

## ***Harana: Fusion between Filipino indigenous and Hispanic music***

The paper explores the intersection of indigenous and Hispanic music styles present in the *harana* by studying features that demonstrate the fusion of Hispanic influence with that of local tradition. The *harana* exhibits the orality of indigenous poetry shown in its choice of words and the rhythm of the *danza*, a Spanish music.

When one studies Cebuano culture and heritage, one cannot isolate it from the Cebuano singer. The ambivalent sense of identity due to several historical impediments brought about by Spanish colonization is easily exhibited by the modern Cebuano's preference for a second language for everyday expression. The modern Cebuano singer finds himself torn in expressing oneself accordingly in the language that one is born into, yet the prevalent colonial mentality influences his preference to identify and express himself in English.

This study on the *harana* explores the Cebuano's fluid identity. The *harana* is a hybrid form that emerged from the fusion of pre-existing Cebuano and Hispanic elements. Clearly, the *harana* demonstrates intangible cultural heritage characterized by the persisting orality of indigenous poetry while being permeated by new sensibilities brought about by colonization. The *harana* in this study illustrates that intersection which enriches the folk tradition owing to its contribution of a more elaborate oral tradition. According to Corazon Canave-Diaquino in *Folk Traditions*,<sup>1</sup> "Hispanization was tied up with religious conversion and the people's thinking was affected, resulting in a hybrid expression tinged with a Latin taste." Because of a strong indigenous strain, it produced a music that was disconnected from the Catholic worship. As proof, the *harana* has its own distinctive style, its arrangement is simple and straight-forward. It always starts with an introduction of solo guitar then lyrical verses follow with a little guitar strumming. Resil Mojares adds that Spanish colonization "left a deep

imprint on native poetic traditions . . . and cultivated new themes and sentiments.”<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon enriches the native poetic tradition.

The *harana* being a descendant of the Hispanic and the indigenous, exhibits common elements derived from both traditions. *Harana* is a Spanish traditional form of music where a man introduces himself to a woman, usually when she has just arrived from a big city to the countryside for a vacation. It has its early antecedents in the *las mañanitas*,<sup>3</sup> the Mexican tradition which involves serenading the Virgin of Guadalupe, the Patroness of Mexico, before sunrise every year on December 12, her feast day. The day begins with a procession around church grounds during which the faithful honored the Virgin by singing *las mañanitas* in the chilly dawn air. The *mariachis* sing “*Madre mia de Guadalupe, dame ya tu bendicion, recibe estas mañanitas con un humilde corazon*,”<sup>4</sup> paving the way for the celebration of the Holy Mass.<sup>5</sup> Everyone then enjoyed the traditional hot chocolate and *pan dulce* (Mexican pastry). This custom of singing *Las Mañanitas* also applies to birthday or Mother’s Day celebrations and was and is still being practiced in the Philippines. Here is an example of a birthday *mañanita* entitled “Katahum sa Kabuntagon”<sup>6</sup>:

Katahum sa Kabuntagon  
Kami nagtukaw karon  
Ikaw among sangpiton  
Ning langitnon nga gahum

Beauty of the morning  
We who are awake  
We will call you  
With this heavenly power

Ang kahayag ning kandila  
Mag-awit ug magmaya  
Aron magmabulokon  
Ang kalinaw magdayon  
Chorus:

The light of this candle  
Will sing and make merry  
So it will be colorful  
And peace will come

Mahayag na ang langit  
Sa kasilaw sa adlaw  
Oh! Bangon sa igsoon  
Ning kadlawong matahum

The sky is light  
The sun is bright  
Oh! Rise to my sister  
On this beautiful dawn

Ning adlaw mong natawhan  
Kabulakan ning buklad  
Gibunyagan sa ngalan  
Diosnong grasya imo na.

On your birthday  
Flowers bloom  
Is christened  
Heavenly grace be yours.

The *barana* borrows from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century tradition of songs of courtliness where wayward knights usually sing of love beneath the towers of fair maidens in medieval scenes. The pure young woman is protected inside the tower while the suitor who comes along from wandering is about to show his admiration and seek her attention. The lines of “The Serenade” (1825) so reads

Rise lovely Maid, shake off they balmy slumbers,  
Haste to thy casement, list the tuneful strain,  
Fondly he loves who breathes in warbling numbers,  
Ne’er wilt thou meet a heart so true again.<sup>7</sup>

Another example which displays the tradition is “Open Thy Lattice Love” (1844), the first published song of Stephen Foster, whose assortment of songs gives a brief of “sublimated chivalry.”<sup>8</sup>

Open thy lattice, love listen to me!  
The cool balmy breeze is abroad on the sea!  
The moon like a queen, roams her realms of blue,  
And the stars keep their vigils in heaven for you.  
Ere morn’s gushing light tips the hills with its ray,  
Away o’er the waters away and away!  
Then open thy lattice, love listen to me!  
While the moon’s in the sky and the breeze on the sea!

In the Philippines, Lourdes Quisumbing notes that the *barana* was one of the ways a man could attract the attention of the woman he admires aside from reciting love verses to her.<sup>9</sup> She states that “the real *barana* is sung in verse to the accompaniment of the guitar (*sista*).<sup>10</sup> There is a wealth of lyrical beauty, appreciation for nature, and depth of sentiment contained in the love songs.”<sup>11</sup> The man woos a woman beneath her window at night by singing and playing his guitar. If the man is not a good singer, he will usually bring someone who can do it for him. Some men also invite their close friends to join in the singing or to provide accompaniment with the guitar if he is singing.<sup>12</sup>

Early Cebuano *baranas* recorded are found in Fernando Buyser’s collection *Amit sa Kabukiran*.<sup>13</sup>

*Ang imong kahamili  
Ingon sa Rosal nga maamyon  
Bulak ko nga pinili  
Natimban sa katabom  
Nagadapit sa kalipay  
Ning pobre nga masulub-on  
Nga nanag-awit sa mamingaw  
Sa pagdayeg sa imong kamahal.*

\*\*\*

*Jazmin preciosa  
Ning kasingkasing  
Nga ginapaniba sa kalanggaman  
Ginadugok kay bulak nga mahumot  
Uban sa hinuyuhoy  
Ning tun-og sa kagabbion*

\*\*\*

*Ikaw man mao ang bulak  
Nga gibatag sa Providencia  
Nakalingaw niining conciencia  
Nakalipay ning nagabilak  
Ipakita ang imong kagayon  
Sa imong pagkamalipayon  
Ning oras nga himalatyon  
Ning makuli kong pagkabutang.*

\*\*\*

*Sa imong bintana  
Tamboi sa madali  
Oh! Venus astro  
Ning kasingkasing  
Ipakita Diosa  
Ang imong kapawa  
Niining mangitngit  
Nga hunahuna.*

\*\*\*

*Mahal nga mutya sa Oriente  
Nga sa kaanyag ikaw nabantog  
Kang Venus, Jupiter ug Marte  
Sa kahayag ka nakig-ilog  
Tamda ug patalinghugi  
Kining nagtuaw nga masulub-on  
Itunol Diosa, itunol Diosa  
Ang lunsay mo karong kagayon.*

\*\*\*

*Ayaw ikasakit  
Ug ikabudlay  
Kining nagbakho  
Ug nagpanghaybay  
Sa pasaylo hatagi  
Kining mapasipala  
Adios prenda querida*

Your nobility  
Is like a fragrant Rosal  
My chosen flower  
Full of loveliness  
Inviting happiness  
For this poor melancholy man  
Who sings in lonely tones  
Praise of your pricelessness.

\*\*\*

Precious jasmine  
Of this heart  
Supped by the birds  
Whose fragrance attracts many  
Wafted by the breeze  
In the cool night.

\*\*\*

For you are the blossom  
Offered by Providence  
That lightens this conscience  
Brings joy to one who is tearful  
Show the breadth  
Of your happiness  
In this dying hour  
In my difficult state.

\*\*\*

From your window  
Look down a moment  
Oh! Astral Venus  
Of my heart  
Show, goddess,  
Your brilliance  
To this beclouded  
Mind.

\*\*\*

Precious pearl of the Orient  
Renowned for beauty  
With Venus, Jupiter and Mars  
You vie in brightness  
Heed and hear  
One who cries in sadness  
Goddess, hand over  
Your pure joy.

\*\*\*

Don't be pained  
And don't be troubled  
Over one who weeps  
And sighs  
Rather, bestow your pardon  
To one who has sinned  
Goodbye, my pledged beloved

*Sa kasingkasing ko ikaw gidala.*

I carry you in my heart.<sup>14</sup>

Florante Aguilar writes that *harana* is very distinct as it has its own style – “the rhythm is *danza* which is in 2/4 time.”<sup>15</sup>

During the *harana* performance which is often favorably done on moonlit nights, curiosity is exhibited as to who is serenading and is serenaded. Family members and neighbors will be interested. Feigning nonchalance, a woman is usually elated at being serenaded, claims Quisumbing, especially when the song is dedicated to her.<sup>16</sup>

Some parents do not interfere; they may even invite the serenaders to come in to sing their songs and partake of the food and drinks prepared for them. But the majority show indifference or displeasure, while some are vocal in their disapproval, angrily tell the serenaders to stop.<sup>17</sup>

Usually, the next day, the woman becomes the object of teasing among her family members, even relatives. But if she happens to be a visitor from another part of the country, then from her friends and from her hosts. There are instances when the *harana* becomes the talk of the town especially when something odd happens like if poultry is missing or if *haranistas* were unjustifiably welcomed with a chamberpot of piss poured out of the window.

As in the preceding examples given, the *harana* has a formula. Three parts are evident: *pagtanawag* (call out), *pagtug-an* or *pagsugid* (confession) and *pagtubag* (reply). In *pagtanawag*, this is the stage where men are outside beneath the woman’s window announcing their presence. It comes with a specific set of songs. These songs usually place the men in the act of serenading from the outside, politely imploring the woman to open the window and listen to the song. Consider the following examples:

#### Harana I

Yo te saludo  
Putli nga bulak,  
Mujer hermosa

I salute thee,  
O pure flower!  
Beautiful maiden,

Humilde flor;  
 Ay! Yo soy indigno  
 Niña preciosa  
 Jazming biyuos  
 Nga makawiwili.  
 Sulnga ra Pulana  
 Kining nagsangpit  
 Ug patalinghugi  
 Ang mga kasakit  
 Walay kalipay  
 Kining makalolooy.

In thy bower.  
 I am unworthy  
 Of thee, jasmin sweet,  
 E'en to kiss thy feet.  
 List to my pleading  
 And to my tears, imploring  
 Thy pity. Give thy hand  
 To this wretched one  
 Who knows no joy,  
 But is full of sorrow  
 Until loved by you.<sup>18</sup>

In the first four lines, you have the *pagtawag*. Most opening lines describe the beauty of a woman and she is likened to a flower or a star in the sky. She is the prettiest thing the young man has ever seen. The sun, the moon and the stars are favorite devices in the depiction of the lady's beauty. It is also possible for her to compete with the flower and to exceed it in terms of fragrance and beauty. Consider this next *harana*:

#### Harana VI

Oh! Clavel cang maamyon  
 Nga ginamasitas  
 Niining tanaman  
 Cong macawiwili  
 Ug ang caambong mo  
 Minglabaw sa rosas,  
 Icaw mao ang himaya  
 Niining miserable.

Oh! Thou art  
 Carnation sweet!  
 In the garden of my heart  
 Thou growest apart;  
 Thy fragrance surpasses  
 That of the roses,  
 Thou art the glory  
 That hides my mis'ry.

Icaw mao ang bituon  
 Nga labing masulaw  
 Nga nagahayag  
 Niining dughan;  
 Cong mangitngit  
 Apan cay ginadulman  
 Ang gugmang masilaw  
 Busa ang dughan co  
 Nagbakho sa comingaw.

Thou art the star  
 That, with brightest light  
 Shines in the night  
 Of my bosom dark;  
 Dark clouds anpve  
 O'ershadow my love.  
 Thus my heart in tears  
 will reckon with the years.

Apan, Señorita  
 Imo aco pasayran  
 Mahatungud ning gugma  
 Naging masulub-on  
 Cong wala na bay "justicia"  
 Mao na ba lamang  
 Ang mapait nga camatayon.

But, dearest maiden  
 Tell me truly –  
 This love unbidden  
 Has made me lonely  
 If there be justice  
 In this my fate  
 Which is worse than death.

Wala nay fuerza  
Ning adorador mo  
Kong ang camatayon  
Maoy magbawi  
Maculi nga icahatag  
Ang calag ug kinabuhi.

All drained is the strength  
Of this who adores thee  
And when at length  
Death beckons me  
Vain and useless to me  
Will my soul and life be.

Notice that in the first two lines, the *pagtawag* compares the woman's beauty is likened to a carnation which fragrance surpasses that of the rose. The succeeding lines in the first including that of the fourth stanza constitute the *pagtug-an* or *pagsugid* (confession). In *pagtug-an* or *pagsugid*, the man successfully awakens the woman's interest. Usually the woman opens the window and invites the man into the house. In the living room, usually with a chaperone if the parents are not around, another round of singing follows. The man confidently declares his veneration of the woman's virtues and beauty.

If the woman being serenaded will reply, it will also be in a song form. This constitutes the *pagtubag* (response). In some areas like Cavite, women are known to give a response. Aguilar records this

The haranistas in Maragondon, Cavite introduced me to an elder lady known for her singing during serenades. When I asked her which song she would respond with, she said "*It depends. If I like the fellow, there are some songs for that. If I am not that interested or if I am unsure, it's a whole different set of songs*".<sup>19</sup>

When unsure, the choice could be Constancio de Guzman's *Ang Tangi Kong Pagibig* (My Only True Love), a song where the first line declares "*Ang tangi kong pagibig ay minsan lamang*" (True love for me is rare). When affirmative, the song could be *Maala-ala Mo Kaya* by the same composer, a joyous song that declares *O kay sarap mabubay, lalo na't may lambingan* (Oh how sweet it is to live, more so in the presence of love and affection).<sup>20</sup>

When a *haranista* is rejected, he could sing a song to plead his case further. Some of these songs are titled "*Kay Hirap Mawalay sa Piling* (How Painful to be Away from You),

*Ako'y Isa Na Ngayong Sawi* (I am Now Brokenhearted), *Pusong Wasak* (Shredded Heart) and my favorite *Laot Ng Dusa* (Open Sea of Suffering).<sup>21</sup>

The *barana* shows the custom of the day. It presents the composers' ideas of how men and women are to interact, ideas which were circulated among the members of the community. The practice of courtship created by the serenade elevates its performers by mimicking the knightly approach to courting a woman then using the formula of allusions to words from the earlier tradition.

The concept of ennobled courtship invoked by the lyrics and music tended to intensify the different position of the sexes . . . though popular songs progressively suggested greater limitations on the influence and freedom of women to act in the outside world, they also endowed women with an innate superiority (expressed literally in serenades) and moral authority.<sup>22</sup>

In the Philippines, suitors were not knights on horses coming to serenade damsels after battle. Men dealt with women openly. As barrio beauties who opened their windows and listened to the songs of love, Filipinas participated in night romances and engaged in the world outside their homes. An undercurrent of energy and excitement runs through the *barana* and offers possibility in the new style that is accessible and endures in the songs towards the last half of the twenty-first century.

### **The Beloved**

The *barana* increasingly pressed into a vogue of songs about the beloved and composed songs continued in this vein until the trend mellowed down towards the turn of the twenty-first century. The lyrics spend most of their energy in praise of the beloved, usually named as in the example of Olivia by Cengo Arias and Carmen by Max Surban, and



invoke high speech accordingly. More than this, the style imparts a sense of immediacy to courtship: the man in the song demands a response so that he can proceed further

**Olivia**

Dawata na Olivia  
Ang gugma kong gihalad  
Balaanon nga gugma  
Ug dili molubad.

Refrain:  
Pagkatahum Olivia  
Katahum mong sud-ongon  
Daw sama ka sa Diosa  
Maayong hagwaon.

Pagkabulahan ko kaha  
Kon buligan ni Bathala  
Unya dawaton mo  
kinang gugmang gihalad ko  
nga walay pagluib.

(Repeat refrain)

**Olivia**

Olivia please receive  
This love I give  
Love divine  
And will not disappear.

Refrain:  
How beautiful Olivia  
How beautiful you look  
Like a goddess  
That is teasing.

How fortunate I will be  
If Bathala helps me  
And if you accept  
This love that will not fade  
That I offer.

**Carmela**

Carmela dungga kining nagsangpit  
kay dad-on ko ikaw  
sa himayang dayon

Sa akong pagmata nakita ko  
Ang langitnong sidlak sa bitoon  
Sama sa imong larawan  
Ang kaanyag mo walay sama, ay!

Carmela unsay akong mahimo  
sa gugmang pagbati  
ikaw ang natingban  
Timan-i, kutob karon timan-i,  
nga kining tanan, tanan matuman.

Carmela dungga kining nagsangpit  
kay dad-on ko ikaw  
sa himayang dayon.

**Carmela**

Carmela listen to me who calls  
you  
For I will take you  
To heavenly bliss

When I awoke I saw  
The heavenly light of the star  
Like your picture  
Your beauty's no compare, ay!

Carmela what can I do  
with this love I feel  
You are all  
Remember, until now  
remember,  
That all these will come to be.

Carmela listen to me who calls  
you  
For I will take you  
To heavenly bliss.

In the *harana* by Celestino de Gracia entitled “Carmencita,” the suitor pleads for his beloved to accept his love and to refrain from making him suffer. All he needs to live through the day is a picture of her.

Carmencita, dawata na ang gugma ko!  
Carmencita, ayaw ako paantusa  
Kaloy-a ako intawon  
Pangandoy ko sa adlaw'ng tanan  
Ang imong larawan.

Like the lover in Max Surban’s *harana* who promises his beloved heavenly bliss, the suitor here proposes to take care of her forever until death with a love that’s true after alluding to her pity:

Carmencita, ihatag na ang kaluoy mo  
Carmencita, ayaw ako'g pahilaka  
Kaloy-a ako! Kaloy-a!  
Dawata na kining gugma ko,  
O akong pinangga.  
Ikaw unungan ko gayud  
Pangga-on hangtud sa lubnganan  
Ihatag ko gugma'ng tinu-od  
Akong unungan ug pakamatyan!

Just as the text mixes elevated language with plain speech, the music retains elements of the *danza* in the melodic lines.

### **Angelic Women**

*Haranas* about the purity of a woman suggest that even when women are no longer kept closeted in the home, their roles remain strictly defined – they must remain shining

examples, of having angelic or heavenly attributes. This is proposed in the *harana* by Emil Loseñada entitled “Ikaduhang Bathala” demonstrating how a woman is viewed as a goddess who is entreated to pity the poor suitor’s heart.

### **Ikaduhang Bathala**

Gikatug-an ko na kanimo ang tanan  
Nahigugma ako ug nga kanimo lang  
Inay sagupon mo kining gibati ko  
Mipahiyum ka lang ug mipahilayo  
Kon daw sa kasingkasing mo  
May dapit man ako  
Pakitaag kahayag ang mga panag-um ko  
Limsi’g pagbati limsi’g kaluoy  
Nga makagpahid sa mga luha ko  
II  
Kon ugaling sa gugma mo  
May katahap ka man  
Wad-a sa panumduman mo  
Wad-a na ang tanan  
Ayaw kalimot, ayaw pinangga  
Ikaduha ko ikaw nga bathala.

The woman is adored as being second God. She is put on a pedestal. In the succeeding *harana* found in one of Buenaventura Rodriguez’s sarsuela *Ang Mini*, he wrote a song given melody by Dionisio Jakosalem. Limited to their undefiled private world, women exert power over the public domain of men by projecting the values of kindness and temperance.

### **Harana**

Ani-ay nagtuaw sa imong silong  
Nangitag buligan sa imong kalooy  
Ayaw, Inday, tamaya  
Ayaw siya'g isalikway.  
Nagpakilimos siya sa imong kalooy.  
Midag-um ang langit ug mangitngit na,  
Mitago ang bulan sa panganud,  
Kay siya nasina  
kay siya nasina sa imong kaanyag  
Kay ikaw labaw man ug kaanindot.

The separation between the domains of men and women intensified the fantasy of the beloved so love becomes a mystery that allows a lover to sacrifice all. Fernando Alfon's harana is given melody by Ismael Villareal in Kahibulungan.

### **Kahibulungan**

Kahibulungan ang gibati ko  
Natawo ang gugmang makabuang  
Kanimo pinangga ko  
Ani-a intawon ako ning mabugnaw'ng gabii  
Binuksan kining dughan aron ka makasaksi  
Nga dinhi sa ilawom sa langit  
Ang gugma ko imo da  
Kahibulungan ang gibati ko  
Natawo ang gugmang makabuang  
Kanimo pinangga ko

Ania intawon ako ning mabugnaw'ng gabii

Binuksan kining dughan aron ka makasaksi

Nga dinhi sa ilawom sa langit

Ang gugma ko imo da

Ang gugma ko imo da

Since the 1980s the *barana* lost its popularity for a host of reasons. In the rural areas, electric power gave way to television and the introduction of latest songs available from Manila and abroad that were no longer traditional. The disco had paved the way for the demise of the practice of the *barana*.

Martial Law was also imposed bringing the curfew to ban the nightly *barana*. Men were no longer encouraged to woo late at night. Courtship mores modernized to allow meetings in places outside the home which used to be the only place where young ladies could entertain suitors under the watchful eyes of parents or relative chaperones. Moreover, most Filipinos have acquired Western tastes that the local traditions have been relegated to the occasional performances in school programs or cultural programs at most.

## NOTES ON WORKS CITED

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<sup>1</sup> Corazon Canave-Dioquino, *Folk Traditions*. National Commission for Culture and the Arts. 21 September 2018. <https://ncca.gov.ph/about-ncca-3/subcommissions/subcommission-on-the-arts-sca/music/folk-traditions/>

<sup>2</sup> Resil Mojares. "Introduction." *Cebuano Poetry /Sugbuanong Balak 1900-1940*. Eds. Erlinda Alburo et al. Cebu City: Cebuano Studies Center, 1988. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Las Mañanitas*, which literally means "little morning" is celebrated widely in Mexico. Although several Marys are the object of veneration, *La Morenita* or *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* is one of the most powerful religious symbol as it is a symbol perceived as belonging to the poor, involving the story of a poor native man whose image is reflected in her eyes. In Virgilio Elizondo, *The Future is Mestizo*. Bloomington, Indiana: Meyer-Stone, 1988. 63.

<sup>4</sup> This translates as "My Mother of Guadalupe, give me your blessing, receive these *mañanitas* with a humble heart."

<sup>5</sup> Catherine Wilson, *The politics of Latino faith: religion, identity, and urban community*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2008. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Renz Ian Dee, *Mañanita Songs*. 30 December 2018.  
<https://www.scribd.com/doc/212007646/MANANITA-SONGS>

<sup>7</sup> Jon F. Winson, *The Voices that are Gone: Themes in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Popular Song*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Winson 33-34.

<sup>9</sup> Lourdes Quisumbing, *Marriage Customs in Rural Cebu*. Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 1965. 11

<sup>10</sup> In Justin Cydrick Cabales's master's thesis entitled "Music of Pre-colonial and Spanish Colonial Philippines, and the Filipino *Rondalla*" he writes that the guitar was the preferred choice of instrument for its accessibility. However the violin and the *banduria* are also used (13). MA Thesis. USA: California State University, Northridge, May 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Quisumbing 11.

<sup>12</sup> Quisumbing 12.

<sup>13</sup> Fernando Buyser, *Awit sa Kabukiran* Tomo I. Sugbu: Liberty Press, 1911. 30-3.

<sup>14</sup> Translation into English by Erlinda Alburo.

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<sup>15</sup> Florante Aguilar, "The Difference between Harana and Kundiman." *Florante Aguilar*. 30 October 2018. [https://floranteaguilar.com/harana\\_kundiman\\_difference/#prettyPhoto\[5e2408ffc5fef\]/3/](https://floranteaguilar.com/harana_kundiman_difference/#prettyPhoto[5e2408ffc5fef]/3/)

<sup>16</sup> Quisumbing 13.

<sup>17</sup> Quisumbing 13.

<sup>18</sup> The *harana* is Fernando Buyser's in *Awit sa Kabukiran* Tomo II. Sugbu: Imprenta Rosario, 1912. 60. The translation is by Lourdes Quisumbing.

<sup>19</sup> Florante Aguilar, "The Different Stages of Harana." *Florante Aguilar*. 31 October 2018. <https://floranteaguilar.com/the-different-stages-of-harana-serenading/>

<sup>20</sup> Aguilar "The Different Stages of Harana."

<sup>21</sup> Aguilar "The Different Stages of Harana."

<sup>22</sup> Winson 41.