the request of the women inside the house. The door will only be unlocked if this request is granted. When the room is opened, the husband will now sit beside his wife, with the crowd watching and throwing jokes to the couple and teasing them. This time the husband will be allowed to touch his wife for the first time, an act considered taboo before they were wedded.

After a short while, the newly wedded couple will proceed to the fourth entourage wherein the husband will bring the wife back to the stage to show her to the public where they will seat on a *baul* (old-fashion box) but nowadays decorated chairs. In the bridal entourage, there will be traditional performance of the *pangalay* (traditional dance), an entertainment wherein a maiden will gracefully dance to the beat of the *agong* and *kulintang*. Informant A related that in the early days, instead of the *pangalay* being performed, there will be the *kadsasagayan* or the *sagayan* performance which depicts the contest or fight of two warriors. This will be followed by children being carried on the shoulders of some men. But this practice is no longer being observed because again it is forbidden by the *ulama*. After taking pictures with the families, relatives and friends of both the bride and the groom, they will now proceed back to the residence of the girl where the “*igan*” (complete set of beddings) is placed wherein they can either rest or open gifts.

The *kanduli* or the thanks-giving meal for the wedding is not a formal one. On the very morning of the wedding date, the host serves food to whoever comes to the venue. Traditional *kanduli* is usually led by the *pandita* or the religious men in the community. They will be seated on an *ikam* (a woven mat) around trays called the “*talam*” covered with the colorful top called the *todong*. This used to be the means of eating but now changes in this practice of Maguindanaons are apparent. For example the *pandita* has now being replaced by the *ulama* since the former lacks the Islamic knowledge but only traditional knowledge which is against Islam. The traditional *talam* and *todong* are now being replaced by modern eating implements.

Post-wedding Traditions

In the early days, it was part of tradition for the parents of the bride to clothe the husband with a *malong* according to Informant F. This symbolizes the turn-over of the responsibility of the parents of the bride to the husband with the hope that the husband will take good care of his wife the way she was taken care of by her parents. But this practice does not exist anymore in the Maguindanaon community of Dinas because this is not in line with the Islamic teaching.

The newly-wed will also undergone *sarat* wherein, according to Informant G, they will be given cash, kitchen ware, garments, and the like so that the couple may live a life of prosperity. This is some sort of a blessings to the newly-wedded couple. Again, this practice does not exist anymore nowadays because this is not in accordance with Islam.

According to Informant B, right after the wedding ceremony, there is what is called in Maguindanaon dialect *kabp'lawi* wherein the newlywed are fetched or *bp'lapit'n* from the residence of the wife and brought to the residence of the husband. This is part of the tradition which still exists nowadays for the wife to be familiar with her husband's residence. The relatives of the husband will accompany the newlywed to the residence of the husband. While in the residence of the husband, they will receive words of advise from the people around, and before leaving the residence of the husband, they will be given some gifts like ginger, cooking oil, rice, candles, cash, and/or ornaments.

When they go back to the residence of the wife where the *igan* is taking place, the opening of gifts transpires. There will also be games. The newly-wed couple will stay at the *igan* wherein they will be served with rice and drinks which will symbolize their being husband and wife. The couple will also be teased by the people in the house. This practice no longer exists in contemporary Maguindanaon society.

Islamic Law on Marriage

An Overview of the Islamic Law

A basic understanding of the fundamental concepts of the Islamic Law is necessary for the understanding of the rules governing Muslim marriage

and divorce under the Muslim Code. It is noted that in the promulgation and interpretation of the Muslim Code and of other Muslim Laws. Muslim jurists and scholars unanimously agree that the Holy Qur'an and the *Hadith* (*Sunnah* or Traditions) of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) are the primary sources of the Islamic Law (Khalil, M. H., 2013; Coulson, N. J. 2011).

Islamic Law in this sense has been divided into two aspects: the *Shari'ah* aspect (*Shari'ah* or Islamic Law) and the juristic aspect (*Fiqh* or Islamic Jurisprudence). The former being considered as complete and comprehensive law as it came from divine source revealed to Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) beginning on his conferment to prophethood, while the latter is considered the scientific study and elucidation of the *Shari'ah* by the jurists. In this light, *Shari'ah* is considered perfect and immutable while *Fiqh* is limited, growing, developing, dynamic, and is affected by time, place and circumstances (Coulson, N. J. 2011; Motzki, H. ,2002).

Integration of Islamic Law to the Philippines Mainstream Body Politics. The Philippine Legal System is considered as a melting pot of three world legal system namely: the Common Law, Civil Law, and the Islamic Law. The Islamic Law is a result of long and lasting struggle of the Muslims in the Philippines. It is known that among the three legal system it is the Islamic Law which is last to be integrated in the national body politics, but historical records has it that Islamic Law existed in the country far more ahead of the other two legal system.

Prior to the coming of the Spaniards, the people of most part of the Philippines had been adhering to Islam as their way of life, established their own political system through the sultanate, and acknowledged the Islamic Law as the legal system. During the Spanish era, there was no decree of any sort being enforced in the Moroland unlike during the American Regime. Americans entered into different treaties with the Muslims. Aside from the treaties, a series of laws recognized the religious practices of the Muslims. After Philippine independence, laws were passed also recognizing marriage and divorce in Muslim communities (Barra, H. A., 1988).

Since then, the government of the Philippines provided programs and projects for recognizing the Muslim Law. A series of laws for the Muslims had been promulgated. One of these laws is the Code of Muslim Personal

Law of the Philippines otherwise known as Presidential Decree No. 1083 signed and approved by President Ferdinand E. Marcos on February 4, 1977.

Article 2 of the Muslim Code provides:

Pursuant to section 11 of Article XV of the Constitution of the Philippines which provides that “The State shall consider the costumes, traditions, beliefs, and interests of national cultural communities in the formulation an implementation of the State policies”, this code:

- a. Recognizes the legal system of the Muslims in the Philippines as part of the law of the land and seeks to make Islamic institutions more effective;
- b. Codifies Muslim personal laws, and;
- c. Provides for an effective administration and enforcement of Muslim personal laws among Muslims.

The Muslim Code also codifies the Muslim Personal Laws which includes all laws pertaining to personal status, marriage and divorce, matrimonial and family relations, successions and inheritance, property relation between spouses.

The Islamic Law on Marriage As Stipulated In The Code Of Muslim Personal Law Of The Philippines, particularly Article 13 stipulates:

1. The provisions of this Title shall apply to marriage and divorce wherein both parties are Muslims, or wherein only the male party is a Muslim and the marriage is solemnized in accordance with Muslim Law or in this code in any part of the Philippines.
2. In case of a marriage between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, solemnized not in accordance with the Muslim law or this Code, the Civil Code of the Philippines shall apply.
3. Subject to the provisions of the preceding paragraphs, the essential requisites and legal impediments to marriage, divorce, paternity and filiation, guardianship and custody of minors, support and maintenance, claims for customary dower (mah'r), betrothal, breach of contract to marry, solemnization and registration of

marriage and divorce, rights and obligations between husband and wife, parental authority, and the property relations between husband and wife shall be governed by this Code and other applicable Muslim laws.

Under the Muslim code, there are essential requisites of marriage being identified. The legal capacity of the contracting parties is given consideration wherein the male shall be fifteen years of age and the female should reach the puberty age which is assumed upon reaching the age of fifteen. In case wherein the female claimed to have reached the age of puberty earlier than fifteen but not less than twelve, the proper *wali* may write a petition to the Shari'ah District Court stating the case thereof. Another requisite of marriage under the Muslim Code is the mutual consent of the parties freely given. Both parties should not be forced to enter into marriage, i.e. without violence, fraud or intimidation. There shall also be an offer (*ijab*) and acceptance (*gabal*) duly witnessed by at least two competent persons after the proper guardian in marriage (*wali*) has given his consent. There shall also be stipulation of the customary dower (*mahr*) duly witnessed by two competent persons which according to the social standing of both contracting parties could either be given before, during or after the celebration of the marriage.

Article 17 of the Muslim Code cites that there is "No particular form of marriage ceremony is required but the *ijab* and the *gabal* in marriage shall be declared publicly in the presence of the person solemnizing the marriage and two competent witnesses..." In this case, there is no legal restriction as to the marriage ceremony. The decision on this matter lays on the hands of the mediators during the negotiation on marriage with of course the proper consent and agreement among the parties or families involved in the marriage.

Article 19 of the Muslim Code states that "Marriage shall be solemnized publicly in any mosque, office of the Shari'ah judge, office of the District or Circuit Registrar, residence of the bride or her *wali*, or at any other suitable place agreed upon by the parties."

As discussed in the earlier part of this study, the place for solemnization of marriage had undergone certain changes due to modernization and other influences like the new trend of holding marriage ceremonies in hotel and resorts. This is usually the case for professionals and wealthy families. But the case could be different from that of ordinary people wherein usually they held the ceremony in the residence of the bride or that of the proper *wali*.

As a part of the Islamic jurisprudence, the Code of Muslim Personal Law of the Philippines is part of the works of Islamic jurists and scholars who are limited with their knowledge and is therefore subject to errors and changes over time.

Perception of Young Maguindanaons to Contemporary Culture

Such historic richness of Maguindanaon culture is unfortunately unknown to the present generation. During the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) conducted by the researcher with twenty (20) Muslim students, the researcher found out that the young generation Maguindanaon knew little about how great their culture is. All they were aware of is the negative image that the ethnolinguistic group has especially in the locality of Dinas as perceived by people from neighboring municipalities. In addition to this, there are also parts of the Maguindanaon culture especially on marriage customs this generation is not aware of. It is a sad reality that no matter what we do, time had passed and can never be turned back. So the researcher aims to document and preserve the customs and traditions of Maguindanaons. All of the respondents agreed that the study of Maguindanaon history and culture should be integrated in the study of Araling Panlipunan in order to preserve the legacy of a once rich and powerful “bangsa”.

Conclusions

Nowadays, the marriage rites and practices of the Maguindanaon in Dinas conform to Islamic teachings to the detriment of traditional practices. The coming of Islam brought about many changes in the culture of the Maguindanaons as well as Western influences as seen in the use of wedding gowns and suits instead of traditional robe, and the holding of marriage ceremonies in hotels and resorts. These changes brought

about by Islam, and Westernization has caused the young generation to be ignorant of their own culture. These factors also threaten to eliminate the Maguindanaon true self as it eliminates some part of the once proud ethnicity in the country. It is a sad reality also that some of the practices of the elderly are not passed on to the younger generation. One good example is the playing of traditional musical instrument during the celebration of the wedding. Only the old generation are able to play traditional music. When asked to play the traditional instruments, the younger generation demurs and don't make an effort to learn. Education also is one factor that has brought some changes in the culture of the Maguindanaons. Some Maguindanaons having been educated have adopted modernization and technological advancement and the influences brought about by other groups of people. The history of the Maguindanaons in the Philippines is sadly unknown to the younger generation. What is even worst is when asked about how they perceive their own cultural identity, there appears a lack of pride in the mind and hearts of the young generation. Thus, the researcher, through this intellectual exercise sees the significance of preserving and documenting what is left of the Maguindanaon culture.

Recommendations

On the bases of the conclusions, the following recommendations are hereby enumerated:

1. The findings of this study should be made available to the Maguindanaons especially the younger generation so that they may be able to read it, learn from it and therefore, at some point develop in them a sense of pride for their own identity.
2. The findings of this study should be disseminated to serve as an eye-opener to other groups of people so that they may change their perceptions regarding the Maguindanaons, and foster peace and camaraderie.
3. The National Government, the Local Government Unit, National Commission on Culture and the Arts, other government and non-government organization should take steps in promoting and preserving the richness of the Maguindanaon culture.

4. The Department of Education and Commission on Higher Education, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, National Commission on Culture and the Arts, National Commission on Muslim Filipinos, Department of Tourism, and the Philippine Information Agency should take necessary steps to disseminate Maguindanaon culture so as to change the way other people perceive the Maguindanaons in the country.
5. The Department of Education, through its curriculum developers, educational leaders, administrators, and teachers should consider integrating the study of Maguindanaon history and culture to the secondary education curriculum.
6. Teachers should consider having educational trips and extra-curricular activities which will show and teach the younger generation on some aspects of Maguindanaon culture like the playing of the “kulintang.”

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Teaching History through Heritage Walks and Food Trips

RANDY MADRID

University of the Philippines in the Visayas

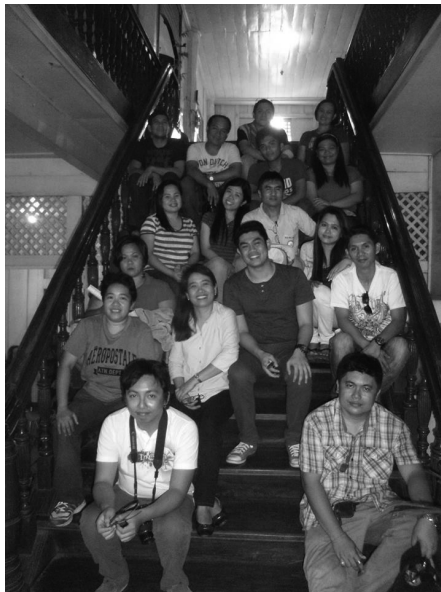


Abstract

Spanish Krausism, which heavily influenced Rizal's thoughts on nationhood, strongly advocated education beyond the classroom. The outside world is a potent learning platform in the performance of everyday realities, which mirror the society as a whole. Within this context this paper is framed to present a personal but not exclusive pedagogical approach in teaching history by utilizing a pragmatic methodology that is more phenomenological and experiential.

The locale of the study is the Central Philippine city of Iloilo, which is historically and culturally significant especially in the light of cultural heritage conservation and cultural tourism promotions taking place recently. More than these, the city is a fitting platform for teaching and learning history beyond the four corners of the classroom, and this paper presents the processes on how could this be done. Instead of the usual sightseeing tour, a guided walk through surviving heritage is undertaken with interesting short lectures that connect the present material culture with historic past. Intertwining historical realities with the present conditions provide more insights on the continuing threads of tradition beyond time and space. It is also vital in finding meaning by linking the narrative of memory and recall with the process of retelling and experiencing.

Significantly, food heritage also unravels Iloilo's grandiose past, thus, food tripping, which goes beyond tasting and experiencing on how they are cooked or made, is also finding meaning through historical connectivity and experiential journey through food habits and lifestyle, which define cultural identity. More so, the crossroad of diverse cultures through food and how it significantly molds the people's history provides a glimpse of heritage in this part of the country that is truly unique and historic.



Introduction

Culture experts agree that the only way to uncover the creative genius and fathom the fullest potential of Filipino well-being is to develop a way of seeing that enables him to connect to his authentic self and thereby revel in his inexhaustible power and energy.¹ Accordingly, the authentic Filipino cultural identity can only emerge the moment one begins to view himself not through foreign eyes but through the vantage point of his own experiences, needs, perceptions, worldviews, and value systems. In the Philippine setting, however, educational orientation and commercialistic mass media tend to quash subjectivist extrapolation as simply anachronistic discourse and instead push for self-seeking and materialistic attitude towards things.²

Cultural education initiatives, therefore, should stem from experiences of Filipino traditional communities, which view the pedagogical process more holistic and not fragmented.³ A Panay Bukidnon child is not simply imitating the skill of his parents in chanting the epics but unconsciously absorbing the ways of his community and even the social and moral values accruing to them. In short, this type of integral learning builds human character and spiritual strength. In the same way, the highly structured and too technical Western-inspired Philippine educational system should learn from more interactive, integrative and truly meaningful communitarian approach among indigenous groups. Instead of exclusively centering learning in the artificial confines of the classroom, whereby the students turn out to be abstracted intellectuals receiving ready-made knowledge from the teacher, who is likewise an abstracted intellect and a transmitter of abstract knowledge, pedagogical techniques employing community-oriented paradigms and perspectives aptly lessen erudite attitudes and encourage appreciation of diversity and plurality of cultural upbringings and orientations.

Multiculturalism calls for non-political approaches in teaching history as envisioned by French historian, Lucien Febvre in the 1940s and echoed in the world-wide vision of history by UNESCO in the contemporary times. For Febvre, national history on political basis (as it is taught everywhere), will never reconcile the various peoples. The challenge, therefore, is to

create possibilities of a new kind of teaching—a pedagogy, which will be consecrated to peace.⁴ Such proposal is profoundly amplified in the UNESCO Report on Education for the 21st century, which has been drawn up between 1993 and 1996. As the document elaborates:

Worldwide solidarity also means overriding the inward-looking tendency to focus on one's own identity in favor of an understanding of others based on respect for diversity... education should therefore seek to make individuals aware of their roots so as to give them points of reference that enable them to determine their place in the world, but it should also teach them the respect for other cultures. Some subjects are of crucial importance in this regard. History, for instance, has often served to bolster the sense of national identity by highlighting differences and extolling the sense of superiority, essentially because history teaching was based on non-scientific outlook... knowledge of other cultures leads, then, to an awareness of the uniqueness of one's own culture but also an awareness of the heritage common to all humanity.⁵

The non-political approach posed a challenge to historians and teachers of history given the strong empirical emphasis of the discipline to processes of nation building through the construction of a national narrative. Nevertheless, this scenario significantly influenced the production of a more theoretically informed historical writing, which is a vital alternative to descriptive and expository type of history that is no longer adequate enough to answer the complex questions of time and space in the present times. Moreover, the elements of temporariness and fluidity, which characterized non-monolithic and hybrid cultures require methodological approaches that are radical shifts from traditional historical linearity. These include decolonizing history, history of the articulate and what Indian historians aptly called subaltern history⁶. As Mary Ryan puts it:

Excursions into other disciplines are particularly healthy, if not essential, exercises for historians, because our academic specialization lacks an explicit foundation in theory and

method, is a cluster of scholarly projects originating in particular times and disparate places, and is now divided into multifarious topical fields as well.⁷

The multiversity of non-political approaches in teaching history transformed public history into a social movement. As Barbara Franco defines it, public history is the “history for the public, of the public, by the public, and with the public.” Franco, however, cautioned that each reposition changes the meaning of the relationship of history and public especially on the domain of historical practice. As Franco points out:

Public history is history in action and sometimes re-enacted. It is history in usable, tangible, and visible forms that evoke personal and often highly emotional responses. The historiography of public history is not found in journal articles but can be read in outdoor museums, historic districts, collection of artifacts, and festivals.⁸

There is a disparity between the history taught in the academia with that of public history practice, which in the words of John Kuo Wei Tchen, “overlapping but different set of tools.”⁹ The narratives of academic historians, however, can hardly be understood by common people. Thus, bridging the best of two worlds is a tough challenge though Diokno reminds that to be a good public historian one must first be an academic historian equipped with knowledge and mastery of the tools of trade.¹⁰ The U.S. National Council for Public History, likewise, reinforces this idea by defining public history as “a movement, methodology and approach that promotes the collaborative study and practice of history” by academic and non-professional historians alike in order to bring history to the public.¹¹ The role, therefore, of public historians is to serve as mediator between academic history and the public which require new sets of skills and attitudes that can be learned through proper training and exposures.

Making History Public: Heritage Walks and Food Trips in Iloilo

Public history as a pedagogical approach is not a new thing in historical discourse. Spanish Krausism, a cultural movement in 19th century Spain,

espoused teaching history outside the four corners of the classroom.¹² Drawing its philosophical foundation from the teachings of Karl Friedrich Krause, a German thinker of age, Spanish Krausism also advocated religious tolerance and academic freedom, and believed to have inspired emancipatory writings of 19th century free thinkers like Jose P. Rizal. The Instituto Libre de Enseñanza, a formative school founded by Giner de los Rios, a Spanish Krausist, significantly provided the framework for the progress of liberalism in Spain and its colonies, including the Philippines.¹³

Like the Krausists who took a different approach in teaching history by making it more phenomenological and experiential, this study highlights the experiences of public historians in the Central Philippine city of Iloilo. The choice of Iloilo as the locale of the study is both providential and intentional after considering the cultural renaissance the city has undergone in relation to heritage governance and tourism development in recent years, making it one of the most livable cities in the world. The theoretical ramification is heavily anchored on the idea of connectivity between the past and the present. History, therefore, is not a settled record of the distant past but an imaginative creation stimulated by and focused on contemporary interests. In short, historical facts only arise in the present and are designed to serve present interests.¹⁴ As Italian historian Benedetto Croce points out: "... the practical need is at the bottom of every historical judgment and confers upon every history the character of contemporary history."¹⁵ Even though the facts that pertain may seem chronologically distant or very remote, in reality history always refers to the needs of the present situation." After all, history, as Edmund Jacobitti summarizes it:

... is always and necessarily a selective interpretation of events, an interpretation that arises only because of some pressing question in the present; and that question can be answered in terms that address the interests, concerns, and problems of contemporary readers. The past, therefore, takes on a different meaning to different investigators and lends itself to different explanations as present interests unfold. Like events and interests in our own past, those in history acquire different meanings and require different interpretations as time passes ...

interpretations will constantly change because the interpreters stand always in the midst of history ...¹⁶

The Iloilo experience employed heritage walks and food trips as potent approaches to promote public history. In the Philippine context, heritage walks are offshoots of sight-seeing tours that are both educational and entertaining. These tours are mostly organized by schools to enable their students to have a real time experience of the places, events, and things of special interests discussed in the class. While sight-seeing tours cater the exploratory curiosities of its student-clients by interfacing them with visual spectacles of places they visited, heritage walks are more intimate and tactile. It is also more informative and interactive especially with the presentation of valuable historical data and tidbits. Heritage walks also utilized lots of storytelling, which makes it more exciting, as well as provides an opportunity for the students to explore historic districts by foot, admire local artistic expressions, and taste local flavors. At present, the most popular in the country are the Old Manila Walks conducted by Carlos Celdran and Ivan ManDy, both of whom have made domestic tourism more alive by giving unknown historic spaces meanings through careful research, thus developing a pride of place.¹⁷ ManDy, for instance, specializes in Intramuros and San Miguel tours although he is well sought for his food tour of Binondo and the Chinese Cemetery tour where participants can marvel at eclectic and flamboyant funerary architecture and learn ancient Chinese customs for the dead.¹⁸ On the other hand, A Walking and Talking History, conducted by Michael Charleston “Xiao” Chua is a painting-by-painting or artifact-by-artifact tour through galleries, museums, and other historic places in Manila. Sometime ago, Chua awed audience with his eloquent delivery of well-researched and unbelievably true stories about personages and events that shaped Philippine history. Today, he has stepped out of TV screen to give his participants a more interactive experience through historically informative heritage walks.¹⁹

The bounty of Philippine food heritage marked the birth of gastronomic tour packages, which in turn propelled numerous food trips. The so-called Kulinarya food trips brought in the flavors of different regions in the country.²⁰ From north to south, homegrown culinary wonders continue to fascinate many Filipinos especially on the stories that went along from

plate to the palate. After all, culinary heritage goes beyond food tasting to include complete understanding of food culture and history including food habits and practices.

The use of heritage walk and food trips in pedagogy as exemplified by the Iloilo experience utilized research platforms. First, in referring to heritage sites visited by students, it employed Zygmunt Bauman's view of a community as a feeling than a demographic. The community is a metaphorical space in which people feel a sense of belongingness to a collective and trust in their acceptance by that collective.²¹ A walk to heritage sites means "a return to a sense of essential being in the face of feelings of emptiness and isolation in the modern age" and thus can be related to a broader concern of identity or one's sense of self. Hall (1996) defines identity as "about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming than being: not who we are or where we came from, so much as we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves."²² As Matthews (2000) puts it: "identity is the ongoing sense the self has of who it is, as conditioned through its ongoing interactions with others ... it is how the self conceives of itself, and labels itself."²³

Second, the Iloilo experience employed three major themes in heritage walks and food trips: connectivity in a multicultural community, past forward to present, and engaging the past through heritage.

Connectivity in a Multicultural Community. The burgeoning metropolis of Iloilo is an entrepot of diverse cultures—the most pronounced is the Chinese presence, which is felt in governance and economy. Chinese presence, however, is also vital element of local history, thus served as the highlight in a walking tour and food fare around Molo district, the 19th century Chinese quarter. The heritage walk and food trip are considered an intercultural performance in urban setting with the students (often multicultural) interacting on the stories about the role of provincial Chinese mestizos in the historical development of Iloilo City. Students asked questions on how the Chinese came to Iloilo, how they became active in the local economy, and their role in the growth of the weaving and sugar industries from 18th to 19th centuries. Public historians delivered short lectures in four major heritage sites with strong connections to Chinese

mestizo history: Santa Ana Church, whose biblical paintings have been executed by Chinese mestizos, church construction and bell casting by Chinese masons and artisans, and was visited by Dr. Jose P. Rizal, a Chinese mestizo, on his way from Dapitan to Manila in 1896; Molo Mansion, once the site of the grandiose house of Don Lucio Lacson, a Chinese mestizo who started as textile magnate turned sugar planter; Casa Rizaliana, the ancestral house of Lazaro family with substantial collection of Rizal's memorabilia; and Panaderia Molo, a 19th century bakeshop for a taste and historical stories about homemade biscuits and the famous noodle soup—Pancit Molo.²⁴

At the Molo Mansion, students had a first hand experience of Chinese mestizo lifestyle in the 19th century upon entering a lofty manor or plantation house with multiple rooms for various family and social functions, and toured the spacious manicured lawns and backyard, which could accommodate numerous guests during special occasions. On the other hand, students get a chance to wear a Filipiniana attire and take pictures once inside the Casa Rizaliana.

At Panaderia de Molo, public historians narrate stories on the connection of age-old homemade biscuits with the Chinese masonic construction of Santa Ana Church and how Pancit Molo was accidentally invented by the Locsin. The exciting gastronomic fare ends with stories on how Spanish-sounding biscuits such as *banadas*, *broas*, *hojaldres*, *rosquettes*, *biscocho de cana*, and *biscocho de principe* got their names despite Chinese mestizo tastes.

Past Forward to Present. This is a tour on foot at Calle Real, 19th century Iloilo's most popular thoroughfare and central business district. The walk brings the students to surviving pre-war commercial establishments like the following: Botica China, noted for its imported medicines and beauty regimens; Kong Kee, famous for its delicious siopao; Dainty and Summer House, popular pre-war restaurants in town; and Buho, the iconic bakeshop where you actually get your hot bread from the hole on the wall.²⁵ The walk is also accompanied by interesting short lectures and stories on surviving 19th century architecture which dotted Calle Real: commercial establishments, trading centers, consular offices, a custom house, the first branches of Bank of Philippine Islands and Philippine

National Bank (outside Manila). Public historians also tells stories on how Ilonggos went shopping in the past. The walk is highly recommended for architecture and engineering students and cultural heritage enthusiasts but also the ordinary layman.

The Calle Real walk features interactive discussions on the role of Iloilo in the 19th century Philippine inter-island trade especially after the boom of the weaving industry (Iloilo as the textile capital of the Philippines) and the opening of its port to international shipping and commerce that sprurred the development of sugar industry and its rapid urbanization as a modern city. Public historians highlight the so-called “performance ecology” by pointing on how various actors (local, national, transnational, and global) interacted and performed in constructing the Ilonggo community.

Engaging the Past through Heritage. This type heritage walk exposes the students to the glory days of the Jaro district. Along with Iloilo, Jaro was one of the cities established by the Spaniards in Panay in the late 19th century. It was the seat of the diocese which extended as far as Zamboanga in Mindanao. The walk commences in the famous shrine of Our Lady of Candles at the Jaro Cathedral where public historians tell stories of miraculous healing of the sick as well as Pope John Paul II visit in the 1980s. This is followed by a short review of the famous personages who are native of the place—from Graciano Lopez Jaena to Fernando Lopez. The highlight of the walk is a visit to heritage houses built by sugar planters like those owned by the Lopezes, Ledesmas, Montinolas, Arguelleses and capped with short but well-researched lecture on the rise and fall the sugar industry in Western Visayas.²⁶ Students are allowed to have a glimpse of Jaro’s bygone days with stories of opulence and grandeur of the Lizares Mansion, Nelly’s Garden, Sanson-Montinola Antillan House, and the famous Casa Mariquit of Fernando Lopez. There is also a sidetrip to the newly-restored Art Deco building, which once housed the Jaro Municipal Hall and Jaro Police Station.

Food heritage explorations complete the Jaro walk with a taste of pre-war pandesal ni Pa-a of Jaro Bakery, which is believed have been the place where Ilonggo revolutionaries took their breakfast before they made their siege of Iloilo in December 1898. This is followed by a visit at Deocampo’s

Barquillos (established in 1898), and Jaro's best Biscocho Haus and Rosy's Pinasugbo. This food trips do not only allow students to have a taste of what the district can offer but also spice by entertaining stories that are gastronomically and cerebrally satisfying.

Conclusion

Historical education in the digital age challenges us to explore efficient and exciting platforms that stimulate learning outside the four corners of the classroom. The employment of heritage walks and food trips as experimented and experienced by public historians in the Central Philippine city of Iloilo proved to be successful especially in providing meaning to historical texts thus link the narrative of memory and recall with the processes of retelling and experiencing. Learning became a performance and so was the storytelling that provided more insights on the continuing threads of tradition beyond time and space in a phenomenological and experiential manner.

Food trips, likewise, unravels Iloilo heritage beyond the simple way of tasting and experiencing by making students find meaning between historical connectivity and experiential journey. This way cultural identity, that is unique and historic is successfully defined.

Notes

1. Felipe de Leon, "Defining the Filipino Through the Arts: From Specialistic Innocence to Participatory Consciousness," *Philippine Humanities Review* 16, no. 1 (2014): 29. See also Kenneth Boulding, *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1956).
2. According to De Leon, the Philippine educational system, which remains colonial rather than culturally appropriate causes a great loss of cultural energy and contributes to alienation from the community. De Leon, "Defining the Filipino," 17-18.
3. The communal character of Philippine traditional cultures centers on the integration of the arts with other values and functions, unity of the arts in the integration of artistic sensibilities, integration of the arts with everyday life and not regarded as a separate activity, equal opportunity for participation in the artistic and creative process, use of accessible resources for artistic

creations, emphasis on the creative process than the finish product, and simultaneity of conception and realization as an affirmation of creative imagination. De Leon, "Defining the Filipino," 33-35.

4. Gilbert Allardyce, "Toward World History: American Historians and the Coming of World History Course," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 31.
5. Jacques Delors: Education: Learning the Treasure Within (Paris, UNESCO, 1996), 49.
6. Ranajit Guha, "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," *Subaltern Studies II*, Ranajit Guha, ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), 2.
7. Ryan as cited in Drew Faust, Hendrik Hartog, David Hollinger, Akira Iriye, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Nell Irvin Painter, David Roediger, Mary Ryan and Alan Taylor, "Interchange: The Practice of History," *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 600.
8. Barbara Franco, "Public History and Memory: A museum Perspective." *The Public Historian* 19, no. 2 (1997):65-66.
9. John Kuo Wei Tchen, "Back to the Basics: Who is Researching and Interpreting for Whom," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (1994): 1009.
10. Maria Serena Diokno, "Changed Meanings in the Practice of History," *Journal of Philippine Local History and Heritage* 1, no. 1 (2015): 15.
11. National Council on Public History (NCPH), "What is Public History?" Accessed 20 April 2016. <http://ncph.org/cms/what-is-public-history/>
12. The educational program espoused by Spanish Krausism strove to promote the love of nature. There were frequent outings, field trips and bicycle tours. Raul Bonoan, S.J., "Spanish Krausism and Rizal," *Philippine Studies* 40, no. 3 (1992): 309.
13. Bonoan, "Spanish Krausism," 311-317.
14. Edmund Jacobitti, "Preface," *Composing Useful Pasts: History as Contemporary Politics* (Albany, New York: New York State University Press, 2000), ix-x.
15. Croce as cited in Jacobitti, "Preface, ix-x.
16. Jacobitti, "Preface," x.
17. "Carlos Celdran-Walk this Way," Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://celdrantours.blogspot.com>, and "Old Manila Walks," Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://www.oldmanilawalk.com>.

18. "Ivan Man Dy-Old Manila Walks," Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://www.oldmanilawalks.com/specialists.htm>.
19. "Walking History/Its Xiaotime!," Accessed 20 April 2016, xiaochna.net/2012/08/12/walking-histor/ and "10 Fun Walks and Tours to Help You Rediscover ..." Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://www.spot.ph/things-to-do/57301/10-walks-and-tours-for-rediscovering-metro-manila>.
20. "Kulinarya Food trips," Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://www.tourism.gov.ph/Pages/KulinaryaFoodTrips.aspx>.
21. Zygmunt Bauman, *Community* (Oxford: Polity, 2001) and David Block, *Multilingual Identities in a Global City* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006), 25.
22. Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?" *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Stuart Hall and Paul du Guy, eds. London: Sage, 1996), 4.
23. Gordon Mathews, *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for a Home in a Cultural Supermarket* (London: Routledge, 2000), 16-17.
24. "Cultural Heritage Tour of Iloilo/Inquirer..." Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://lifestyle.inquirer.net/168347/cultural-heritage-tour-of-iloilo>.
25. "Calle Real Archives-Explore Iloilo," Accessed 20 April 2016, <http://www.exploreiloilo.com/label/calle-real/>
26. "Jaro Iloilo on Foot: A Solo Walk!" Accessed 20 April 2016, [wordpress.com/2013/05/27/jaro-iloilo-on-foot-a-solo-jaro-walk-iloilo-walk-tour-series/](http://biagkensiak.wordpress.com/2013/05/27/jaro-iloilo-on-foot-a-solo-jaro-walk-iloilo-walk-tour-series/)

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Paggamit ng Primaryang Batis sa Paglinang ng Pang-unawa at Interpretasyong Pangkasaysayan

ANA-LIZA ANI BOJOCAN

Katuwang na Propesor, University of the East (Manila)



Paggamit ng Primaryang Batis sa Paglinang ng Pang-unawa at Interpretasyong Pangkasaysayan (*Using Primary Sources in Developing Historical Comprehension and Interpretation*)

Two classes from a regular public school participated in this study. The Experimental Group was taught using primary sources in history while the Control Group experienced the traditional method in history teaching. The study investigated if there were significant differences in historical comprehension and interpretation of students who had experienced the traditional and alternative (use of primary sources) methods of teaching. The research investigated if there were significant differences in historical comprehension and interpretation pretest-posttest mean scores of the Experimental Group. The paper also determined if there was significant relationship between historical comprehension and interpretation in each class. Students answered an examination (pretest and posttest) focusing on historical comprehension and interpretation applied to the topic, Japanese Imperialism in the Philippines. Interviews were conducted with selected students as sources of information. The results indicated that using primary sources had improved students' historical comprehension and interpretation. The results also suggested that the use of primary sources in teaching history had strengthened the relationship between historical comprehension and interpretation. Based on the data collected and analyzed in this study, using primary sources in history teaching improve the students' historical comprehension and interpretation.

Introduksyon

Sa Pilipinas, layon ng pag-aaral ng kasaysayan sa Grado 5 na maipakilala sa mga batang mamamayan ang karanasan ng mga Pilipino sa pagbubuo ng bayan, nasyon, at estado. Bago ang pagpapatupad ng K to 12 Curriculum, hindi bahagi ng pag-aaral ang mga impormasyon ukol sa disiplina ng kasaysayan tulad ng sistema ng pananaliksik ng mga historyador at ang mga sangguniang ginagamit sa pangangalap ng impormasyon. Kritisismo sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan ang pagiging nakababagot sapagkat nakasentro sa pagsasaulo ng mga pangalan, petsa, at pangyayari (Reguindin & Elumbre, 2008 at Maminta & Nuñez, 2008). Nangingibabaw sa silid-aralan sa elementarya ang tradisyunal na pamamaraan ng pagtuturo sa kasaysayan (Maminta & Nuñez, 2008). Sa tradisyunal na paraan ng pagtuturo, iisang tugon ang inaasahan mula sa mga bata (Tan, 2004).

Isinulong ng Bradley Commission on History in Schools ang pagtuon sa makabuluhang tema at tanong, lampas sa pagmememorya ng mga detalye sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan. Sa akda ni Tan (2004), tinukoy niya na nakakamit ang tunay na pagkatuto kung nauunawaan ng bata ang disiplinang pinag-aaralan. Maaaring matuto ukol sa mga pamamaraan sa kasaysayan ang mga mag-aaral (VanSledright, 2010). Importanteng bahagi ng pagkatuto ng mga bata ang karanasan (Ellis, 2007).

Ang mga primaryang batis ay mga sanggunian sa kasaysayan na mula sa panahong tinatalakay. Ilang halimbawa ng batis ang mga panayam, dokumento, o iba pang artifact mula sa panahong pinag-aaralan. Paraan ang paggamit ng mga batis sa paglinang ng mga kaisipang kasanayang pangkasaysayan (Dutt-Doner, Cook-Cottone, & Allen, 2007 at Fischer, 2011). Maaaring gawing alternatibo sa lektura at teksbuk ang paggamit ng primaryang batis (Barton, 2005). Sa tulong ng mga batis, nagkakaroon ng direktang ugnayan sa nakaraan ang mga mag-aaral (Scott nasa Yarema, 2002).

Iba't ibang kategorya sa kaisipang kasanayang pangkasaysayan ang tinalakay ni Nash (1997)—kronolohikal na pag-iisip, pang-unawang pangkasaysayan, pagsusuring pangkasaysayan at interpretasyon,

kakayahan sa historikal na pananaliksik, at pagsusuri at pagpapasya sa mga isyung pangkasaysayan. Ang pang-unawang pangkasaysayan ay tumutukoy sa kakayahang suriin ang iba't ibang pangyayaring tinatalakay. Marapat na magkaroon ng kakayahan ang mga bata na ilapat sa kinabibilangang pamayanan ang mga natutunan (Tan, 2004). Sa tulong ng pagsangguni sa iba't ibang batis ay higit na nalilinig ang pang-unawa ng mga mag-aaral. Ang mga nakatala ang mga kinakailangang kakayahan ng mga mag-aaral kaugnay sa pang-unawang pangkasaysayan: (1) pagtukoy sa awtor o pinagmulan ng batis, (2) pagbalik sa literal na kahulugan ng mga pahayag (sa pamamagitan ng pagtukoy sa mga impormasyon tulad ng mga tauhan, pangyayari, lugar, at epekto), (3) pagtukoy sa sentral na tanong na tinutugunan ng batis (layunin, perspektibo), (4) pag-unawa sa pagkakaiba ng katotohan at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan (habang kinikilala ang ugnayan ng dalawa), (5) paggamit ng imahinasyon sa pagbabasa ng mga batis pangkasaysayan, (6) pagkilala sa iba't ibang pananaw sa kasaysayan, (7) paggamit ng mapang historikal upang mangalap ng impormasyon, (8) paggamit ng mga biswal at datos, at (9) paggamit ng iba't ibang batis (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Ang interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ay ang kakayahang bigyang-kahulugan ang mga impormasyong tinalakay. Kailangang maranasan ng mga bata ang pagsusuri sa mga batis upang makabuo ng sariling interpretasyon (VanSledright, 2010). Ang mga kinakailangang kakayahan sa pang-unawang pangkasaysayan ay kinakailangan din sa interpretasyon. Ang mga sumusunod ang mga kakayahang kaugnay sa pagsusuri at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan: (1) pagkumpara sa magkakaibang ideya, pagpapahalaga, pag-uugali, institusyon sa pamamagitan ng pagtukoy sa mga pagkakatulad at pagkakaiba, (2) pagsaalang-alang sa magkakaibang pananaw, (3) pagsuri sa sanhi at bunga, (4) pagkumpara sa mga isyu batay sa panahon at lugar, (5) pagkumpara sa opinyong walang batayan at sa hypothesis na nakabatay sa ebidensyang historikal, (6) pagkumpara sa magkakaibang salaysay na historikal, (7) pagsubok sa mga argumentong tumutukoy sa katiyakan ng mga pangyayaring historikal, (8) pagtingin na ang interpretasyong historikal ay pansamantala at maaring magbago, (9) pagtaya sa mga debate ng mga historyador ukol sa mga magkakaibang interpretasyon sa nakaraan, at (10) pagbuo ng hypothesis ukol sa impluwensya ng nakaraan (National Center for History in the Schools, 1996).

Layunin at Metodolohiya ng Pag-aaral

Layon sa pananaliksik na mabatid kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ng mga mag-aaral na sumailalim sa pagtuturong tradisyunal at ang pagtuturong ginamitan ng primaryang batis. Siniyasat sa pag-aaral kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa *pretest-posttest mean scores* ng Grupong Eksperimental. Layon ng pag-aaral na matukoy kung mayroong makabuluhang ugnayan ang pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ng mga mag-aaral mula sa magkahiwalay na pangkat.

Ang mga mag-aaral na kalahok sa pananaliksik ay mula sa dalawang seksyon sa Grado 5 sa isang regular na pampublikong paaralan sa Bulacan. Matapos isagawa ang *pretest* at matukoy ang *comparability* ng dalawang pangkat sa aspekto ng pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan, nagkaroon ng *toss coin* upang maitakda ang Grupong Eksperimental (GE) na gumamit ng primaryang batis sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan at ang Grupong Kontrol (GK) na sumailalim sa tradisyunal na paraan ng pagtuturo. Mayroong 45 mag-aaral sa GE habang 43 mag-aaral ang kabilang sa GK.

Ginamit sa pag-aaral ang *mixed-methods design* kung saan magkasama ang kwalitatibo at kwantitatibong pamamaraan sa pananaliksik. *Nonrandomized control group pretest-posttest design* na isang halimbawa ng *quasi-experimental design* ang inilapat sa pag-aaral sapagkat hindi maaaring gumamit ng *random assignment* para sa pagbuo ng dalawang klase. Ang *p value* na nakalap sa mga datos ay ikinumpara sa $\alpha = 0.05$ upang matukoy ang *statistical significance*.

Instrumento

Ang lahat ng instrumento sa pananaliksik na ito ay sinuri ng isang historyador, propesor sa edukasyon, at guro sa elementarya upang mabatid ang kaakmaan sa Grado 5. Ang mga instrumento sa pananaliksik ay nakasulat sa Wikang Filipino na itinakdang wikang panturo ng DepEd para sa HEKASI.

Pagsusulit

Ang lahat ng batang kalahok sa pag-aaral ay nagsagot ng *pretest* at *posttest* na ginawa ng mananaliksik. Nakabatay sa *Philippine Elementary*

Learning Competencies (PELC) ang mga paksang nilalaman ng pagsusulit habang nakabatay sa *Historical Thinking Standards* ang mga kasanayan sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan. Binuo ng 50 aytem ang pagsusulit kaugnay sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ukol sa paksang “Imperyalismong Hapones sa Pilipinas.” Binuo ng 18 tanong ukol sa pang-unawa at 32 tanong ukol sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ang pagsusulit. Ang bahaging *multiple choice* ay may kabuuang 40 puntos (14 ang aytem sa pang-unawa habang 26 ang aytem sa interpretasyon). Ang *open-ended questions* ay may kabuuang 10 tanong (apat na puntos sa pang-unawa habang anim na puntos sa interpretasyon).

Bago pasagutan sa GE at GK ang pagsusulit, nagkaroon ng *pilot testing* sa isang klase sa Grado VI sa parehong paaralan. Layon ng *pilot test* na matukoy ang *reliability* ng bahaging *multiple choice* at mabatid ang *inter-rater reliability* ng tatlong guro na nagmarka sa bahagi ng *open-ended questions*. Natagpuan na ang resulta ng kompyutasyon para sa KR_{20} ay 0.93 na nangangahulugang mataas ang *reliability* sa bahaging obhetibo (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006). Sa resulta ng kompyutasyon sa *Cohen’s Kappa coefficient* (Guro 1 & 2, 1 & 3 = 0.72; Guro 2 & 3 = 0.77), maituturing na *good* ang *reliability* sa pagmamarka ng tatlong guro (Landis & Koch, 1977).

Banghay Aralin

Binuo ng 11 leksyon ang banghay aralin na inihanda para sa GE at GK. Partikular na nagkaiba ang dalawang *set* ng banghay aralin dahil sa paggamit ng mga primaryang batis sa GE. Pangunahing batayan ng mga batis na ginamit sa GK ang teksbuk na ipinamahagi ng DepEd. Lektura ang karaniwang tuon sa paraan ng pagtuturo sa GK habang pagsusuri sa mga batis ang gawain sa GE.

Gabay na Tanong sa Panayam

Ang mga tanong sa panayam ay ukol sa mga araling tinalakay sa klase kaugnay sa “Imperyalismong Hapones sa Pilipinas.” Dagdag sa mga tanong ukol sa paksa ang ilang aytem ukol sa kasanayan sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan. Makikita sa Talahanayan 1 ang ilang tanong sa panayam.

Talahanayan 1. Ilang Halimbawa ng Tanong sa Panayam

1. Paano nalalaman ang mga nangyari sa panahong nakalipas (halimbawa noong digmaan)?
2. Bakit nagkakaroon ng magkakaibang pananaw sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan?
3. Bakit sinakop ng mga Hapones ang Pilipinas?
4. Paano namuhay ang mga Pilipino noong digmaan?
5. Paano lumaya ang Pilipinas?

Mga Gawain Bago ang Pagtuturo

Humingi ng pahintulot ang mananaliksik sa mga kinauukulang tanggapan ng DepEd upang maisagawa ang pananaliksik sa paaralan. Humiling ng pahintulot sa *UP Integrated School (UPIS)* upang magamit sa pag-aaral ang *UPIS Teacher Evaluation Form (Grades 5-10)* at *UPIS Classroom Observation Form*. Isinagawa ang ebalwasyon ng guro sa elementarya, propesor sa edukasyon, at historyador sa mga instrumento na inihanda ng mananaliksik para sa pagtuturo. Pinasagutan at sinuri ang resulta ng *pilot test* sa isang klase sa Grado 6 sa paaralang pinagganapan ng pananaliksik upang matukoy ang *reliability* sa obhetibong bahagi at ang *inter-rater reliability* ng pagmamarka ng mga guro sa bahagi ng *open-ended questions*.

Upang matukoy ang *comparability* ng dalawang seksyon sa Grado 5 na kalahok sa pananaliksik, isinagawa ang pagpapasagot at pagsusuri sa resulta ng *pretest*. Inilapat sa resulta ng *pretest* ang *t-test for independent means* upang mabatid kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ang dalawang pangkat bago ang pagtuturo ng mananaliksik.

Natagpuan sa resulta ng pagsusulit na walang makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pang-unawa ang GE ($M = 3.67, SD = 1.81$) at ang GK ($M = 3.58, SD = 1.80$) sa $t(86) = -0.22, p = 0.83$. Walang makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ang GE ($M = 7.62, SD = 2.59$) sa GK ($M = 7.58, SD = 2.66$) sa $t(86) = -0.07, p = 0.94$. Samakatuwid,

ayon sa resulta ng *t-test for independent means*, ang dalawang pangkat ay walang makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan bago ang pagtuturo ng mananaliksik. Isinagawa ang *toss coin* upang matukoy ang GE at GK.

Pagtuturo at Pangangalap ng Karagdagang Datos

Isinagawa ng mananaliksik ang pagtuturo sa GE at GK sa loob ng 15 sesyon. Bawat klase ay may 40 minuto upang pag-aralan ang kasaysayan sa loob ng limang araw sa isang linggo. Kapwa pang-umaga ang klase sa GE at GK. Bagamat magkaiba ang silid-aralan ng mga klase, halos magkasing-laki lamang ang mga silid. Pinag-aralan ng dalawang pangkat ang mga aralin na itinakda ng DepEd. Parehong nagsagawa ng pagtataya at kasunduan ang dalawang pangkat na regular na bahagi ng kanilang pag-aaral ng HEKASI. Nasa Talahanayan 2 ang paksa at pamamaraan na ginamit sa GE.

Talahanayan 2. Paksa at Pamamaraan sa Pagtuturo ng GE

Paksa	Pamamaraan
Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig	laro: Bulung-bulungan; pagsusuri sa bahagi ng pahayag ni M. Quezon
Pananakop ng Hapones sa Pilipinas	pagsusuri sa propaganda leaflet; lektura
Labanan sa Bataan at Corregidor	panonood ng dokumentaryo; pagsusuri sa doggerel, mapa, talahanayan
Ikatlong Republika	laro: pagtatayo ng tower; pagsusuri sa poster
Kilusang Gerilya	pakikinig sa awit; pagsusuri sa propaganda material
Pamumuhay ng mga Pilipino	pagguhit ng poster batay sa nakalathala sa pahayagan; pag-uulat
Kalagayang Pangkabuhayan	laro: Halina't Bumili; lektura
Patakaran sa Edukasyon	pagbuo ng venn diagram; lektura
Kalagayan ng Kababaihan	pagsusuri sa bahagi ng pahayag ni Lola Rosa; talakayan
Kalagayan ng Sining at Panitikan	pagkukumpara sa magkatunggaling propaganda
Kalayaan ng Pilipinas	pakikinig sa awit; lektura

Upang matiyak na walang pagkiling ang mananaliksik sa alinmang pangkat sa pag-aaral, nagkaroon ng obserbasyon ang ilang guro mula sa paaralan. Inilapat ang *Mann Whitney U test* upang suriin kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pagtuturo at pakikitungo ang mananaliksik sa dalawang pangkat. Ang resulta ng *Mann Whitney U test* ay $z = -0.03$ na hindi makabuluhan sa $p < 0.05$. Samakatuwid, walang makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pagtuturo ng mananaliksik liban sa nilalaman ng banghay aralin ayon sa obserbasyon ng mga gurong tagamasid.

Matapos ang pagtuturo sa dalawang pangkat, pinasagutan sa mga mag-aaral ang *posttest*. Upang mabatid ang impresyon ng mga mag-aaral sa pagtuturo ng mananaliksik, pinasagutan ang Ebalwasyon sa Pagtuturo. Pinamahalaan ng isang guro mula sa paaralan ang pagpapasagot sa ebalwasyon upang hindi maimpluwensyahan ng mananaliksik ang pasya ng mga bata. Inilapat sa markang ibinigay ng mga bata ang *Mann Whitney U test* upang mabatid kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa ebalwasyon ng dalawang pangkat sa mananaliksik. Ayon sa resulta, mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa ebalwasyon ng mga mag-aaral sa $z = -5.62$, $p < 0.05$. Sa kabilang banda, sa bahagi ng ebalwasyon kung saan maaring magkomento ukol sa kalakasan at kahinaan ng pagtuturo ng mananaliksik, natagpuan na hindi gaanong nagkakaiba ang dalawang pangkat. Positibo ang tugon ng mga bata sa pagtuturo ng mananaliksik sa kanilang klase. Isang puna ng gurong namahala sa pagpapasagot ng ebalwasyon na sa kabila ng kanyang pag-isa-isa at pagpapaliwanag sa mga aytem, mayroon pa ring mga batang hindi makasunod sa panuto. Sapangkat ito ang unang pagkakataon na tumugon sa anumang uri ng ebalwasyon sa guro ang dalawang pangkat, kinakitaan ng kalituhan ang ilang bata sa pagmamarka (nagkapalit ang marka ng ilang mag-aaral, ang pinakamataas ay napunta sa pinakamababa) ayon sa guro. Idinagdag ng guro na sa panahon na pinasagutan ang ebalwasyon, ang ilang mag-aaral ay hindi pa gaanong sanay na magsulat.

Kapwa inatasan ang dalawang klase na magsagawa ng panayam sa isang piling lolo o lola na nakaranas ng mga kaganapan sa Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Ang panayam ay ginawa sa panahon ng bakasyon sa Kapaskuhan.

Ang resulta ng *posttest* ang batayan ng mananaliksik sa mga mag-aaral na naging kalahok sa panayam. Limang mag-aaral na may pinakamataas na

marka at limang mag-aaral na may pinakamababang marka sa pagsusulit mula sa magkahiwalay na pangkat ang kabilang sa panayam. Sa kabuuan, 20 mag-aaral ang kinapanayam ng mananaliksik sa iisang opisina sa paaralan.

Bilang pagsasaalang-alang sa etika ng pananaliksik, matapos ang pangangalap ng mga datos ay ipinabatid ng mananaliksik sa mga mag-aaral na sila ay naging bahagi ng isang pag-aaral. Ang mga kagamitan at ilang babasahin ukol sa pagtuturo gamit ang primaryang batis ay ibinigay sa guro ng mga mag-aaral upang magamit sa pagtuturo sa mga bata.

Resulta ng Pag-aaral

Makikita sa Talahanayan 3 ang *mean score* at *standard deviation* sa *posttest* ng dalawang pangkat.

Talahanayan 3. *Mean Score at Standard Deviation sa Posttest*

Pangkat	GE (N=45)		GK (N=43)	
	<i>Mean Score</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Mean Score</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Pang-unawa (18 aytem)	6.44	2.53	4.67	2.28
Interpretasyon (32 aytem)	13.78	5.30	11.44	3.96

Pang-unawang Pangkasaysayan: Kwento ng mga Lola at Lolo

Inilapat ang *t-test for independent means* sa resulta ng *posttest* sa GE at GK upang matukoy kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pang-unawang pangkasaysayan ang dalawang pangkat. Batay sa resulta ng *t-test*, natagpuang mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba ang marka ng GE ($M = 6.44, SD = 2.53$) sa GK ($M = 4.67, SD = 2.28$) sa $t(86) = -3.46, p = 0.001$. Samakatuwid, mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa pangkat na gumamit ng primaryang batis at sa pangkat na ginamitan ng tradisyunal na pagtuturo. Higit na mataas ang marka ng mga batang gumamit ng primaryang batis sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan.

Batay sa panayam, nagkaroon ng papel ang mga bata sa pangangalap ng impormasyon ukol sa nakaraan. Bahagi ng kanilang gawain para sa

klase ang pakikipanayam sa isang lolo o lola na nakasaksi sa digmaan. Halimbawa ang pahayag ni E6 kaugnay sa kanyang kakilalang maaaring mapagkunan ng impormasyon sa pananakop ng Hapones.

Tulad po sa nainterview ... sa nainterview ko pong lola na sinabi po sa akin kung paano po ang paghihirap nila sa pakikipaglaban.

Dagdag na batis na binanggit ni E6 ang karanasan ni Lola Rosa noong digmaan. Ang batis ay mula sa pahayag na mula sa aklat na isinulat ni Lola Rosa na binasa sa klase.

Tulad po sa ginawa po ng mga Hapones. Lola Rosa po ... Yung ano po ... araw araw daw po, marami po sa kanyang gumagahasa.

Bagamat mababa ang marka ni E6 sa *posttest*, mahihinuha na naunawaan at naalala ng mag-aaral ang mga batis na tinalakay sa klase. Sa kanyang kaso, naging epektibo ang paggamit sa salaysay ng isang *comfort woman* (Lola Rosa) upang magunita ang karanasan ng kababaihan sa gera. Tulad ni E6, si E3 ay nagpahayag ng mga halimbawa ng batis na maaring pagkunan ng detalye ukol sa nakaraan. Ang lahat ng binanggit na batis (papel/polyeto, magasin, at dyaryo) ni E3 ay ginamit sa pagtuturo sa GE. Tinalakay ng klase ang ilang piling bahagi ng mga polyeto, magasin, at dyaryo na inilabas noong digmaan. Mapupuna sa sagot ni E3 na natutukoy niya ang pinagmulan ng mga batis (sa pinamimigay nilang gamit sa propaganda).

Sa mga pinapakalat po nila po nilang propaganda ... Sa mga pinapamigay po nila ... Dun sa ano ... sa mga papel po... Sa mga po... sa mga magasin po ... Sa mga dyaryo po ...

Ang mga mag-aaral sa GE at GK ay kapwa nakapagbigay ng mga halimbawa ng batis sa kasaysayan. Gayunman, kapuna-puna ang higit na malawak na ideya ng GE sa mga maaring pagkunan ng impormasyon. Sa kabilang banda, ang GK ay nanatiling nakabatay sa teksbuk kayat limitado ang kanilang ideya ukol sa mga maaring pagkunan ng impormasyon sa nakaraan. Itinugon nina K2, K3, at K4 (pawang may pinakamatataas na

marka sa GK) ang batis kung saan maaring makakuha ng impormasyon ukol sa nakaraan.

Sa libro po ng HEKASI.

Dagdag na batis sa nakaraan ayon kina K2 at K4 ang *computer* (*internet* ang tinutukoy ng mga bata) na kanilang gamit sa pangangalap ng impormasyon. Ayon kay K4, makukuha ang nakatalang detalye sa *computer*. Kapuna-puna sa GK na ang pangunahin (at sa ibang kalahok, natatangi) nilang batis ay pawang sekundaryang sanggunian (teksbuk at mababasa sa *internet*).

Yung mga ... picture po nung mga ginawa para sa pagsakop ng Pilipinas tsaka po yung pagpaparusa sa mga Pilipino.

Sa resulta ng pagsusulit, natagpuan na higit na mataas ang bahagdan ng mga mag-aaral sa GE na nakakuha ng wastong sagot ukol sa halimbawa ng mga primaryang batis ukol sa gera. Bagamat parehong tinalakay sa klase ng GE at GK ang mga paksang nakaugnay sa tanong sa pagsusulit, lumabas na higit na tumimo sa isipan ng mga kabilang sa GE ang mga aralin. Sa obserbasyon ng mananaliksik, higit na naiugnay ng mga bata ang sarili o sa karanasan ng kanilang kakilala ang pag-aaral ng kasaysayan sa tulong ng mga batis. Halimbawa, sa tanong ukol sa kalagayan ng kababaihan sa gera, higit na mataas ang bahagdan ng mga bata sa GE ang nakasagot nang tama kumpara sa GK. Kung babalikan ang paraan ng pagtuturo sa dalawang paksa, ang GE ay tinuruan sa pamamagitan ng pagbasa sa bahagi ng pahayag ng isang *comfort woman* habang ang GK ay ginamitan ng lektura. Sa karanasan sa pagtuturo sa GE, naiugnay ng mga bata sa karanasan ng kanilang lola at lola ang hinarap na pagsubok ng mga *comfort women*. Sa katunayan, nagbigay ng pamamaraang ginamit ng kanilang lola upang makaiwas sa pambibiktima ng Hapones ang mga mag-aaral. Naging aktibo ang papel ng GE sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan, una sapagkat narinig nila ang boses ng mga lola mula sa nakaraan at ikalawa, naiugnay nila ang karanasan ng kani-kanilang lola at lola sa mga nangyari sa nakaraan.

Kapwa tinalakay sa GE at GK ang mga konseptong tulad ng "*Mickey Mouse Money*" at "kolaborador." Gayunman, sa pagsusulit, malaki ang pagkakaiba sa bahagdan ng mga mag-aaral na nakakuha ng tamang sagot sa tanong kaugnay sa kahulugan ng dalawang termino; higit na mataas

ang bahagdan ng GE kaysa GK. Isang obserbasyon ukol sa resulta ang karanasan ng mga bata sa GE kung saan kanilang inilapat ang taglay na *prior knowledge* mula sa mga naunang aralin upang suriin ang mga batis na bahagi ng gawain sa klase. Sa kabilang banda, isang puna ng mananaliksik ang pagbalik-aral sa mga naunang tinalakay ng mga bata sa GK kapag malapit na ang pagtataya. Sa sistema sa tradisyunal na paraan ng pagtuturo kung saan sentral ang papel ng teksbuk at lektura, limitado ang pag-ugnay ng mga bata sa mga tinalakay na pangyayari.

Inilapat sa marka sa pang-unawang pangkasaysayan ng GE sa *pretest* at *posttest* ang *t-test for correlated means* upang matukoy kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa resulta ng *pretest* at *posttest* ng mga mag-aaral. Batay sa *t-test for correlated means*, mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa *pretest* ($M = 3.67, SD = 1.81$) at *posttest* ($M = 6.44, SD = 2.53$) sa $t(44) = 7.67, p = <.0001$.

Sa pamamagitan ng mga batis na ginamit sa klase, nabigyan ng pagkakataon ang mga mag-aaral na iugnay ang kanilang sarili sa nakalipas. Kailangang makita ng mga bata ang kanilang kaugnayan sa mga batis sa kasaysayan (Massich & Muñoz mula sa Dutt-Doner, Cook-Cottone, & Allen, 2007). Sa bahagi ng panayam ukol sa batis kung saan makakukuha ng impormasyon ukol sa nakaraan, tinukoy ng mga bata ang mga lolo o lola na maaring tanungin ukol sa nakalipas. Personal nilang nakadaupangpalad ang mga saksi noong digmaan sa katauhan ng kanilang lolo o lolang kinapanayam. Batay sa sagot ng mga mag-aaral, sila ay may kakayahang mangalap ng datos mula sa mga nakasaksi. Sa sagot ni E4, ipinaliwanag niya ang dahilan kung bakit matatanong ang mga lolo o lola ukol sa nakaraan.

Kasi po nung buhay pa po sila, makikita po nila ang mga nakaraan kung ano ang nangyari.

Ipinahayag ni E2 ang dahilan kung bakit maaaring itanong ang mga nangyari sa mga “taong naiwan.”

Mga tao po ... Yung mga nakasaksi po... [sa] Nangyari.

Ginawang alternatibo sa teksbuk at lektura sa pagtuturo sa GE ang paggamit ng mga batis. Kalakip sa pagtuturo gamit ang mga batis ang mahahalagang tanong upang magabayan ang mga mag-aaral sa pagsusuri

sa mga batis. Sa tulong ng mga batis sa klase, direktang narinig o nakita ng mga mag-aaral ang tinig at karanasan ng mga tao sa nakalipas. Isang halimbawa rito ang aktibong pag-awit at pagsuri ng mga bata sa “Bayan Ko” na isa sa mga umiral na awitin sa panahong pinag-aralan. Sa tulong ng awit at mga kaugnay na larawan, mapa, at ibang kagamitan, ang mga mag-aaral mismo ang “nag-imbetiga” sa mga naganap sa nakaraan. Sa tulong ng mga larawan at pahayag, nakita at napakinggan ng mga mag-aaral ang mga nakasaksi sa digmaan.

Interpretasyong Pangkasaysayan: Magkakaibang Perspektibo

Ginamit sa pagsusuri sa resulta ng *posttest* ng GE at GK ang *t-test for independent means* upang matukoy kung mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ang dalawang pangkat. Batay sa ginawang *t-test*, ang GE ($M = 13.78, SD = 5.30$) ay mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa marka ng mga mag-aaral sa GK ($M = 11.44, SD = 3.96$) sa $t(81) = -2.35, p = 0.02$. Ipinahihiwatig ng resulta na mayroong makabuluhang kaibahan ang marka ng mga mag-aaral sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan. Higit na mataas ang marka sa interpretasyon ng mga mag-aaral na gumamit ng primaryang batis sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan.

Natagpuan sa sagot nina E10, K7, at K9 (pawang kabilang sa may pinakamababang marka) ang pagtanggì sa pagkakaroon ng magkakaibang salaysay ukol sa nakaraan. Mahalagang konsiderasyon sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan ang pag-unawa na mayroong pagkakaiba sa pananaw sa kasaysayan sapagkat sa araw-araw, ang mga bata ay humaharap sa maraming bersyon ng kwento. Ayon kay E10, may dahilan kung bakit pareho ang kwento ng mga lolo at lola.

Kasi po pare-parehas po silang nandon ... nung nakikipaglaban po sila.

Ayon kay K7, batay sa naaalala ng saksi ang pare-parehong kwento ukol sa nakalipas. Sa palagay ni K9, mula sa kwento ng sundalo ukol sa gera ang iisang bersyon ng kwento. Sa kaso nina E10, K7, at K9, hindi natagpuan ang kakayahan sa interpretasyon ng pananaw sa kabila ng kanilang edad sa panayam (11 pataas sa panayam). Higit na maraming mag-aaral sa GE

ang nakapagpaliwanag sa sanhi ng pagkakaiba ng pananaw sa nakaraan. Ayon kay E2, may motibo ang Hapones sa kanilang bersyon ng kwento.

Dahil po pinapaniwala nila ang kanilang mga kababayan [Hapones] sa nangyari noon... Yung kanilang kabutihan po.

Sa pahayag ni E4, masasalalim ang pagpapahalaga ng mag-aaral sa papel ng tauhan at ang implikasyon nito sa pagkakaiba sa pananaw.

Kasi po yung Hapones po, sila po yung nanakop... yung sundalong Pilipino, sila po yung sinasakop... Gusto po ng mga Hapones, kumampi po sa kanila yung mga Pilipino para po makalaban ang Amerika... Kumampi po sa kanila ang mga Pilipino.

Kaugnay sa karanasan ng tauhang pangkasaysayan ang tugon ni E3.

Kasi iba-iba po yung nakaranas non... Yung gerilya po ano... andami pong namatay... kaysa sa mga Hapones... tumatawa na lang po sila... Kasi po magkaiba po sila ng ginagawa.

Ipinaliwanag ni E1 kung paano naapektuhan ng pagpapasa ng kwento ang pananaw sa pangyayari sa nakaraan.

Pagsasalin-salin po ng kwento... Dahil may iba po na parang nadadagdag ... Mga opinyon po.

Sa GK, ipinaliwanag ni K2 na ang kwento mula sa iba ang dahilan sa pagkakaiba ng inilahad. Bagamat hindi ipinaliwanag ng mag-aaral, mayroon siyang pagsasaalang-alang sa sanggunian ng impormasyon.

Kasi po ano... iba... iba po siguro yung naano po nila... naano po... na kwento... nalaman na kwento po. Kasi po... kasi po siguro po kinwento lang po yun.

Kaugnay sa sagot ni K2, naniniwala si K6 na nagkakaiba ang kwento sapagkat iba-iba ang pinanggalingan ng mga salaysay.

Kasi po ano... kasi... naikwento po sa kanila nung mga ano...
nagkwento sa kanila... mga magulang nila.

Isang mahalagang obserbasyon ng mananaliksik sa resulta ng panayam ang higit na maraming kaso ng miskonsepsyon sa GK. Kinakitaan ng miskonsepsyon sa mga pangyayari sa kasaysayan sina E7 at E8 mula sa GE habang sina K2, K3, K5, K6, K7, K8, at K9 sa GK. Sa sagot ni E7, paulit-ulit na lumabas ang kanyang pagkalito sa mananakop noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig.

Sumugod ang mga Espanyol... Para kuhanin ang yaman... Ng mga Pilipino po... Para po makuha ang yaman ng Pilipinas.

Sa pahayag ni E8, maiisip ng mga tao kung paano nangyari ang nakaraan bagamat hindi niya maipaliwanag kung paano. Pinalawak ni K7 ang layunin ng Hapon sa pananakop at ang papel ng mga Amerikano sa kalakalan kasama ang mga Hapones (Amerika ang isa sa mga kalaban ng mga Hapones noong gera). Itinuring ni K7 na likas na yaman ang pera.

Kuhanin po ang likas na yaman... Mga pera po tapos yung mga ginto... Kukuhanin po nila yung mundo... Para po sila ang yumaman... Pagbebenta po ng iba... tapos pepresyuhan po... Mga armas po... [Kanino sila magbebenta ng armas?] Sa Amerikano po... Para po yumaman ang mga Hapones.

Sa pahayag ni K8, ang Commonwealth ang sanhi ng pananakop ng Japan sa Pilipinas. Hindi maipaliwanag ng mag-aaral kung ano ang kaugnayan ng Pamahalaang Komonwelt sa pananakop ng Hapones. Batay sa sagot nina E7 at K8, ang kanilang kaalaman ukol sa mga nakaraang paksa na tinalakay sa Una at Ikalawang Markahan (Pananakop ng Espanyol at ang Pamahalaang Komonwelt) ang kanilang paulit-ulit na pinagkunan ng ideya. Bagamat pinag-aralan sa klase ang mga araling itinanong sa panayam, hindi natukoy ng mga mag-aaral ang tamang konteksto kaugnay sa mga tanong. Mapupuna na nalito ang mga bata sa iba't ibang yugto sa kasaysayan ng bansa. Sa kaso ng dalawang bata, kinakailangan ang paglilinaw sa kronolohiya ng mga kaganapan upang maitama ang konteksto ng kanilang mga ideya. Tinukoy nina K2, K6, at K7 ang mga

Hapones bilang tagapagpalaya ng Pilipinas. Makikita ang kalituhan ni K2 sa mga pangyayari habang digmaan at pagkatapos ng labanan. Sa sagot ni K2, pinalaya ng mga Amerikano ang Pilipinas sa tulong ng batas na itinaguyod ng Amerika. Tinatalakay ng kanilang klase ang Parity Rights sa panahon ng panayam.

Mga Amerikano... Nagkaroon po ng Parity Rights.

Sa salaysay ni K2, natapos ang gera dahil nagkasundo ang mga Hapones at Pilipino.

Nagkasundo po ang Pilipinas at... Pilipino... ay... Pilipinas at tsaka po ang Japan... Kung ano... kung kakalaba... ay... kakaawayin nila yung Amerikano... sa kanila na kakampi. Yun na... dun na po sila... Wala na pong kaganapan... ay wala na pong mangyayaring gera.

Sa hindi maipaliwanag na dahilan, pinalaya ng mga Hapones ang Pilipinas ayon kay K6. Sa tugon ni K7, ang mga Amerikano at Hapones ang nagpalaya sa Pilipinas gayong magkalaban noong gera ang dalawang bansa. Mayroong kapalit ang pagpapalaya ng mga Hapon sa Pilipinas ayon kay K7.

Pag... pinahirapan po yung Pilipinas. Tapos po, yung iba po, pinapatay... May kinuha... may ipinalit po yata sa paglaya ng Pilipinas... Tao rin po kaso hindi ko po alam ang pangalan.

Labis na kapangyarihan ng pangulo ang inilahad ni K3. Bukod sa nabanggit, tinukoy ng mag-aaral ang isang pangyayaring hindi naganap sa Pilipinas.

Dahil po sa Ikatlong Republika... [Paano yon nangyari?] Si Manuel Roxas po ay ano... nakipag-usap po sa mga Hapones na... na palayain ang mga Pilipino po.

Si Manuel Quezon ang nagpalaya sa Pilipinas ayon kay K5. Hindi wasto ang pahayag ni K5 sapagkat bago lumaya ang Pilipinas ay namatay na si Manuel Quezon sa Amerika. Hindi angkop ang paglapat ng mga mag-aaral sa mga ideyang kanyang natutunan sa mga tinalakay.

Sa obserbasyon ng tagamasid matapos ang kabuuan ng pagtuturo sa GE at GK, higit na aktibo ang mga mag-aaral sa GE. Mas malalim ang kanilang mga tanong sa mga paksang tinalakay kumpara sa GK na sa palagay ng guro ay nagtatanong lamang upang makapagtanong, bagamat walang kaugnayan sa mga paksa. Sa obserbasyon ng guro, higit na masigla ang partisipasyon ng mga mag-aaral sa klase sa tulong ng paggamit ng primaryang batis.

Sinuri gamit ang *t-test for correlated means* ang marka sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa *pretest* at *posttest* ng mga mag-aaral sa GE. Batay sa *t-test for correlated means*, mayroong makabuluhang pagkakaiba sa *pretest* ($M = 7.62, SD = 2.59$) at *posttest* ($M = 13.78, SD = 5.30$) sa $t(44) = 6.08, p = <.0001$.

Sa tulong ng mga batis na ginamit sa klase, nagkaroon ng pag-unlad sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan ng mga bata sa GE. Sa klase ay nagkaroon ng pagkakataon ang mga bata na magsuri sa magkatunggaling pananaw ng mga tauhan sa kasaysayan (Amerikano at Hapones). Bahagi ng gawain sa GE ang mga babasahin, awit, at larawan na mula sa magkabilang panig. Sa panayam, tinukoy nina E3 at E5 ang mga panlabas na salik na nakaapekto sa kalagayan ng mga Pilipino (pag-abandona ng mga Amerikano at pagmamalabis ng mga Hapones).

E3: Nahirapan po sila sa gutom... Kasi po sabi po ng ano... ng Amerikano, dadalhan daw po tayo ng mga pagkain at armas.

E5: Pinagkukuha po kasi ng mga Hapones ang mga ano po nila... mga aning palay.

Natutunan ng mga bata sa klase na ang mga pangyayari ay maaaring magkaroon ng iba't ibang sanhi. Magkakaibang tugon sa hirap at gutom noong gera ang tinukoy ng mga bata sa panayam. Nabatid ng mga mag-aaral sa mga lolo at lola na nakaranas ng digmaan ang mga sagot na kanilang ibinahagi.

E1: Tumatakas kapag wala ang mga Hapones

E3: Nagtago sa bundok

E4: Nagtanim sa mga bakuran

E5: Naging gerilya; kumampi sa Hapones

E6: Pakikipaglaban

E10: Nagtago kung saan-saan

Mahihinuha sa sagot ng mga bata sa GE na mayroon ng mas malawak na ideya ng sagot ng mga bata; hindi na sila nakakulong sa konsepto ng “iisang tamang sagot.” Sa katunayan, sa kaso ni E5, makikita na magkaiba at magkasalungat ang kanyang pagtukoy sa hakbang ng mga Pilipino noong gera. Natagpuan sa mga datos na ang madalas na paggamit ng mga primaryang batis ay makalililang sa interpretasyong pangkasaysayan (Wineburg nasa Dutt-Doner, Cook-Cottone, & Allen, 2007).

Korelasyon ng Pang-unawa at Interpretasyong Pangkasaysayan

Inilapat sa datos na nakalap sa *posttest* ng GE at GK ang kompyutasyon sa *Pearson's r value* upang matukoy ang korelasyon ng pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa dalawang pangkat. Batay sa resulta ng *Pearson's r*, mayroong *strong positive correlation* ang pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa GE ($r = 0.65$) habang ang GK ($r = 0.43$) ay mayroong *moderate positive correlation* (Levin, Fox, & Forde, 2010). Makabuluhan ang ugnayan ng pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa GE ($r = 0.65$) sa $t(43) = 5.61, p = 0.000001$ habang ang korelasyon ng pang-unawa at interpretasyon sa GK ($r = 0.43$) ay makabuluhan sa $t(41) = 3.05, p = 0.004$. Batay sa resulta at pagsusuri sa *Pearson's r value*, higit na makabuluhan at mas malakas ang ugnayan ng pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa klaseng ginamitan ng primaryang batis sa pagtuturo.

Sa resulta ng panayam, natagpuan ang higit na malawak na pagsusuri ni E1 sa sanhi at epekto ng mga pangyayari sa kasaysayan. Kumpara sa sagot ni K1, sinuri ni E1 ang higit na maraming aspekto ng pamumuhay ng mga Pilipino noong gera. Sa tanong na “Ano ang kalagayan ng pamumuhay ng mga Pilipino noong gera?” ay nagbigay ng magkaibang tugon sina E1 at K1.

- E1: (1) Yung iba po, pag wala po yung mga Hapones, tumatakas na po... Ano po... para tulungan po yung mga gusto pa rin po lumaban.
- (2) Yung mga asawa po nila, nawala sa kanila ... Sumali po sa gerilya.

(3) Yung iba po nagnanakaw... Mahirap po kasi.

(4) Meron pong kumampi... Sa Hapones po.

K1: (1) Kumakain po sila ng kamote po... Pagtatanim po... Mga kamote po tsaka mga... para po may makain.

(2) Naghirap po... Ano po... kinukuha po ng mga Hapones yung mga babaeng ... babaeng Pilipina po... Tapos po, ano po, nagkaroon po ng comfort women.

(3) Nagugutom po... Kasi po pinapasabog po ng mga Hapones yung mga pananim ng mga Pilipino po.

Aktibo ang papel ng mga Pilipino batay sa pagtingin ni E1 habang tila pasibo at tagatanggap lamang ng mga pagsubok ang mga Pilipino sa pananaw ni K1. Sa tulong ng mga batis na ginamit sa klase, napalawak ang ideya ng mga bata sa GE kung paano susuriin ang mga sanhi at bunga ng piling pangyayari.

Konklusyon at Rekomendasyon

Ipinahihiwatig ng mga nakalap na datos sa pag-aaral na kapwa may kakayahang ang mga bata sa GE at GK na mahubog ang pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan. Gayunman, higit na naging epektibo ang paggamit ng primaryang batis sa pagtuturo. Sa tulong ng mga batis, naging pamilyar sa mga bata ang mga tinalakay na paksa, nagkaroon ng pagkakataon na mapalawak ang kaalaman ukol sa pinagmumulan ng impormasyon ukol sa nakalipas, mas maraming pagkakataon ang mga bata upang gamitin ang kanilang *prior knowledge* sa pamamagitan ng paglalapat ng kanilang kaalaman sa pagsusuri ng mga batis. Sa isinagawang panayam, higit na kaunti ang kaso ng miskonsepsyon sa mga tinalakay sa GE kumpara sa GK. Higit na naging epektibo sa pagtuturo ng magkakaibang sanhi at bunga ng mga pangyayari ang paraang ginamitan ng primaryang batis. Higit na makabuluhan at malakas ang ugnayan ng pang-unawa at interpretasyong pangkasaysayan sa GE. Ang interpretasyon ng mga bata sa panayam ay nakabatay sa kanilang nabuong pang-unawa sa paksa. Natagpuan na nagamit ng mga bata ang kanilang kaalaman ukol sa mga

pinag-aralan sa kanilang pagsusuri ng mga batis. Batay sa obserbasyon ng tagamasid na guro, higit na naging aktibo ang pakikilahok ng mga bata sa GE. Ayon sa guro, higit na malalim ang pagsagot at pagtatanong ng mga mag-aaral sa GE kumpara sa GK.

Batay sa resulta ng pananaliksik, ipinapanukala ang paggamit ng primaryang batis sa pagtuturo ng kasaysayan. Kinakailangang isaalang-alang ang paksa, anyo at wika ng batis, at ang pamamaraan kung paano ilalapat sa pagtuturo ang mga batis upang maging epektibo ang paggamit ng mga ito. Sa tulong ng madalas na paggamit ng primaryang batis na nilangkapan ng mga kaugnay at makabuluhang tanong, higit na makabuluhan ang nabubuong pang-unawa at interpretasyon ng mga mag-aaral.

Ipinapanukala sa pananaliksik na mabigyan ng kaugnay na pagsasanay ang mga guro upang magkaroon ng impormasyon kung paano maaaring gamitin ang mga primaryang batis sa pagtuturo sa mababang paaralan. Gayundin, malaki ang maitutulong ng mga historyador upang matukoy at maisalin ang mga batis na angkop sa elementarya (at hayskul).

Kung susuriin, ang pagtuturo ay isinagawa sa loob lamang ng 15 sesyon (ang dalawang sesyon ay inilaan sa *pretest* at *posttest*). Maiksing panahon lamang ang ginugol sa pagtuturo sa mga mag-aaral ngunit batay sa resulta ng pagsusuri sa mga datos ay naging makabuluhan ang pag-unlad sa pang-unawa at interpretasyon ng GE kumpara sa GK. Maaaring magsagawa ng mga kaugnay na pag-aaral na higit na mas malawak ang tuon sa aspekto ng panahon at paksa sa pananaliksik. Maaaring gumawa ng pag-aaral sa ibang konteksto ng mag-aaral (grado sa elementarya at antas sa hayskul) at paaralan (lokasyon sa syudad o ibang lalawigan; uri ng paaralan).

Natagpuan sa pag-aaral ang mababang marka ng mga mag-aaral mula sa GE at GK sa mga bahagi ng *open-ended questions*. Maaaring magsagawa ng pananaliksik upang higit na mapagtuunan ang pagsusulat ng kasaysayan ng mga mag-aaral. Gayundin, maaaring saliksikin kung paano nakaaapekto sa pagkatuto ng mga bata ang hindi paggawa ng mga aktibidad sa klase na iniaatas ng guro tulad ng kasunduan at proyekto.

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Mga Batis

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