

Philippine Folktales: An Introduction

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"The art of storytelling has been cultivated in all ages and among all nations of which we have any record; it is the outcome of an instinct implanted universally in the human mind." With this observation, Edwin Sidney Hartland opens his now classic work, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (Hartland 1891: 2). Filipinos share this love of storytelling, and this essay attempts to give an overall view of one form that the folk story has taken in the Philippine setting: the folktale. But before going any further, a clarification of terms is necessary.

In the Philippines and elsewhere, the term "folktale" has been used in a broad and literal sense to mean any short narrative in prose told orally among the folk. In this paper, however, "folktale" will be used to mean only fictional folk narratives in prose, following William Bascom's distinctions among "myth," "legend," and "folktale" given below:

Myths are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. They are accepted on faith; they are taught to be believed; and they can be cited as authority in answer to ignorance, doubt, or disbelief. Myths are the embodiment of dogma; they are usually sacred; and they are often associated with theology and ritual. Their main characters are not usually human beings, but they often have human attributes; they are animals, deities, culture heroes, whose actions are set in an earlier world, when the earth was different from what it is today, or in another world such as the sky or underworld. Myths account for the origin of the

world, of mankind, of death, or for the characteristics of birds, animals, geographical features, and the phenomena of nature. They may recount the activities of deities, their love affairs, their family relationships, their friendships and enmities, their victories and defeats. . . .

Legends are prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today. Legends are more often secular than sacred, and their principal characters are human. They tell of migrations, wars, and victories, deeds of past heroes, chiefs, and kings, and succession in ruling dynasties. In this they are often the counterparts in verbal tradition of written history, but they also include local tales of buried treasures, ghosts, fairies, and saints (Bascom 1965: 4-5).

Folktales are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction. They are not considered as dogma or history, they may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously. Nevertheless, although it is often said that they are told only for amusement, they have other important functions, as the class of moral folktales should have suggested. . . . A variety of subtypes of folktales can be distinguished including human tales, animal tales, trickster tales, tall tales, dilemma tales, formulistic tales and moral tales or fables (Bascom 1965: 4).

The Philippines have a rich and varied store of folk narratives. Their geographical location, the archipelagic nature of the country, the numerous ethnolinguistic groups to be found in it, and the various historical forces that have shaped the destiny of its people probably account for this richness and variety. "A glance at the map and at the history of the islands reveals the archipelago as a veritable ocean center of the streams of story" (Fansler 1937: 208).

COLLECTING ACTIVITIES

The richness of Philippine folktales is all the more impressive when one considers that the collecting of traditional narratives in the country began rather late. No collection was published during the more than three centuries of Spanish rule. The only folktale published during this period seems to be "The Tortoise and the Monkey," which Dr. José Rizal published in 1889, while he was in London, in a comparative study he made between this tale and a Japanese tale (Rizal [1889] 1959: 187-188).

We owe the first significant collections of folk narratives to American teachers assigned to the Philippines during the early part of the American Occupation. Berton Maxfield and W. H. Millington, assigned to Iloilo and Mandurriao, in Panay, published a total of 26 Visayan legends and folktales collected from their Filipino co-teachers and students (Maxfield and Millington 1906; 1907). Working among the Tagalogs, Fletcher Gardner collected and published a total of 23 folktales, 12 legends, 2 Tagalog versions of Cinderella, and one version of Aladdin (Gardner 1906; 1907). Another substantial collection of Tagalog legends and folktales was that compiled in 1908 by Lucetta K. Ratcliff, an American teacher assigned to Laguna. Circulated in manuscript form for some time under the title "The Laguna Sketchbook," the collection was later expanded and published in 1949 under the title "Filipino Folklore." As published, it contains 22 legends and 20 folktales (Ratcliff 1949: 259-289). Three folktales were published in 1908 by Clara Kern Bayliss (Bayliss 1908: 46-53).

The next group of significant collections came from American anthropologists working in the Philippines. Laura Watson Benedict's "Bagobo Myths" contained 8 heroic legends, 11 legends about the Buso "who haunt graveyards, forests, and rocks," and animal tales (Benedict 1913: 13-63). The husband-and-wife team of Fay-Cooper Cole and Mabel Cook Cole helped enrich existing collections. Fay-Cooper Cole's *Traditions of the Tinguian* (Cole 1915) contained mostly myths and 15 fables. Mrs. Cole's *Philippine Folk-Tales* (Cole 1916) contained 58 legends and folktales from 11 ethnolinguistic groups, thus becoming the first collection that aimed at a national representation. Claude Moss, working in the Mountain Province, published *Nabaloi Tales* in 1924, containing 117 tales.

But the most substantial and most scholarly collection of legends and folktales before the war was Dean S. Fansler's *Filipino Popular Tales* (subsequently referred to as FPT), containing 64 folktales and 18 legends collected from Christian Filipino students of the University of the Philippines from 1908 to 1914 (Fansler [1921] 1965). The tales were carefully chosen to display to advantage the richness and variety of tale types in the Christian Filipino folk narrative tradition. Just as interesting as the tales in the collection are the excellent comparative notes which Fansler provided for each tale. In these notes, Fansler cited all the variant forms and analogues (local and foreign) within his knowledge and pointed out possible influence and any striking motifs present in the tale.

Infinitely richer than this published collection, however, was Fansler's manuscript collection of about 4,000 folk narratives, which

he described briefly in an article published in 1937 (Fansler 1937: 208–209, 226–228). In this article, he tells us that he accumulated the tales in his manuscript collection over a period of twenty-eight years and that none of the versions in it duplicated those in his *Filipino Popular Tales*. Fansler ends his article with an assessment of the richness of his collection:

Deficient as it is, there is already available in English a wealth of manuscript material for an historical and comparative study of Philippine folk literature—a *corpus* of narratives that compares favorably in size and significance with that of any other Oriental country (Fansler 1937: 227–228).

But where is this rich collection? Part of it has survived and is safely housed in the Main Library, University of the Philippines, in Quezon City. However, it is to be regretted that only nineteen of the seventy-six individual collectors' volumes have survived. These are important, for they contain the full texts of individual tales. These nineteen surviving volumes contain a total of some 974 tales. Four other volumes, entitled "Bikol Folktales" (16), "Visayan Folktales" (30), "Tagalog Folktales" (70), and "Folktales on Supernatural Beings" (62) contain a total of 180 tales. So all in all, only 1,154 of the 4,000 texts of this manuscript collection have survived. The rest have not been totally lost, however, for luckily the four research tools that Fansler had prepared to help the student explore his collection have survived, and one of them contains the summaries of almost all the tales in the collection. These four research tools are:

1. "Story Patterns, Story Groups, Incidents, and Motifs in Philippine Folktales." (Subsequently referred to as SP.)
2. "Finding-List of Philippine Folktales" c. 1921–1922 (This contains brief but excellent summaries of 3,395 tales).
3. "Descriptive Index of MS and TS Collections of Philippine Tales and Traditions."
4. "Geographic Index of the Provinces and Municipalities in the Philippines from which the Individual Folktales in the Fansler Collection were Obtained or Reported."

Although the full texts, therefore, of about three-fourths of the collection have been lost, their summaries are still available in the "Finding-List" (Subsequently referred to as FLPF). Some of the collections are dated 1921 and 1922 and had been submitted as part of the require-

ments of English 16 and English 17 at the U. P.

One slender volume in the Fansler manuscript collection is entitled: "Philippine Folktales from the Beyer Collection of Filipiniana." This brings us to another manuscript collection that contains folk narratives of all kinds—H. Otley Beyer's "Philippine Folklore, Customs and Beliefs" in 20 volumes, which had been selected from a bigger mass of ethnographic data called "The Philippine Ethnographic Series," of 150 volumes. With Beyer's permission, Fansler went through this 20-volume collection listed all the legends and folktales to be found in them, and made abstracts and excerpts of more than 200 of them. The Beyer Collection is no longer in the Philippines but in Australia. Only stray carbon copies of parts of it have been preserved by Filipino co-workers of Beyer. A few papers from the collection are available in microfilm at the U. P. Main Library.

Of post-war collections, the first important ones came from the Mountain Province. Laurence L. Wilson ran a series of miscellaneous legends and folktales in the *Baguio Midland Courier* from 1947 to 1950. Then came Fr. Morice Vanoverbergh's excellent collections, "Tales in Lepanto Igorot or Kankanay as it is Spoken at Bauco" (1951-1952) and "Isneg Tales" (1955) and Fr. Francis Lambrecht's "Ifugao Tales" (1955; 1957). Roy Franklin Barton contributed *Mythology of the Ifugaos* (1955a) and "A Collection of Igorot Legends" (1955b). Working among the Manuvus in Mindanao, E. Arsenio Manuel came out with a collection of *Upland Bagobo Narratives* in 1961.

Since the early 1950s, the study of Philippine folk literature has attracted the serious attention of Filipino graduate students, and many of them have written their theses and dissertations on the subjects. In a wide-ranging survey prepared for the First National Folklore Congress held in 1972, E. A. Manuel evaluated some seventy theses and dissertations on Philippine oral literature (Manuel 1975: 12-93). About thirty-two of them contained collections of legends and folktales from all over the country. Although Manuel bewailed the fact that many of the student collectors failed to use correct field methods, these theses and dissertations added some 600 more legends and folktales to existing collections.

Since Manuel's survey, many more theses and dissertations have been written on oral literature. At the U. P. alone at least six master's theses and one dissertation brought together and classified the many scattered folk narrative collections among the Tagalogs of Oriental Mindoro (del Rosario 1975), the Cagayan Ibanags (Bangan 1976), the Ilocanos (Figueras 1977), the Tausug (Tuban 1977), the Maranaos (Adeva 1978), the Chavacanos (Semorlan 1979), and the Pangasinense

(Nelmida 1983).

Anthropologists and linguists have also collected folk narratives in the course of their field work. The collecting done by Donn and Harriett Hart is reminiscent of that done earlier by Fay-Cooper-Cole and Mabel Cook Cole and has been just as productive. The Harts collected folktales from three areas in the Visayas: Borongan, Samar (1955); Dumaguete City and Siaton, Negros Oriental (1965) and in Siaton again in 1979; and Compostela, Cebu (1979). I have no information as to the total number of tales the Harts collected, but the richness of their collection can be gauged by the fact that in two places alone (Borongan town and Barrio Lalawigan), they collected 454 tales in 1955 (Hart and Hart 1979: 310). From this rich harvest, they published the texts of only three Cinderella tales. To my knowledge, the Harts have not published the rest of their collected tales. The latest information we have of their collection is that "the tapes in Cebuano of tales collected in Compostela have been donated to the Cebuano Studies Center at the University of San Carlos, and tales collected in Siaton were left at Silliman University, Dumaguete City" (Hart 1980: 79).

The tales collected by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, on the other hand, have been made available to us. A special issue of *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* (Luzares and Hale 1978) carried 24 tales in 17 minority languages in Luzon, Palawan, Mindanao, and Sulu. One of their members, Hazel Wrigglesworth, later came out with *An Anthology of Ilianen Manobo Folktales* (1981).

A few more significant collections must be mentioned. In 1973, a very valuable pre-war collection entitled "A 1932 Collection of Sulu Folktales," by John H. Ziegler was published in *Sulu Studies 2* by Gerard Rixhon. The 24 folktales in the collection, all originally told in the Samal language, were collected and translated by Ziegler while he was principal of the Manila South High School Group in Tawi-Tawi, Southern Sulu. In 1977, Antoon Postma, SVD, described his collection of Mangyan folklore, which contained 153 folktales, of which he published the texts of six representative tales. Other significant collections published in the present decade are *A Treasury of Mandaya and Mansaka Folk Literature*, edited by Vilma May Fuentes and Edito de la Cruz (1980), *Mga Sugilanon sa Negros*, edited by Elena Maquiso (1980), and *The Four Friends*, edited by Fr. Clement Wein, SVD.

CLASSIFICATION OF PHILIPPINE FOLKTALES

Philippine folktales may be divided into the following groups: animal tales and fables; *Märchen*, or tales of magic; novelistic tales, or ro-

mantic tales; religious and didactic tales; humorous tales, subdivided into trickster tales and numskull tales; and miscellaneous tales.

Animal Tales and Fables

Philippine animal tales are, as Thompson says, "non-mythological stories in which human qualities are ascribed to animals, designed usually to show the cleverness of one animal and the stupidity of another. Their interest lies in the deceptions or the absurd predicaments into which the animal's stupidity leads him" (Thompson 1946: 9). Such are the familiar tales of "The Monkey and the Turtle" and "The Monkey and the Crocodile," which are trickster tales. In the Philippines, the animal trickster is usually a monkey, more often a turtle. The crocodile is always the dupe. In "The Monkey and the Crocodile" (FLPF 781a), the wife of a crocodile craves for the lungs of a monkey. So the crocodile inveigles a monkey to ride on his back. In mid-stream, the crocodile tells the monkey that he is going to get his lungs for his wife. Monkey: "My lungs! I have left them on the guava tree yonder . . . let us go back and get them." The crocodile returns to the shore: the monkey escapes and jeers at the crocodile. The crocodile then thinks of another way of capturing the monkey. When the monkey takes a bath, the crocodile seizes one of its legs, but again the wily monkey says: "Do not bite my cane, my friend crocodile. This is the only cane I have. Please let it loose." The crocodile releases the monkey's leg, believing that it is indeed but a cane, and the monkey escapes.

In "The Monkey and the Turtle," we have the monkey and the turtle alternately playing the role of trickster. In the first part of the tale, the monkey plays a trick on the turtle by climbing the turtle's banana tree and eating all its fruits, giving none to the turtle. The turtle retaliates by planting pointed snails or stakes around the trunk of the tree, so that the monkey in coming down either hurts himself badly or is killed. In versions where the monkey is not killed, the turtle plays more tricks on the monkey. The angry monkey finds the turtle under a pepper plant. The turtle tells the monkey not to strike him for he is guarding the king's fruits. The monkey asks for some and he burns his mouth badly. Again the monkey finds the turtle near a snake hole. The turtle asks him whether he would like to wear the king's belt. The monkey does, and the belt turns out to be a snake. These tricks are identical with those played by human trickster heroes, like Pelanduk and Juan Pusong.

Other animal tale patterns are the relay race (SP 18) and the trial among the animals (SP 462; AT 2042 A). In the first type, a slow and

weak animal wins a race against a swift and strong one. The tale is also intended to show the value of perseverance, the reward of meekness and teamwork, and the punishment of arrogance. Animal competitors in this type of tale are snail and deer, carabao and snail, horse and snail, turtle and lizard, monkey and snail, carabao and turtle.

Tales of the pattern "Trial among the Animals" also belong to what is called "clock" story or chain story. In this type of tale, an animal is brought before a judge for an offense. The investigation brings out a chain of events that finally leads to the discovery of the culprit. In a Kapampangan tale (FPT 60a), a bird accuses the frog before Sinukuan, the judge of animals, for being very noisy during the night. In the trial, it is revealed that

the frog cried for help because the turtle was carrying his house on his back;
the turtle was carrying his house because the firefly was playing with fire; and
the firefly was playing with fire to protect herself from the sharp-pointed dagger of the mosquito.

Since the mosquito did not have a good reason for carrying his dagger, he was sentenced to three days' imprisonment, during which he lost his voice. Since then the male mosquito has had no voice and has been afraid of carrying his dagger for fear of greater punishment. This tale type is given an interesting twist when the accuser turns out to be the culprit, as in the Manuvu tale, "The Lizard and Her Young One" (Manuel 1961: 546-547).

Fables

Another type of animal tale commonly found in the Philippines is the fable, which carries a moral applicable to humanity. The fable we are most familiar with, from our grade school readers, is "The Grasshopper and the Ant" (FLPF 2854). The grasshopper spends the plentiful summer months in gaiety and dancing while the frugal and industrious ant spends it working in the fields and storing grain. When the rains come and lay waste the ricefields, the grasshopper dies of starvation, but the ant survives. Two other examples of the beast fable may be cited:

"Eagle and Ant" (SP 35). Proud bird makes fun of hardworking ant, soars aloft, is struck by lightning, falls to ground as good meal for the ant and his friends (FLPF 3181).

"Horse and Carabao" (SP 37). Horse to carabao: "You work too hard. Feign sickness or madness tomorrow and the master will

not make you work.” Carabao follows advice; master makes horse do all of carabao’s work. Horse repents his interference (FLPF 1435).

The Märchen or Tales of Magic

Philippine *Märchen* are of great richness and variety. In his tale type index, Fansler identifies more than a hundred story patterns and dominant motifs in the *Märchen* in his collection. Considering the fact that Fansler’s collection did not include tales from the ethnic minorities, we can expect this figure to be bigger, now that many more folktales have been collected from such groups as the Isnegs, Ifugaos, Kankanays, and Kalingas of Mountain Province, and from the Maranaos, Tausug, Manobos, Mandayas, and Mansakas of Mindanao.

Many Philippine *Märchen* are local versions of internationally known folktales. In this introductory survey, it is possible to give only a small sampling of this big group. Among the most widely known tale patterns are the following:

1. The Helpful Monkey (Puss-in-Boots) (SP 115; AT 545B)
A poor but kindhearted hero is helped by an animal to win a beautiful and wealthy wife.
2. Swan Maiden (SP 74; AT 313; 400)
A man wins the love of a supernatural maiden by stealing her feather dress while she is bathing. He marries her and has a child by her. But one day while he is away, she finds her feather dress and flies away. He goes in quest of her, undergoes much difficulty, and recovers her only after accomplishing impossible tasks with the aid of friendly helpers.
3. Animal Spouse (SP 122; AT 402)
Typical example: “Chonguita” (FPT 29): The youngest of three sons of a king brings home a monkey bride. Disappointed king devises ways of getting rid of her by assigning tasks to his three daughters-in-law, but Chonguita does best in all tests. At a ball, husband is angered by Chonguita’s insistence that he dance with her and hurls her against the wall. Monkey changes into a beautiful woman.
Other tales of this type have: shell wife, crocodile husband, turtle wife, fish wife, monkey husband, frog wife, cat bride. In all these tales, the animal spouse is ultimately transformed into a beautiful princess or handsome prince.
4. The Indolent Husband (SP 131; AT 563)
An indolent husband / son obtains from friendly helper magic objects; a purse, a goat, a table, etc. but each in turn is stolen

from him by a deceitful friend, who substitutes counterfeit articles. Finally he is given a magic cane by means of which he recovers his magic objects and punishes the deceitful friend.

5. The Contending Lovers (SP 151; AT 653)

Type I: Three brothers go out into the world to seek their fortune, learn a trade, and meet again after nine years. By using their skills, they recover a kidnapped princess. They quarrel, each one claiming the reward.

(a) "The Three Brothers" (Ilocano; FPT 12a)

Solution: King gives them half his wealth, to be divided equally among them.

(b) "Three Brothers of Fortune" (Pangasinan; FPT 12b)

Solution: King divides princess into three parts and distributes parts to three brothers. The two elder brothers throw away their portions, but Suan, whose magic object has the power to unite parts into a whole, gets the parts discarded by his brothers and unites them to his own; marries the girl.

(c) "Pablo and the Princess" (Tagalog; FPT 12c)

Solution: Shooting contest; whoever shoots the banana heart (representing girl's heart) in the middle will marry her. The first two friends shoot; the third refuses to shoot at anything representing the heart of the princess. Marries her.

(d) "Legend of Prince Oswald" (Tagalog; FPT 12d)

Princess marries the old man who gave the three young men their magic objects. Later, old man transformed into a young prince.

Type II: A woman is "created" by the combined skills of:

a laborer, who sets up tree trunk as post,

a sculptor, who carves it into a woman,

a tailor, who dresses the figure,

a priest, who prays life into her,

Who shall marry her?

King's decision: None of them shall marry her; keeps woman for himself.

Solution in another variant:

First man becomes woman's father.

Second (third, etc.) man becomes woman's brother(s).

Last man becomes woman's husband.

From these international tale types, let us turn to a very widespread tale, "Carancal" (FPT 3; SP 148), which Fansler thinks is indigenous to Asia. The hero is named Carancal from the fact that he is

only one span (*dangkal*) long when born. He becomes extraordinarily strong and such a great eater that his parents are forced to get rid of him. Two attempts fail (causing a tree to fall upon him and making him dive in shark-infested waters). The hero realizes that he is not wanted and decides to travel after asking for a big bolo with which to protect himself. He meets three unusually strong men, overcomes them, and takes them along as companions. Carancal and his friends perform feats of strength. After each adventure, Carancal marries off one companion to a princess. Carancal himself remains a bachelor, the benefactor of his three companions who all become kings. Now rich, Carancal visits his parents and lives with them again.

More interesting and significant than the fact that we have in the Philippines many tales that are known internationally is the way these tales have been Filipinized. For instance, in many versions of the Cinderella story, the friendly helper is not a fairy godmother but the heroine's mother in the form of a crab. Moreover, the heroine is often shown washing clothes in the river, a very typical household task of Philippine village girls. Even the tasks given the heroine in one Samar version reflects the kind of hard work that barrio people have to do: pounding palay, slaughtering a pig and cooking it, etc. Other local touches may be noted. The hero is not always a prince or a king. In the Leyte version, he is "the son of the richest man in Baybay"; in another, just "a handsome young man." The meeting with the hero, likewise, does not always happen at a ball. In the majority of Philippine versions, it takes place in a church. In place of a coach and horses to take her to the ball, the heroine in a Samar version is given a golden calesa to take her to church.

In another well known and popular folktale of the Puss-in-Boots pattern, two striking modifications reflecting Philippine village life may be noted. The first is that in all Philippine variants of the tale, the helpful animal is always a monkey, just as it is always a cat in the French, German, and Italian versions. The second is the use of the borrowed rice measure as a trick to impress the king or father of the heroine with the wealth of the hero. Of foreign analogues examined, only in the Spanish version is this motif found, establishing a close relation between our tale and the Spanish version.

Novelistic Tales

The subgroup that Fansler calls "Novelistic Tales" corresponds to the subclass "Novelle" in Aarne-Thompson's *Types of the Folktale* and Katherine Briggs' *Dictionary of British Folktales* and to what Stith Thompson calls "Novella" in *The Folktale*. The novelistic tale

differs from the *Märchen* or magic tale in that in it there is no explicitly magical or supernatural element, whereas the *Märchen* contains or hinges upon supernatural happenings. In many tales of this group, human wit and intelligence, rather than magic and the supernatural win the day for the hero or heroine. Among the types of tales found in this subgroup are:

1. Tales featuring the clever peasant girl (SP 246; AT 875b). In "Sagacious Marcela," (FPT 7a), which tells the same story as the metrical romance *Cay Calabasa*, Marcela so impresses the king with her sagacity that he marries her to his son. She undergoes the following tests:

King asks Marcela to cook twelve dishes out of tiny bird.

Marcela sends king a pin and asks him to make twelve spoons out of it.

King sends sheep to Marcela asking her to sell it for six reales and to send back both money and sheep.

Marcela cuts off wool and sells it for six reales, then sends money and sheep back to king.

King asks Marcela to procure bull's milk to cure him.

Marcela tells king her father gave birth to a child; king thus sees absurdity of his order.

This clever heroine of a Kapampangan folktale has her male counterpart in such folktales as the Tausug "Abunnawas" (Ziegler 1932) and the Ata Manobo "Story About Lungpigan" (Luzares and Hale 1978: 91-99).

2. Tales about a clever heroine entrapping her suitors (SP 277; AT 1730). The virtuous and beautiful wife not only succeeds in protecting her virtue but also manages to get money from the suitors who are attempting to seduce her and to place them in disgraceful predicaments. Some Christian Filipino tales of this type have lustful priests and sacristans among the discomfited suitors and are obviously told to satirize such characters. From the Muslim groups come some excellent examples of the type, like the Samal tale, "The Seven Cabinets," in which the lady locks up her seven suitors in seven cabinets that she has ordered for the purpose. In the Maranao tale, "The Chaste Lady Who Outwitted Sinners," the heroine uses seven jars containing sticky syrup, flour, and feathers as hiding places for her suitors.

3. Tales about a humble hero who discovers a hidden princess and wins her by his intelligence (SP 242; AT 854). A typical example is the Kapampangan tale, "Is He the Crafty Ulysses?" (FPT No. 21), in which the intelligent hero finds the hidden princess by having a

golden carriage made and having himself carried in it into the chamber of the princess. He wins her love and marries her. This tale retells the story of a Tagalog metrical romance, *Juan Bachiller*.

4. Tales about the fidelity of lovers and the vindication of the innocent. A well known story pattern belonging to this group is the Chastity Wager (SP 250; AT 882), of which "The Golden Lock" (FPT No. 30) is a typical example. A nobleman makes a wager with a cynical young man that the young man cannot learn the secrets of his wife in fifteen days. By treachery and bribery of the wife's nurse, young man is able to obtain a golden lock from the wife's armpit. By her cleverness, however, the wife is able to get the young man to confess that he does not know her and has never seen her before. "The Golden Lock" is a folktale version of the Tagalog metrical romance, *Duque Almanzor*.

5. Tales in which three pieces of advice are bought and found correct (SP 257; AT 910). A typical example is given below:

Husband absent from wife a score of years earning fortune. Before returning home, he purchases three sentences from priest: (1) Longest way round is shortest way home; (2) Don't meddle with what does not concern you; (3) Think well before you act. By following these pieces of advice, he escapes robbers on journey home; saves from life-long punishment a woman under a spell; and refrains from killing his own son who he thinks is a stranger in the arms of his wife (FLPF 326).

It may be noted that three of the novelistic tales cited above also have *awit* and *corrido* versions, or they have been told in the form of long romances in verse. And indeed at the height of the popularity of *awits* and *corridos* in the Philippines in the 19th and early 20th centuries, there seemed to have been a free exchange of story material between the *awits* and *corridos* and the folktale. Fansler reports that fifty-four *Märchen* in his manuscript collection represent oral popular versions of 28 *awits* and *corridos*. Donn and Harriett Hart also report that some of the folktales they collected from Eastern Samar were called by the informants *bida*, which are stories of the adventures of royal personages in such kingdoms as Turkia, Portugal, Brazil, Moscovia, and Grandcairo" (Hart and Hart 1966: 314). Are these folktale retellings of metrical romances, or are they traditional folktales with romance versions? They are probably both. Popular folktales like the Cinderella story, Puss-in-Boots ("The Helpful Monkey"), and "Sagacious Marcela" (Cay Calabasa) came to be told in *awit* (romance) form when *awits* were at the height of popular favor. On the other

hand, traditional romance stories like *Rodrigo de Villas* and *Duque Almanzor*, printed in the vernacular and circulated as chapbooks, came to be told orally as folktales. It is apparent that this free exchange of story material enriched both the romance and the folktale traditions.

Religious-Didactic Tales

Philippine folktales in general are didactic. Even in tales predominantly romantic in interest, told primarily to entertain, like the Cinderella story, didacticism is apparent: goodness is rewarded, cruelty and selfishness punished. There is, however, a rather large group of folktales in which the entertainment function of storytelling is subordinated to the instructive function. Fansler labels this group "Religious and Didactic Folktales," describing them as

. . . tales told primarily for the moral instruction they convey. In a broad way, their purpose is to illustrate vividly the rewards of virtue and the punishments of vice and folly. They include exempla, religious fables, parables, and *Märchen* of an unmistakably didactic nature. Local saints legends are treated elsewhere. While some of these story patterns appear to be of fairly wide currency inside and outside the archipelago, many of them, as far as I have been able to determine, are unique or of very local circulation. ("Story Patterns . . ." p. 163).

Forty-one different story patterns of this type of tale were identified by Fansler. Typical of the exempla in this group is the story "The Parents and Their Son" (FLPF 921). In this tale, a pampered son grows up to be a bandit and later chief of a gang of robbers. One day the robbers capture the man's aged parents and bring them before him. He asks them to bend a guava sapling. They do so easily. He then asks them to bend a guava tree. When they cannot, he reveals himself to them and blames them for not having corrected him when young.

In the other variants of this tale, the central motif of the bending of the tree is preserved, but variations are introduced in the circumstances which bring the parents before their son. The endings also vary. In one variant (FLPF 1143), after the "bending the tree" demonstration, the son accuses his father of having brought him up badly, says he is responsible for his son's crime. He then shoots the father and joins a robber gang. Another variant (FLPF 2048), however, has a happy ending. The son does not become a bandit but becomes rich after fleeing from home. Years later, poverty brings

the father to the son's door. He does not recognize his son; the son recognizes his father but does not immediately reveal himself. Then one day he puts his father through the bent twig demonstration, after which he reveals himself, gently upbraids his father for his over-indulgence as a parent, and begs his father's forgiveness. The son makes his old father's last days happy.

Of religious fables, a typical example is the Ilocano folktale, "Domingo Bassit" (SP 187), in which a little child, seeing a crucifix for the first time, thinks Christ is a little child like him:

Pitying it, he calls it "Little Brother," takes it out, feeds and clothes it. Crucifix becomes animated; Domingo invites him to his home. There Christ performs miracles. Domingo asks to see Christ's home; they go to heaven; porter refuses Domingo admittance as his time is not yet. Domingo returns to earth, falls in front of the altar, dies, is borne to heaven by angels (FLPF 214).

This tale is a close analogue of a German religious tale, "The Heavenly Wedding" (Grimm No. 209).

Human Trickster Tales

The animal trickster has its counterpart in the human trickster hero. Each region in the Philippines seems to have its trickster: Juan or Suan of the Tagalogs and the Kapampangans; Juan Usong (Osong) of the Bicolanos; Juan Pusong of the Visayans and of Sulu; Pilandok of the Maranaos, etc. The trickster is none too admirable a character. The Visayan Juan Pusong has been described as "being deceitful and dishonest and sometimes very cunning" (Maxfield and Millington 1906: 107) and as "a scampish young Filipino trickster, whose swindles, notorious escapades, and practical jokes are always amusing, frequently off-color, sometimes obscene, but rarely villainuous" (Hart and Hart 1966: 315). A favorite trick that all these tricksters play on their victims is the following:

For some offense, Juan (Pilandok, etc.) is arrested and put into a cage, to be thrown into the sea after five days. Before the end of that period, he is able to trick someone (usually a prince or nobleman) into exchanging places with him by saying that he was imprisoned because the king (chief, etc.) wants him to marry the princess and he is not worthy of her. Other person is drowned. Later Juan "returns" from the sea and reports to astonished king having seen the king's father (grandfather, etc.). The king

asks to be thrown into the sea; request is granted; Juan becomes king.

But though they share some qualities in common, some tricksters possess unique characteristics. Posong, trickster of Sulu, for instance, is unique in that his victim is almost always the Sultan and his exploits almost always consists in having illicit sexual relations with the Sultan's wives or other close relatives. An explanation is offered by a collector of Posong stories: "The Posong stories are . . . set in old Sulu when the Sultan reigned autocratically" (Nimmo 1970: 185). It would seem then that by the tricks that Posong is made to play on the Sultan, the folk express their subconscious desire "to get even" with the Sultan.

As a human trickster, Pilandok is also unique to the Maranaos, for the Tausug Pilanduk is an animal character, like the Malaysian *pelanduk*, from whom it seems the name of our Maranao Pilandok has been derived. The Malaysian *pelanduk*, or *Sang Kanchil*, is a mouse-deer and is the counterpart of our animal trickster, the turtle. It must be noted, however, that among the adventures of the Malay *pelanduk* are marriage to a woman and *pelanduk* being transformed into a man (Yapar 1977: I, 162). It would seem that it is in this human form that the *pelanduk* was transmitted to the Maranaos, because the Maranao Pilandok is always a human trickster, never an animal. Two adventures attributed to both the Malay *pelanduk* and the Maranao Pilandok are:

Beating the Sultan's gong: tiger is made to strike the "gong" (a hornet's nest) with disastrous results.

Wearing the Raja's (Sultan's) "belt" (snake): tiger tricked into putting the *sawa* (snake) around its waist; snake nearly strangles him.

Of a slightly different kind are the tricks played on victims by the trickster Guatchinango. In Guatchinango tales, so called from the name commonly given the trickster, we see the trickster as a sharp, shrewd swindler, a knave. The tricks that Guatchinango and his kind play are almost always done to cheat their victims of their money. A typical trick is the one in which Guatchinango inserts two silver pesos into the rectum of his lean horse and sells him for a big sum as a money-dropping animal. The gullible purchaser becomes impoverished and his wife dies of disappointment while Guatchinango escapes to a distant place to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth (FLPF 1058, Iloc.).

Other Guatchinango tricks are:

1. Selling a magic life-restoring whistle (FLPF 738); flute (FLPF 1477e); tube (FLPF 1465), etc.
2. Selling a magic hat which pays for anything purchased at any store or restaurant (FLPF 740).
3. Selling a magic frog which reveals by its jumping where money is buried (FLPF 912). Trickster is Juan Tamad (Tag.).
4. Playing dead to get money (FLPF 430). Trickster is Juan Pusong (Vis.).
5. Selling "prophet powder," which turns out to be nothing but bottled dung (FLPF 605).

Numskull Tales

The Philippines have a generous share of the world's numskulls and fools, and tales recounting their stupidities are an endless source of fun and merriment in any gathering. As a matter of fact, when folktales are mentioned, the type of tale that immediately comes to mind is the Juan Tamad or Juan Loco type of tale. Not surprisingly, Fansler found more tales (104) about Juan than about any other folktale hero.

"Juan the Fool" (FPT 49), a Bulacan Tagalog variant of this tale type, is typical and recounts the following "adventures" of Juan:

1. Mother tells Juan to choose a quiet wife. Juan brings home a dead woman.
2. Mother says: "Those who smell bad are dead." Mother smells bad; Juan buries her.
3. Juan smells bad to himself; floats himself down the river on a raft made from banana trunks.
4. Robbers find him and make him their housekeeper. Tell him to keep quiet. When rice pot in which he is boiling rice "sings," he breaks it to silence it.
5. Sent to market to buy new earthen pots and some crabs, Juan strings pots on rattan to be able to carry them easily and releases crabs in water and tells them to go home ahead of him.
6. Robbers plan a robbery; Juan told to go under the house to "case the joint." Instructions: "If you feel something hot it is a man; if it is cold, it is a bolo." Something warm (a lizard) drops on him; Juan shouts: "Tao! Tao!" (Man! Man!) Robbery foiled.

If alone, the numskull can create hilarious situations, one can imagine what happens when seven of them get together. A popular type of numskull tale is the internationally known one about a gang of numskulls who miscount themselves (SP 315; AT 1287). In a

Pangasinan version of this tale type, entitled "The Seven Crazy Fellows" (FPT 9), the episode of the miscounting is only the first of many misadventures that befall these foolish characters, as may be seen in the list below.

1. Seven crazy fellows go fishing. When ready to go home, they count themselves, but counter does not count self, so they think one of them has been drowned. Old man comes along and corrects them; takes them with him.
2. In the forest, one fool hangs hat and bag of rice on antlers of deer, thinking it is a branch of a tree; deer runs away with them.
3. Sent to fetch water from a well, one fool sees reflection in the water, nods to it; image nods back, finally fool jumps in and drowns.
4. One fool cooks chicken without removing the feathers.
5. Asked to keep flies off the face of sleeping old woman, fool strikes at fly on nose of woman, killing her.
6. While carrying corpse to church, corpse falls off flat coffin. Told to go back for body, fools see a live old woman by the roadside and, thinking she is the woman they are to bury, carry her off.
7. Woman's husband, equally crazy, hearing her cries, says fellows are only teasing her.
8. The priest, also crazy, performs burial ceremony, since as he says, he has been paid her burial fee.
9. On way home, crazy fellows see the corpse that had fallen; they think it is the ghost of the woman they buried. They run away in different directions and get scattered all over Luzon.

FOLKTALE SCHOLARSHIP

The study of folktales, like the study of folklore in general, involves three complementary activities: (1) collecting and recording of traditional narratives; (2) archiving, classification, and indexing; and (3) analysis and interpretation.

1. A survey of existing collections shows that much collecting has been done. Still, it is apparent that collecting has not covered the entire Philippines and that even in places reached, the collecting has not been exhaustive. Thus more collecting should be done and done soon and systematically, before these legends and folktales vanish into oblivion. There is an acute need for a national folklore archives to

serve as clearing house for all collections and to coordinate collecting activities all over the country.

Although I listed some thirty unpublished theses and dissertations containing folktales in a recent survey I made, there is a dearth of published collections. So there is a need to compile, edit, and publish anthologies, regional or national in scope, in order to make these folktales known and available to the people. It is embarrassing to note that still the only respectable and substantial national collection of folktales we have to date is Fansler's *Filipino Popular Tales*, first published in 1921 and reprinted in 1965. Having been published abroad, it is not easily available in the Philippines and its price is prohibitive for the average Filipino reader. Because of this dearth of standard national collections, we await with eagerness E. A. Manuel's "Folktales of the Philippines," which has long been in preparation and which will form one volume in the series, "Folktales Around the World," edited by Richard M. Dorson.

2. Aside from Fansler's unpublished "Story Patterns, Story Groups, Incidents, and Motifs in Philippine Folktales," the Philippines has no tale type index. This work needs to be edited, completed to include tales that have been collected from ethnic minority groups since Fansler's time, updated, and published. The "Finding List of Philippine Folktales" should also be published, since it contains the summaries of more than 3,000 tales in Fansler's manuscript collection.

3. Very few really analytic and interpretative studies of folktales have been done. Thesis writers often merely give general descriptive analyses of the folktales in their collections. A few noteworthy studies may be cited, however. Rizal's comparative study of "The Tortoise and the Monkey" with its Japanese version, although short, shows a good grasp of the comparative method. It was Fansler, in his notes to individual tales in *Filipino Popular Tales*, who brought the comparative method to a high degree of refinement. In addition, as Manuel notes, Fansler's "careful analysis of the folktales in *Filipino Popular Tales* provides a methodology for historical folkloristics In this respect, as a pioneer, Fansler threw more light than any other scholar in the reconstruction of the prehistory of the Philippines through folkloristics than has so far been attempted before and after the publication of the book" (Manuel 1982: 111-112).

In our own time, the comparative method was used by Juan R. Francisco in comparing Philippine folktales with their North Borneo parallels (Francisco 1962).

Other types of folktale study have been made in recent years. Donn and Harriett Hart made an excellent presentation of three Visa-

yan texts of the Cinderella tale by first describing the cultural contours of the Bisayas, specifically of eastern Samar, then discussing the features of Bisayan folktales and story-telling practices, and finally summarizing the relations of the three texts to published Philippine and Indo-Malayan versions (Hart and Hart 1966: 307-337). Fr. Vanoverbergh analyzed the Kankanay tales he collected for what they reveal of Kankanay culture (Vanoverbergh 1977). Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have been publishing linguistic studies of the folktales they have collected (Wrigglesworth 1980; Elkins and Hale 1980).

So I suppose, we can say with Manuel that "everything considered, though the results are not yet impressive, the future is bright with promise" (Manuel 1980: 13).

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