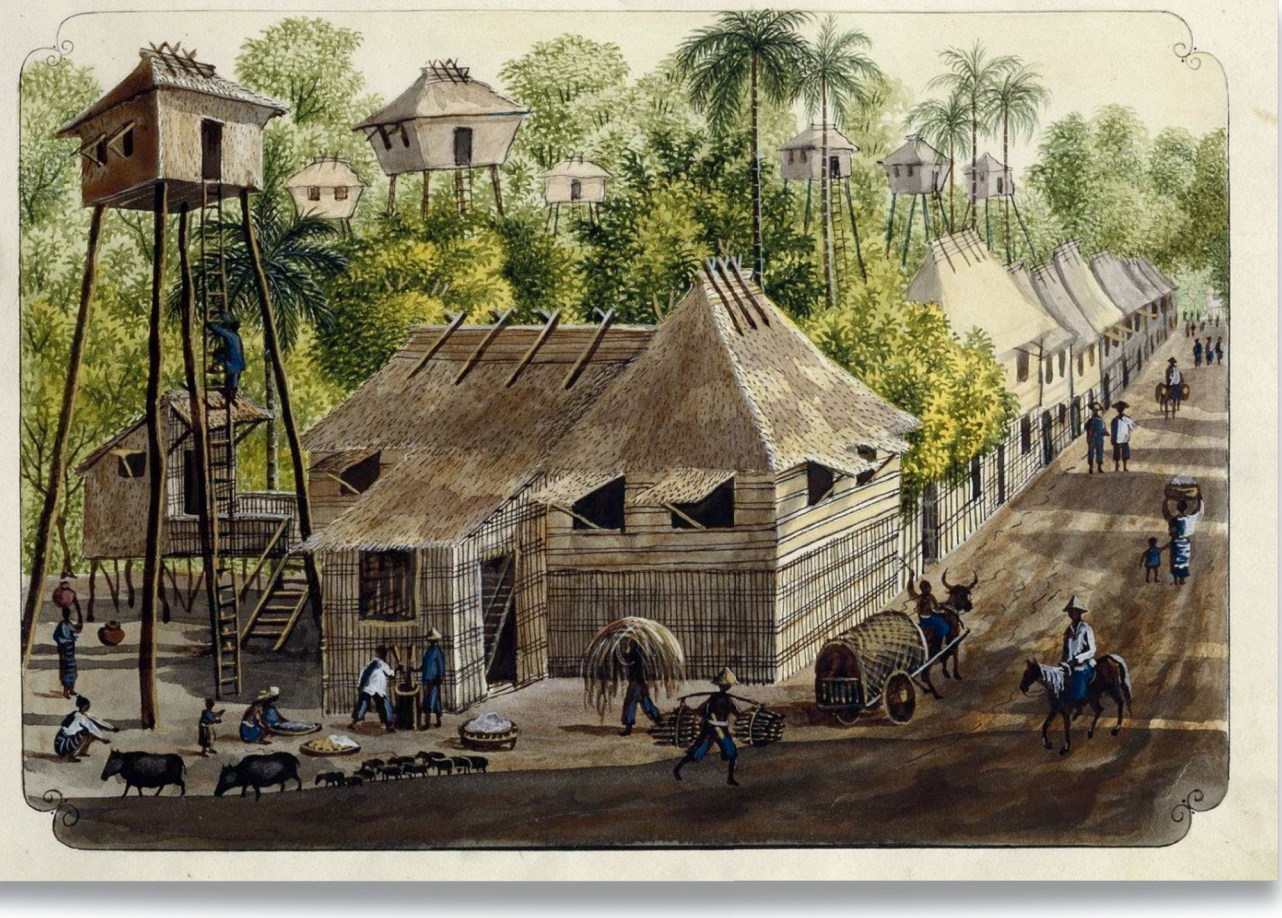


THE FILIPINO WORLDVIEW THROUGH ART, IMAGES, AND OBJECTS

From indigenous cultures to the 19th century

Ruel Pagunsan
Kristyl Obispado
University of the Philippines Diliman
(Editors)

Acer-VOS

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The Filipino Worldview
An introduction

If one structure is ubiquitous in nearly every town across the Philippine archipelago, it is the *plaza complex* or *plaza*. Spanish colonialism followed a formulaic pattern in which the presence of a plaza and its associated structures —from the symbolic cross in a black-and-white croquis of a frontier town to the imposing grandeur of a stone church in Intramuros— became a familiar marker signaling that colonial rule had, in one way or another, begun. For the next three hundred years, the plaza transformed into a ceremonial template through which conversion in its various expressions and intensities was repeatedly enacted.

To ensure conforming to the colonial social order and hierarchy, it was highlighted in the guidelines for the founding of towns on the new continent of the Spanish empire to "distribute towns lots for the construction of houses, in orderly fashion, according to the quality of the recipients, so that, once constructed, the town will appear well-ordered as regards the space designated for the central plaza, the location of the church, and the placement of the streets."[1]

However, plazas built in the Philippines —especially those outside Manila and even within the capital— developed a distinct characteristic: they were not always in a grid, not always uniform, and not always flanked by impressive edifices. Yet, the plaza's irregular open space at the center and the sense of timelessness associated with its foundation became common to all towns.

1 Angel Rama and John Charles Chasteen, *The lettered city* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 3-5.

One of the preconditions for *reducción*, or relocation to a new town or *pueblo*, was to "choose the site most advantageous and abundantly provided with all the things necessary to those who will settle therein."[2] This requirement mirrored how local populations traditionally selected their *bayan*, or the settlement or community where they chose to live. Thus, when Spain colonized the Philippines, it often simply transformed these existing settlements into pueblos while ensuring the old ties, such as kinship, political, and commercial, were broken.

Scholar Maria Bernadette Abrera points out that in smaller towns, the relocation of population movement to larger pueblos was done to break kinship ties, which served as the basis of the formation of the old bayan.[3] Similarly, historian Jaime Veneracion emphasizes that new towns and capitals were built on top of existing large settlement areas, such as Cebu and Manila. This is why the process of town formation became significant.[4] Another historian, Ferdinand Llanes, argues that the rationale of the pueblo as a means of reordering society did not take root in the hearts and minds of Filipinos. The bayan endured as the Filipino community.[5]

Bayan can be understood as a verb (pagbabayan), *la acción de hacer pueblo o de poblador* (the act of forming a community); as a place, *el lugar donde se funda el pueblo* (the place where the town is founded); as a people (sangbayanan), *todo el pueblo* (the entire community); and as tradition (cabayanan and namamayanan), *costumbres o usanza del pueblo* (the customs or practices of the people).[6]

The definitions above did not refer to specific structures, such as a church, or characteristics like fixed boundaries. Instead, they indicated that bayan could refer to customs and practices. Thus, the bayan as a site of local expressions and worldviews of the indigenous population became a formidable site for the continuity of existing traditions and the accommodation of Spanish practices that resonated with them. Author and historian Regalado Jose notes that "The Spaniards found out early in their conquests that they shared the Filipinos' love for color and ritual, and thus made use of the Church

2 Rama and Chasteen, *The lettered city*, 4.

3 Narratives on the Pueblo (UP Diliman History Department, Philippine Spanish Friendship Day Conference, 2009).

4 Narratives on the Pueblo, 2009.

5 Narratives on the Pueblo, 2009.

6 *Vocabulario tagalo-español*, n.d., 48-48v.

Resplendent—aromatic incense, interminable processions, droning chants, gleaming vessels, gorgeous robes, sumptuous decorations—in bringing the natives to the churches."[7]

Another enduring characteristic of the bayan, carried over to pueblos and plazas, is the irregularity of its boundaries and a sense of timelessness regarding its ownership. Traditionally, the boundary of a *bayan* or *bukid* (agricultural field), known as *hanga*, was relational, defined through proximity and social ties. Often, *canayon* (*el más cercano* or the nearest) served as the boundary of a bayan, expressed in the phrase *nagcacanayon nang bucqir*: *estamos yo y tú a término en las sementeras* (we are neighbors sharing boundaries in the fields).[8]

When pueblos were founded, *mojones* or permanent markers were placed to fix the boundaries of properties, limits, and borders. However, the practice of establishing communities along the boundaries of the pueblos continued, only this time, with an additional function: to build buffer zones from hostile indigenous communities who refused to subject themselves to colonization.[9] In the mid-18th century, when land disputes arose in Tagalog pueblos, collective testimonies revealed that people continued to rely on natural features such as streams, rivers, hills, mountains, mountain ranges, and forests to demarcate their lands, just as their ancestors had done. They also asserted their ownership of these lands as having existed since immemorial.[10]

While mojones supposedly served as barriers between places, they did not erase the indigenous understanding of shared space or the local population's timeless connection to the land on which they stood. As Jose observes:

> Some local customs found their way into the celebration of fiestas, while such deeply ingrained traditions as reverence for the dead, thanksgiving after harvest, fear of evil spirits, and, possibly, fertility rites involving dancing, were reinterpreted in the Christian light. They continue to this day to color the particular brand of Filipino Christianity.[11]

The persistence of the bayan's inherent characteristics within the pueblo helped sustain traditional practices, from surplus-based economies and

7 Regalado Jose, *Simbahan: church art in colonial Philippines, 1565-1898* (Ayala Museum, 1991), 15.

8 Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala. El romance castellano pvesto primero* (Villa de Pila: Thomas Pinpin, y Domingo Loag, 1613), 498.

9 Narratives on the Pueblo, 2009.

10 Ros Costelo, "Tagalog Letters about the Uprisings of 1745" (paper presented at the 19th Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day, UP Diliman, October 15, 2021).

11 Jose, *Simbahan*, 16.

barangay/bayan-level politics to celebrating local rituals, rooted in a distinctly Filipino worldview that emphasizes communal life, shared space, and reverence for the land. The Philippines' incorporation into the Spanish empire and its participation in transpacific trade only transformed the pueblo and its plaza's open space gradually and simultaneously into a convergence point for the three worlds inhabited by the Philippine indios: indigenous, colonial, and global.

The book chapters in this volume contribute to knowledge production by using interdisciplinary approaches, while reexamining key concepts such as indigenization, localization, hybridity, mestizaje, baroque, and the global. They interrogate the Philippines' identity and entanglements within Asia and broader global contexts through artistic representation. More importantly, the volume foregrounds the women and indigenous communities, and their active participation and representation in the archipelago's evolving visual and material culture.

The editors would like to thank the contributors to this volume, whose works explore the Filipino worldview, from Cordillera to Mindanao, as expressed through texts, images, and objects. The book is organized around three principal themes: colonial texts and memories, visual negotiation, and transpacific circulation. Part I has four chapters analyzing how colonial forms, such as literary genres, the *corrido*, religious texts like *novenario*, urban spaces influenced by baroque, and place names, became sites of indigenization. By using local language and centering marginal voices of women and indigenous communities, they constructed an indio identity from hybrid, negotiated cultural forms. Across the chapters, memory serves as a critical lens, allowing for the recovery of the past while reimagining the present.

Part II focuses on visual objects, such as paintings, photographs, exhibitions, and religious sculpture, and their role in the production, interrogation, and preservation of colonial and national identities. Through Juan Luna's paintings, the colonial spectacle of the Igorots, the media distortion of Macabebes, and the historiographic treatment of religious sculpture, the four chapters show how both Spanish and American powers used representation to assert control and how artists, communities, and scholars have worked to challenge these narratives.

Part III highlights tangible artifacts, from the retablos of Cavite and journeys from Seville carrying sacred images to the wood used in Manila's churches and the kites flown in Guerrero. The Philippines emerged as a dynamic node in global artistic, devotional, and ecological networks through these

material cultures. The four texts demonstrate how local materials, foreign styles, and indigenous agency created shared heritage, linking Asia, Latin America, and Europe.

The insights offered in this volume result from collective labor and institutional support. The editors wish to extend their gratitude to the EnRedArs group at Universidad Pablo de Olavide, led by Dr. Fernando Quiles García; the UP Diliman Chancellor Edgardo Carlo Vistan II; the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy Dean Dr. Ruth Lusterio-Rico; and the UP Department of History's Drs. Maria Bernadette Abrera, Neil Martial Santillan, and Rhodalyn Wani-Obias, for their invaluable support in making this book project possible.

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Part I. Of Texts and Memories

Oralidad como objeto
The Material Life of Philippine Metrical Romances and its Depiction of Women

La oralidad como objeto: La vida material de los romances métricos filipinos y la representación de la mujer

Shaunnah Ysabel V. Cledera
University of the Philippines Los Baños

Rizalino Noble Malabed
University of the Philippines Los Baños

Abstract

The Philippine *corrido* reached the apex of its popularity in the 19th century as the bestseller of its day. However, intellectuals who considered literature a source of national identity found these long verse narratives too fantastic, sentimental, religious, and didactic—too colonial. This paper complicates rigidly held binaries rooted in the supposed differences between the colonial/colonized and insists on their continuities by looking at the corrido's material life vis-a-vis simultaneous social transformations. It provides an account of its circulation as oral tradition, print, and theater performance. It also reads in the corrido the Filipino worldviews of the period—the depictive, the delusional, and the desired. Concretely, Bikol corridos are examined to show how, within the same texts, they inscribe the gender ideology of the period, rationalize such ideology, and undermine or imagine alternatives to it.

Keywords

19th century; corrido; agui-agui; orality; print; performance; material life; symbolic act; worldview; women

Resumen

El *corrido filipino* alcanzó la cima de su popularidad en el siglo XIX como el bestseller de su época. Sin embargo, los intelectuales que consideraban la literatura una fuente de identidad nacional encontraban estas largas narrativas en verso demasiado fantásticas, sentimentales, religiosas y didácticas, demasiado coloniales. Este artículo cuestiona los binarios rígidamente arraigados en las supuestas diferencias entre el colonizador y el colonizado, e insiste en sus continuidades al examinar la vida material del corrido frente a las transformaciones sociales simultáneas. Ofrece un relato de su circulación como tradición oral, impresa y representada en el teatro. También lee en el corrido las cosmovisiones filipinas de la época: lo representativo, lo delirante y lo deseado. Concretamente, se examinan los corridos bicolanos para mostrar cómo, dentro de los mismos textos, inscriben la ideología de género de la época, racionalizan dicha ideología y la socavan o imaginan alternativas a ella.

Palabras clave

Siglo XIX; corrido; agui-agui; oralidad; imprenta; actuación; vida material; acto simbólico; cosmovisión; mujeres

1. Introduction

Corridos, or metrical romances, are unique in the literary history of the Philippines. Only a few studies deem them significant compared to other popular literary forms in the country. Within these rare efforts, metrical narratives are commonly described as translated colonial literary texts that feature European characters and locations, tended towards preachiness, redundancy, and anachronism, and, as such, were religiously and moralistically deployed by the Spanish colonial authorities. More than half a century after Damiana Eugenio's 1965-1966 dissertation on corrido, published in 1987 as *Awit and Korido: Philippine Metrical Romances*, there remains a dearth of studies that interrogate the relationship of these commonly recognized characteristics of the corrido with their composition and circulation in spoken/performed and printed forms, and with the historical and social conditions that created and received them. Unfortunately, Eugenio's description of the Philippine corrido as "a large body of popular literature about which literary historians have little to say beyond the vaguest generalities"[1] still has currency. Motivated by and founded on Eugenio's research, efforts have been made to collect, archive, and categorize the corridos. However, most of these materials have not been sufficiently studied due to the lack of theoretical and methodological certainty.

This research is both a preliminary stab at the theoretical and methodological clarification of the possibilities of studying Philippine corridos or metrical romances and the application of these theoretical and methodological understandings to the study of *agui-agui* or Bikol corrido.[2]

Corrido is the general name for the body of Philippine metrical romances understood to have resulted from the proliferation of European or medieval romances in the country during Spanish colonialism. Imaginatively portrayed to have been orally performed and disseminated by the conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legazpi's men to the natives in the 17th century, the corrido became the most popular literary form of the period. At the peak of its popularity, it is estimated that there were approximately two hundred Tagalog corridos, not

1 Damiana Eugenio, *Awit and Korido: Philippine Metrical Romances* (University of the Philippines Press, 1987), xiii.

2 This study takes off from the Master's thesis of the first author of this essay. See Shaunnah Ysabel V. Cledera, "Ang Pagpaparito ng mga Banua sa Agui-Agui, Koridong Bikol" (Master's thesis, University of the Philippines Diliman, 2023).

including corridos in other Filipino languages.[3] It remained popular for three centuries until the early 20th century.

This research largely dwells in this space of "yet to be included" and, as such, relatively unstudied corridos in other Filipino languages, specifically the Bikol corrido. This research aims to enrich the present understanding of the popularity of this colonial and secular form. Theoretically and methodologically, this means underscoring the objectness or thingness of Philippine metrical romances—their material composition and circulation in oral, print, and performance forms.

Eugenio notes that corrido is known by different names in different Philippine languages: *awit* and corrido in Tagalog, *kuriru* in Pampanga, and *panagbiag* in Ilocos.[4] Subsequent research studied the Pangasinan *impanbilay* and the Ilonggo *ida, historia* or *kinabuhi,* and *sugilanon.*[5] Other terms used that are identified are: *casaysayan, agui-agui, plosa*, *buhay*, *buhay na pinagdaanan,* and *verso*. However, Eugenio employs corrido as an encompassing term because it is known and used in many Philippine languages. Perhaps this diversity of nomenclature and classification and its unfortunate derivative nature discourages research on the corrido outside of the studies on its verse form. Often, the corrido is only mentioned next to similar but deemed more significant forms such as the *pasyon* (also called casaysayan), *vida* or buhay (also *ehemplo* or the life of the saints), *comedia* (its stories derived from corridos), and *kwentong bayan* and *alamat* (folk stories and legends, with heroes that were also featured in corridos). Other studies compare the corrido to epics, which were popular before it.

In this research, agui-agui is the term used to designate corridos in the Bikol language. The objective is to explore the agui-agui as a specific literary form with a distinct structure founded on the dynamics of its elements despite sharing characteristics with other literary forms. The literal meaning of the base word *agui*, also spelled *agi* or *ague*, is road or trail; *pinag-aguihan* literally means "passed through" but also as "having experienced." The word agui-agui is used in the Bikol language to refer to the stories in metrical order that narrate the life experiences of European princesses and princes, saints, holy men, and legendary figures. The very word agui-agui or pinag-aguihan is often found in the title or otherwise mentioned at the beginning of the narrative.

3 Arsenio Manuel, "Folk Literature." *Panorama*, February 1960, 46-47.

4 Eugenio, *Awit and Korido*, xxv.

5 Damiana Eugenio, "Metrical Romances," *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art* (2020).

Beyond its literary analysis, this research also problematizes the general popularity of the corrido and follows after scholars who have puzzled over its popular reception in relation to its literary forms and its implied social value. In her thesis, *A Study of Bikol Metrical Romances*, Cecilia Carpio asserts the common but also problematic judgment that "[m]etrical romances… are inferior as literature, yet they are valued for their social significance as elements of culture."[6] This stress on the characteristics of the corrido that are deemed proof of its inferior status as literature results from literary and societal criteria based on long-established Western tastes and values. Ironically, it is also motivated by the nationalist agenda that seeks to ground national identity in identifiably and indisputably autochthonous elements of the Filipino culture. Thus, Carpio echoes the opinion that has been current at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century from both contemptuous colonial and ilustrado nationalist scholarly points of view.[7] As we shall see, this position encompassing the colonial and nationalist is theoretically underpinned by the earlier scholarly efforts to "invent the oral" as nostalgia and separate it from its unruly and unrefined written/print and current performance forms. This theoretical position also informs Walter Ong's recent bifurcation of the oral and print cultures.[8] The ensuing effect on the study of literary forms such as the corrido is to narrow focus on its supposed orality (its characteristics as oral-based thought and expression, its formulas, and its repertoires) that is insisted as separate from and deemed unrelated to its print and theater performance forms. Thus, the corrido's currency as "socially significant elements of culture" and as a socially significant material or object in a dynamic relation with its circumstance and period are effectively undermined. This treatment of oral literature leads to three serious faults: "(1) the pretense of 'scientific' objectivity on the part of the scholar/collector; (2) the treatment of oral traditions as discrete textual units; and (3) the decontextualization of the cultural materials."[9]

6 Cecilia Carpio, "Study of Bikol Metrical Romances" (MA thesis, University of the Philippines-Diliman, 1959), Abstract.

7 Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. Soledad Lacson-Locsin (Bookmark, 1991), 119. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, *The Legacy of Ignorantism* (Manila Bureau of Printing, 1921). Dean S. Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 29 (1916): 203-34. Vicente Barrantes, *El Teatro Tagalo* (Impresor de la Real Casa, 1889).

8 Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

9 Eric Montenyohl, "Strategies for the Presentation of Oral Traditions in Print," *Oral Tradition* 8 no. 1 (1993): 161.

Corridos are not mere records of orality long passed. To be sure, they were oral practices of their time, but they were also circulated as written and eventually printed texts, they were performed traditionally and as theater—corridos were social material as well as practice. To understand the corrido is to understand its social context and vice versa. Moreover, this research agrees with Fredric Jameson's assertion that cultural artifacts are symbolic acts.[10] As such, corridos document their period, but in diverse means of telling; they emulate but indigenize, condense actual or imagined relations in society, and are acts of wish fulfillment or utopian yearning.

Norman Owen describes the social context of the height of the corrido's popularity in the 19th-century Philippines as an upheaval—economic and social both.[11] Focused on the effects of these changes on women's lives, he asserts "a history of women more dynamic and diverse than we might have expected from the 'stereotype'…[they] were on the move to frontiers and cities or, if they stayed at home, they were often heads of households."[12] Women were "subsistence farmers, weavers, and churchgoers, they were market vendors, nuns, tobacco leaf sorters, domestic helpers, schoolteachers, cigar-makers, washerwomen and commercial sex workers."[13] He notes that if they married at all, they married young, but women were also single mothers. They were property owners, but as workers (in tobacco factories), they went on strike. And during the revolution, "some supported it or even participated in it."[14] Yet in reading *Urbana and Felisa* (composed in the 1860s) and Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* (published in 1887) and "Letter to the Young Women of Malolos" (written in 1889), Owen describes the ideological portrayal of women by ilustrados as an insistence on their roles as mothers and wives, but in contradistinction with Spanish authorities, to patriotic and honorable men. Writ large: "The role of woman (the motherland) is not to stand up and defend herself, but to choose which masculinity will control and protect her."[15] There is then "a discrepancy between public gender ideology and daily reality for the Filipinas of the 19th century."[16] There are two problems involved here: first, this public gender ideology is elite masculine; and second, although it

10 Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (Routledge, 1983), 5.

11 Norman G. Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market: Women and Change in the 19th Century Philippines," *Asian Studies* 43 no. 1 (2007): 1-37.

12 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 11.

13 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 11.

14 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 11.

15 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 17.

16 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 19.

is suggested that the lower classes possessed a more enlightened view of gender relations,[17] there is a dearth of historical records that are expressive of their voices.[18] To illuminate this shadowed gap in historical knowledge then, Owen suggests alternative sources to consider, such as "literary, theatrical and musical texts—*awit, corrido, kundiman, zarzuela, moro-moro,* etc."[19] but with the caveat that these might still be unrepresentative of women's voices. Can the study of corrido, understood as orally circulated, printed, and theatrically performed, illuminate such a gap in historical knowledge? Not as a representation of women's voices in 19th century Philippines, but as a repository of a worldview on women that includes the lower classes and as a symbolic act that reiterates and rejects this worldview?

This research seeks to accomplish exactly this: study the agui-agui or Bikol corrido, viewed as an object or material that circulated orally, in print, and performed theatrically in the 19th-century Philippines, extract its worldview, and identify within it acts of reiteration and denunciation.

2. Philippine metrical romance as oral, printed, and performed texts

Nineteenth-century Philippine corridos are "pseudo-oral" or, more aptly, hybrid or co-occurring oral, printed, and performance texts. Reprinted and circulated in pamphlets or booklets well into the 20th century, they were popular entertainment performed, read aloud, and passed around.[20] As oral and material texts, they were contextualized by the proliferation of previously church-monopolized and controlled print technology, the circulation of popular print forms, and their diffusion through traditional and current oral forms and practices.[21] These developments, in turn, were consequences of the larger economic and political transformations that the Philippine society

17 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 12.

18 Owen contrasts the ilustrado point of view with leaders of the revolution such as Andres Bonifacio and Apolinario Mabini who viewed women more positively. Also in an endnote, he cites Cristina Blanc-Szanton's assertion that "the higher up the Filipino social ladder, the more Hispanized the values" implying that "women of the ilustrado class were actually less liberated than their poorer sisters." Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 17 and 36.

19 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 19.

20 Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines." Bienvenido Lumbera, "Consolidation of Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Tagalog Poetry," *Philippine Studies* 17 no. 3 (July 1969): 377-411.

21 Matthew Hill, "The Book Trade in the Colonial Philippines," *Book History* 20 (2017): 40-82. See also Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines;" and Eugenio, *Awit and Korido*.

was going through—transforming, as well, the traditional audiences of these popular fares.[22] The continued prevalence of metrical romances in these times of change testifies to their relevance as representations (records of societal norms and changes) as well as imagined representations (as interventions in social change and as collective processing of social change) of their social circumstances. We can read in these texts, through surviving copies collected in archives and curated in museums, but also in their digital documentations, Filipino worldviews of the period—the depictive, the desired, and the delusional.

The rarity of significant studies on the Philippine corrido of the period and earlier indicates its problematic standing as national literature and, as such, as a cultural artifact that can be deployed in the making of the nation. Acknowledged as popular but disdained as trifling and inconsequential, they nevertheless exhibit the mental partialities of "the ordinary native," enthusiastically quoted and recited "on every conceivable occasion."[23] The consensus of dismissive opinions towards metrical romances and its equally popular performances, such as the *komedya* or *moro-moro*, by the colonizer and ilustrado nationalist critics alike[24] is illustrative of this problematic standing even at the height of their circulation. Favored by censoring authorities because of their "safe" derivative content and consumed as in-demand products of the 19th-century economic development, they nevertheless demonstrate the native's supposed backwardness and ignorance—evidence of colonial superiority but also its failure, fuel for nationalist passionate indignation but also of the sidelining of ordinary natives from its agenda and processes.

This problematic standing in both the colonial and nationalist projects is paralleled by the corrido's uncertain status as national literature and material culture. Studied primarily as an oral tradition,[25] their materiality, as print literature and theater, is glossed over. Thus, even as mass-printed pamphlets, metrical romances are analyzed as records of orality—of an oral tradition extant for four centuries but now made defunct and replaced by new media technologies, including print. All the more so when recognized as source materials for the popular komedya or moro-moro of the period, a distinction is maintained between their orality with their written or printed versions and

22 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market."

23 Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," 203-204.

24 Nicanor Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya: History, Indigenization, Revitalization," *Philippine Humanities Review* 11 no. 1-2 (2010): 19-21.

25 Eugenio, *Awit and Korido*. Carpio, "Study of Bikol Metrical Romances."

subsequently with their performance as theater.[26] This can be attributed to specific interests and objects within disciplines or the inherent blindness of strict disciplinary divisions. Ideally, then, metrical romances can be simultaneously thought of and studied as one continuous form that is oral, printed, and performed. Minimally, the analyses of printed versions found in archives, museums, and private collections must first recognize their printed make-up—their objectness, their materiality as such—and then treat their orality and performance as horizons of subsequent analyses and interpretation.

The first half of this minimal position is precisely what Franz Baüml refers to as the process of inquiry of a "secondary theory."[27] He distinguishes two theories of research based on whether they are structured by observed oral performances or built upon this first process. The latter is seen as analyses (of the characteristics or formulas) of the first inquiry's text—its "textual symptoms." The conclusion derivable from these two theories diverges: the primary theory, based on performed orality, creates definitions for and identifies the functions of theme and formula in oral compositions, and the secondary theory identifies the functions of theme and formula "in the written text as indicators of its origin in oral tradition."[28] This means that the study of metrical romances in written or printed forms must necessarily only analogically indicate their possibilities as oral tradition: "In short, the conclusion of the secondary theory consists of a purely theoretical support for an unknown…a written text exhibiting the attributes which…can be considered as attributes of oral composition [but] does not, therefore, yield proof of such composition…[i]t yields [only] analogies to demonstrably composed texts…"[29] Is not this equation of the archived print metrical romances to what Baüml calls "pseudo-oral" a limiting of their analysis? There is a sense that it frees them for more nuanced and expansive examination—deploying their presumed past

26 This is seen in Tiongson's historical tracing of the origins of komedya, citing Wenceslao Retana who dates the first theatrical staging in Cebu in 1598, attributing its authorship to the Jesuit Vicente Puche. While Tiongson asserts that the source materials for komedya are metrical romances, their historical entanglement is not problematized or seen as significant. Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya," 16. Resil Mojares also matter-of-factly states that the Cebuano version of the komedya, called *linambay*, "draws its plot material from the European metrical romances" without concern for this entanglement, although he later asserts a clear relation with indigenous oral traditions such as epics—as the linambay assumed parallel ritual and social conserving functions. See Resil B. Mojares, *Theater in Society, Society in Theater: Social History of a Cebuano Village, 1840-1940* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1985), 3 and 90-92.

27 Franz Bäuml, "Medieval texts and the Two Theories of Oral-Formulaic Composition: A Proposal for a Third Theory," *New Literary History* 16 no. 1 (1984): 31-49.

28 Bäuml, "Medieval texts and the Two Theories of Oral-Formulaic Composition," 32-33.

29 Bäuml, "Medieval texts and the Two Theories of Oral-Formulaic Composition," 34.

orality into the investigation of their dynamics with their historical and social contexts—reading in the texts, for example, the worldview of their period.

However, this requires discarding the baggage terms of what Ruth Finnegan calls the "evolutionist or 'Great Divide' theories"[30]—the dualisms of oral/written, traditional/modern, verbal/non-verbal, etc., extrapolated into the socio-historical break between oral cultures and modern print cultures. This extension of generalized features of oral performances illustrates what Walter Ong asserts as the "psychodynamics of orality"—now writ large qualities of whole communities designated as primarily oral[31] and thus fixed into the unrecoverable past. This is contrasted with the present societies of writing and print-transformed consciousnesses—individual and autonomous, literate, textual, precise—undeterred and unencumbered by the persistence of orality, whether residual or secondary.[32] But this writing/print-dominated *present* is, in actuality, many presents: metropole, colonial, European or West, the nation—positions and practices of superiority not over the romanticized oral pasts but over the hybrid unruly and, as such, forsworn present of oral-print-performance texts. The great divide between oral and print cultures displaces and cleanses current practices and appearances of orality into the past, denying their currency and prevalence—their dynamics, intersections, and hybrid combinations with print and performance. The same sanitizing move is performed with writing and print—amalgamating them with literacy, modernity, high culture, etc.—regulating their potentially democratizing and popular deployments. Long before Ong's reiterated splitting of the print from the oral and their extrapolation into distinct cultures, Finnegan had already established that "oral literary forms can also exist in conditions marked by marginal or even full literacy, and that some coexistence and often interaction with written literature is in practice the most common form as far as the corpus of collected or collectable materials goes."[33]

It might be that Ong's bifurcating instinct is the reaction of a particular privileged present position. The question is what troubling presence it wants to relegate into the banishing cracks of the in-between. This is clear in Paula McDowell's assertions on the late 18th-century "invention of the oral" in which

30 Ruth Finnegan, *Oral traditions and the verbal arts: A guide to research practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 21.

31 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 31-76.

32 Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 77-114.

33 Ruth Finnegan, "How Oral is Oral Literature?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37 no. 1 (1974): 59.

she shows how the "reflection on the spread of print was a key factor in shaping our modern intellectual category of 'oral culture.'"[34] She describes Britain of the period as marked by novel notions of oral tradition and the developing new-found interest in what will later be called folklore—"valorized for its presumed distance from the degraded present."[35] Specifically, this "degraded present" is the dynamic and occasionally volatile relationship between coexisting and interdependent media forms—oral, written, and print—that the "genteel authors" of the period depicted as separate and distinct, not as a consequence of their empirical investigations, but because of ideological motivations. McDowell describes the writings of these authors as characterized by a heightened effort not only to theorize the consequences of print and printing but also to counter the troubling attributes of the current oral discourse, particularly the potential power that emerges from the combinations of print and oral practices. She shows that the "expansion of the print marketplace…gave rise to new forms of oral commerce [e.g., the singing of bawdy or oppositional ballads, dissenting preaching, fortunetelling, and slanderous or seditious speech] in tandem with print [e.g., manifestos for 'Writers by Profession' to forge a 'Combination, etc.]."[36] These unruly oral forms and practices, tainted by their intersection with print, are not what Ong will consider as part of "oral culture." These were what the genteel authors' nostalgic depictions of lost orality or their laments about valuable oral traditions and practices on the brink of extinction sought to undermine and disavow. The ideologically driven distinction of orality lost, or on the brink of loss, associated a romanticized oral tradition exclusively with the past while linking adaptive unregulated print-influenced oral practices and discourses with a present of corruption and decay.[37] But the invention of the oral is not just nostalgia but also "extended meditations on the new problems and possibilities of print."[38] What is equally contested and, as such, at stake is the very identity of print itself.[39]

At this point, there are two necessary lessons from the ideological assertion of an oral-print great divide. One, the romanticized lost orality anchors the identity of a preferable print identity in the present and future and, as such,

34 Paula McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral: Print Commerce and Fugitive Voices in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 3.

35 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 4.

36 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 5 and 8.

37 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 5-6.

38 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 9.

39 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 7.

censures current vulgar oral-print practices. Two, orality as nostalgia underpins an irrevocable passage of time toward an anticipated progressive print society and thus condemns current regressive oral-print practices. Unsurprisingly, McDowell connects both with the concurrent claims of "new stadial models of the development of human societies" and the increasing fascination with supposed societies of "savages" "without the Invention of Letters" in the newly colonized world.[40] This agrees with David Graeber and David Wengrow, who argue that the fully realized idea of the progressive unfolding of time came late into the Enlightenment writings and debates.[41] They show that the idea of progress or development was largely a reaction to the popularly circulating and effective critique of European society by colonized indigenous peoples that both fascinated and scandalized Europeans. Women who directed the community's means of production and their sexuality, men who were not beholden to authority and a strict social hierarchy, community support for members in need, general intelligence and eloquence—these founded the ideas of freedom and equality that were debated in the colonies by the indigenous and the colonizers and that eventually reached European centers. They became the subject of books—chronicles, scholarly, political, and literary—and debates in public spaces and salons.[42] The idea of progress defused the indigenous critique and its consequences in Europe; it relegated the bases for such criticisms in the past—no longer accessible to Europeans who had left it behind. It is argued that colonizing and advancing Europe for good more than bad was the global present and future.

Is this not already familiar? Andres Bonifacio, an actor who performed komedya and moro-moro with an amateur dramatic society in the Tondo-based Teatro Porvenir in the 1880s to the 1890s, is said to have especially liked the metrical romance *Historia Famosa ni Bernardo Carpio* and its expression as the legend of the Tagalog King Bernardo. He made associations between the *Historia* characters and the country's history and changed the original Spanish names of places, scenes, and mountains to Tagalog equivalents.[43] Transposed, the Bernardo Carpio story became that of revenge against a lustful false father (the Spanish friars), of cutting ties with an oppressive king

40 McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral*, 23-25.

41 David Graeber and David Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021).

42 Graeber and Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything*, 22-77.

43 Teodoro Agoncillo, *The revolt of the masses: the story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (University of the Philippines Press, 2002), 67.

(colonial Spain), and of liberating one's birth parents from captivity (*Inang Bayan*). In the meaning-structuring socio-political context of the late 19th century, this oral-print-performance hybrid's entanglement and deployment in the revolutionary Katipunan's story is objectionable to the competing elite nationalist project[44] and to the contemporary scholars who seek to rid the 1896 revolution of millenarian content and anchor it in purely political-economic and objective causes.[45] Raniela Barbaza shows that Bonifacio's transposition of the Bernardo Carpio awit is not uncommon among the ordinary Filipinos who were able to "articulate their hopes and desires" through the literary form. She argues that in the process of *pagsasalin* (translation) that saw the assimilated metrical romance replacing native epic songs within the colonial context, the "hero represents the people as a whole—subjugated and therefore physically less powerful than the colonizer [but whom] God will help…fight the evil enemies who have enslaved them….[A]s illustrated by Bernardo Carpio in the tradition of the epic heroes, [he] shows the way to fight the enemies."[46] Meanwhile, in 1904, Isabelo de los Reyes defended the komedya against its late 19th-century and early 20th-century colonial and nationalist detractors by arguing that it has become indigenized—in its depiction of native customs and values despite its foreign settings, in its portrayal of battles in the form of dance, and the folkloric elements of the komedya's fantastic scenes.[47]

44 Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and revolution: Popular movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 4-8. Joyce Arriola, "*Korido-Komiks* into Film: Sourcing, Adapting, and Recycling the Bernardo Carpio Story," *Humanities Diliman* 11 no. 1 (2014): 21-22.

45 This is, for example, Joseph Scalice's position in two articles that critique Reynaldo Ileto's assertions on the Katipunan's entanglements with the Pasyon and the Bernardo Carpio corrido. While Scalice raises points that undermine Ileto's arguments, this depends on the view that the Katipunan and the revolution were militant struggles founded on "a dynamic ideology of revolution…consonant with the objective lived conditions" of laborers and peasants of the time and as such alien to the worldview of the Pasyon. Meanwhile, the Bernardo legend, which is separated from the Bernardo Carpio corrido deemed by Scalice as entirely Spanish import, is a backward celebration of social banditry full of "superstition and all the old aristocratic stereotypes about peasant thought." These ignore the currency and prevalence of popular literature during the time of the Philippine revolution. To insist on their insignificance and separation from the dynamics of the revolution is to regress an overdetermined process and this position is as faulty as Ileto's. This implies that Bonifacio's articulation of the discontent of the time was top-down, and there was no corresponding bottom-up articulation or understanding from the masses. A better position integrates Scalice's and Ileto's. Joseph Scalice, "Pamitinan and Tapusi: Using the Carpio legend to reconstruct lower-class consciousness in the late Spanish Philippines," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 49 no. 2 (2018): 275-276. Joseph Scalice, "Reynaldo Ileto's Pasyon and Revolution Revisited, a Critique," *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 33 no. 1 (2018): 55-58.

46 Raniela Barbaza, "Translation and the Korido: Negotiating Identity in Philippine Metrical Romances," *Asian Translation Traditions*, eds. Eva Hung and Judy Wakabayashi (Routledge, 2005), 260.

47 Isabelo de los Reyes, *Ang Comediang Tagalog*, typewritten copy (1904), Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University. Also in Nicanor Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya: History, Indigenization, Revitalization," *Philippine Humanities Review* 11 no. 1-2 (2010): 29.

His interest in folklore, which he collected and wrote with the assistance of readers he called on to help gather, write, and share what folklore they knew, informed a local knowledge-based vision and practice of the nation that his contemporaries could not quite grasp and accept.[48] He was seen as a purveyor of superstitions and nonsense, an incapable but fecund scholar who wrote and printed on anything, "a 'half-baked' pretender to European scholarship."[49]

In Bonifacio and de los Reyes, marginalized and marginal to the elite project of the nation, we are afforded foretastes of the potentialities of examining metrical romances as convergences of the oral, print, and performance—records of the times but in mutable and adaptive telling, renderings of lived or imagined relations with and within social reality, gestures of imitative composition or occasions for appropriation and deployment, symbolic acts of reiterative wish fulfillment or generative utopian longing, and so on. We already know from Herminia Meñez Coben's work on the verbal arts of the Philippine Indigenous communities that traditions were deployed "as a resource for creative innovation and not simply replication."[50] As with history, the tradition that underlies verbal arts is built and rebuilt according to the present demands. This mutability that is entangled with its context is "history-making." Tropes, for example, integrate beliefs and values about the natural and socio-cultural world shared in common. It also makes possible this very sharing. This is also true with other elements of verbal arts, such as genre, prosody, and performance style. Meñez Coben shows that this process was crucial in the resistive and adaptive repertoire of actions that Indigenous peoples strategically deployed in response to the changing world brought about by colonization.[51] Her work also demonstrates that the consequential "will to read literary or cultural texts as symbolic acts must necessarily grasp them as resolutions of determinate contradictions."[52]

To study metrical romances as an oral-print-performance continuum is to explore these potentialities within particular texts. As stated earlier, the analyses of these texts must recognize their printed construction first, their

48 Benedict Anderson, *Under three flags: anarchism and the anti-colonial imagination* (Anvil Publishing. 2006), 24-25.

49 Resil Mojares, *Brains of the nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes, and the production of modern knowledge* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 341-345. Anderson, *Under three flags*, 94-95.

50 Herminia Meñez Coben, *Verbal Arts in Philippine Indigenous Communities: Poetics, Society, and History* (Ateneo de Manila Press, 2009), 2.

51 Meñez Coben, *Verbal Arts in Philippine Indigenous Communities: Poetics, Society, and History*, 1-15.

52 Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 66.

thingness, and their materiality, and then treat their orality and performance as horizons of subsequent analyses and interpretation. But there is one final lesson for such studies and this particular research work.

Framed by a sincere comparison with Marxism and the reification of realism in late capitalism, Fredric Jameson notes that the "romance once again comes to be felt as the place of narrative heterogeneity and of freedom from that reality principle to which a now oppressive realistic representation is the hostage…[it] now again seems to offer the possibility of sensing other historical rhythms and of demonic or Utopian transformations of a real now unshakably set in place."[53] This notion follows Northrop Frye, whom Jameson credits with the most complete account of romance as a form. Jameson observes that romance is "a process of transforming ordinary reality" and quotes Frye approvingly: "the quest-romance is the search of the libido or desiring self for a fulfillment that will deliver it from the anxieties of reality *but will still contain that reality.*"[54] Yet romance, as a symbolic act, is also ideological—"with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions."[55] For Jameson, "to insist on either of the two inseparable yet incommensurable dimensions of the symbolic act without the other" so that the agential potential of the text to change its context becomes automatic or that the social ground of the text becomes a reified passive condition that is fantasmatically *reflected* is to miss the point. More disastrous than a mere misunderstanding, "to overstress either of these functions of the symbolic act at the expense of the other is surely to produce sheer ideology…."[56]

3. Material life of Philippine metrical romances

The metrical romance occupies a significant space in the nineteenth-century Philippines as the literary form that heralded the popular publication of secular literature. As the most popular literary form during the entire Spanish colonial period, it was this time that saw the flourishing of its material life as a print object. From versions of Mexican romances and medieval European tales, original narratives featuring native characters based on local folklore

53 Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 91.

54 With italics in Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 97. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton University Press, 1990), 193.

55 Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 64.

56 Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 67.

began to appear.[57] In 1838, for example, Francisco Baltazar's awit *Florante at Laura* was published by the Colegio de Santo Tómas press in Manila. The romance will then proceed to be a classic in Philippine literary history for its allegory of Filipino suffering under Spanish colonial rule. It became influential in the development of the Filipino novel and is the only poem published in the country that has not gone out of print since its first publication.[58]

Three interrelated factors gave rise to this wider circulation of the corrido: the appearance of the first newspaper in the Philippines, *Del Superior Gobierno*, in 1811; the opening of Manila to foreign trade in 1834; and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. As early as 1594, the first printing presses had been established in the archipelago. But until the printing of *Del Superior Gobierno*, ninety percent of literature published before the mid-nineteenth century were ecclesiastical materials such as novenas and devotional books, as the presses remained largely owned by the friars.[59] *Del Superior Gobierno* thus marked the beginnings of secular print in the Philippines and sparked the publishing explosion that saw the opening of printing presses in various parts of the country, one after the other.[60] This period marked the gradual move of the press away from the control of the church.

Aiding this was the opening of Manila to foreign trade in 1834 and the subsequent opening of the Suez Canal, which ended the isolation of the archipelago

57 Patricia Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Book in the Philippines* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 84.

58 The original full title of the metrical romance is *Pinagdaanang Buhay ni Florante at ni Laura sa kahariang Albania, kinuha sa madlang "cuadro historic" o pinturang nagsasabi sa mga nangyayari nang unang panahon sa imperio ng Grecia at tinula ng isang matuwain sa bersong Tagalog* (The History of Florante and Laura in the Kingdom of Albania, based on various "historical scenes" or portraits relating events in ancient times in the Greek Empire and written by one who delights in Tagalog verse). The awit comprises of 399 monorhyming dodecasyllabic quatrains in Tagalog and narrates the trials and triumph of love between the Duke Florante from Albania and Laura, the Princess of Crotona. Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 30.

59 Resil Mojares, "Reading Ranudo: The 'Translation' of Philippine Poetry," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 26 no. 3/4, (1998): 306.

60 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 29. Del Superior Gobierno was in print from its first issue in 1811 to its last issue in 1813, albeit published infrequently. While Del Superior Gobierno was the first Philippine newspaper, it did not cover any local news. It was managed by the colonial government and served to relay information on what was happening in Europe to the colonists. Jose Victor Z. Torres (2007) quotes Medina in Retana that "the birth of the first newspaper is not due to the requirements of commerce, nor to the literary or scientific spirit, and much less to the ideas of independence. It is unquestionably due to the eagerness of the [Spanish] populace to catch at least a glimpse of what is happening in the Peninsula during the critical period it was facing with the French invasion, when there was in the colony an absolute lack of communication with the motherland." Jose Victor Z. Torres, "ANONG BALITA? Notes on the History of Philippine Journalism 1811-1898," *Luz y Saber* 1 no.1 (2007): 32.

from the rest of European trade and signaled the influx of foreign goods. The economic prosperity was attributed to the shift from dependence on the galleon trade revenue to commercial agriculture,[61] but it also weakened the strict censorship that the Spanish colonial administration had enforced. The Spanish colonial Church not only owned and administered the presses, but it also regulated the entry of books into the Manila Port.[62] The production and circulation of books of romance were given particular care in the attempt to be prohibited, not only by officials in Manila but also in Spain, where intellectuals and the religious exerted pressure on lawmakers to prohibit the publication and reading of the romances. However, no truly effective legislation resulted, and the circulation of these continued in Spain and overseas.[63] Matthew Hill painstakingly follows the journey of books from Europe to Mexico to Manila, among them the books of romance, as they are banned but smuggled to eventually make their way to the natives who were literate in the Roman letters.[64]

While the entry of European and Mexican romances into the country was never really deterred by censorship,[65] the relaxation of the laws and the emergence of privately owned presses made printing more accessible to all sorts of authors, particularly those who were not priests. This change was slow to show in the literature produced at the time, but the surge in the production of metrical romances in vernacular languages by both religious and commercial publishers disrupted the solely religious-didactic form of publishing.[66] In cities

61 Lumbera, "Consolidation of Tradition in Nineteeth-Century Tagalog Poetry," 377-378.

62 Manuel, E. Arsenio, "A Survey of Philippine Folk Epics," *Asian Folklore Studies* 22 (1963): 47.

63 Irving Albert Leonard, *Books of the brave: being an account of books and of men in the Spanish Conquest and settlement of the sixteenth-century New World* (University of California Press, 1992), 75.

64 For Hill, the existence of the Tagalog translation of *Barlaam at Josaphat* (1712) by the Jesuit Antonio de Borja suggested the existence of an indigenous elite learned in roman letters. We know through Lumbera that the prolific writer of awits and corridos and Baltazar's mentor, Jose dela Cruz (also known as Huseng Sisiw) wrote romances, which suggested that the metrical romances are standard reading fare in the islands long before the close of the eighteenth century. Lumbera, "Consolidation of Tradition in Nineteeth-Century Tagalog Poetry," 627. Unfortunately, no extant copies from that period survived. This is borne out of various reasons, most notably the perishable nature of booklets, as they were printed on cheap and thin paper, ravaged by mildew and bookworm. Fansler reports the oldest copy of Philippine metrical romance that he has come across as dated 1815. Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," 204.

65 Leonard, the first to have documented the movement of books from Europe to the Indies in the 1933 *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies* and 1949 *Books of the Brave*, describes the novels of chivalry as having "notoriously bypassed all attempts of prohibition from the colonies," being "especially vulnerable to such interference because they were too full of the sure-fire ingredients which make for the popular success of literature at any time or place, that is, generous portions of action, adventure, love thrills, virile heroes, gallant deeds, lovely ladies, vigorous tone, optimism, loyalty, and other virtues." Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, 41.

66 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 60-61.

and towns, these romances were printed cheaply as thin pamphlets or leaflets on rice paper[67] and produced in large numbers in various local languages.[68]

The typical metrical romance was in sextodecimo size (around 14.5x 10cm) with paper covers and newsprint pages, similar to novenas.[69] Popular corridos went through several editions or reprintings but rarely bore this information. They also typically did not bear the information on the author, publisher, and year of publication.[70] On an undated Martinez edition of the metrical romance *Doncella Teodora* that bore the marking "Fifth Edition," Eugenio underscores the significance of its printing vis-a-vis the extreme scarcity, high cost of printing, and strict censorship in force.[71] In rare instances that the publisher was named, they would be inconsistently referred to in the pamphlet covers, suggesting different reprintings. Three corridos of the same publisher identify it as "Mariana Imprenta y Libreria," "Lib. Mariana," and "Mariana Imprenta, Libreria y Incuadernacion."

Because of the size and make of corrido pamphlets, they were easily portable, hawked, and sold in sidewalk stalls for five or ten centavos each.[72] More than one person would read each copy sold; the person who bought it would read it, lend it to friends and neighbours, and discuss it with them, as customary with vernacular weeklies. This portability of the corrido pamphlet allowed it to easily circulate from hand to hand and reach the most remote barrios through itinerant peddling. In some corridos, this custom is mentioned in the address to the readers, usually found on the first page of the pamphlet, where the author implores the reader-borrower to take good care of the copy and to return it to the owner so others may read it.[73]

So entrenched into the daily lives of nineteenth-century Filipinos was the metrical romance that it was "the street literature of the crowd."[74] Not only

67 Spanish poet and bibliophile Vicente Barrantes describes it in the 1889 *El Teatro Tagalo* as the "printed leaflets circulated from hand to hand." He speculates that the corrido must have been a result of corrupted readings, mishearings, and incomplete recitations from the books of knight-errantry and the Mexican romances brought by Legaspi's soldiers. Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xvi.

68 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 29. Manuel, "Folk Literature," 46-47.

69 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 61, 99.

70 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 61.

71 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xvii.

72 Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century*, 29.

73 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xviii.

74 Barrantes in Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xvi.

were these romances widespread, but also often referred to by the average person. Fansler writes:

> These stories not only make up the body of most of the entertaining reading of the lower and middle classes, but they also furnish passages for quotation and recitation on every conceivable occasion. The lives of such heroes as Jaime del Prado and Bernardo del Carpio are sung by the small boy driving the cattle to pasture, by the peasant working in his paddy-field, or by the itinerant beggar travelling from one town fiesta to the next. Even in social gatherings the apt introduction into the conversation of moralizing or didactic lines from some well-known corrido is received with approbation.[75]

Just how familiar the romances are is attested by a letter that Rizal wrote to his parents and siblings from Heidelberg, Germany in 1886, which mentions a character in one of "Tuason de Pasig"'s popular awits that he is reminded of in describing a picture of an old lady that he had seen. The author referred to by Rizal is Joaquin Tuason, a prolific writer and translator of awits and corridos. Elmer Nocheseda traces the referred metrical romance to have been *Patnubay nang cabataan ó talinghagang buhay ni Eliceo at Hortencio, quinatha ni D. J. T. nang may cunang uliran ang sinomang babasa, at ilinagay sa ilalim nang malacas na tulong ni Fr. Luis Gonzaga, tanging pintacasi nang cabataan,*[76] and emphasizes the familiarity of tone with which Rizal had referred to the metrical romance, as if the family had all read, recited, or sung together the awit at home.[77]

Apart from being read, recited, quoted, and socially discussed, the metrical romance is also performed. In the Quezon province, the whole metrical romance was sung and danced in *tapatan,* where performers start reciting verses in front of a house and encourage the residents to join them in dancing to the rhythm. At times, a participant would start singing the metrical romance from memory, and another would pick up to finish the narrative; other times, they would pick out random verses so that other participants could answer with a different verse from memory in a sort of competition of talents.[78]

Corridos were also adapted into theater performances called komedya and moro-moro, *duplo,* and *zarzuela*, which formed a staple during feasts, lenten season, and town fiestas. The duplo or wit-combat, for example, were often

75 Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," 204-205.

76 The earliest recorded edition was 1872 by Amigos del Pais.

77 Elmer Nocheseda, "*Indio de Pateros*: Updating the Bibliography of Don Joaqin Tuason (1842-1908)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 39 no. 3/4 (2011): 223.

78 Manuel, "Folk Literature," 47.

performed at funeral feasts. The winner is always the person who has quotations from the "Pasion" and the corridos at his tongue's end that are most appropriate for carrying on the argument proposed. These stories were not only quoted but also often transformed into dramatic form, and no town celebration of its patron saint is deemed complete without the staging of a komedya or moro-moro.[79] The komedya, in particular, was staged for two or three days with the approval of the town's friar curate and the financial backing of the local landed elite. The landlords' household help, *encargados*, and *kasama* were typically drafted into the production team, materially bringing the metrical romance to life: building and preparing the stage and props, cooking the meals, and even staging the komedya, which is seen as an offering to the people and the town's patron saint.[80] This was the case in Resil Mojares' social history of Valladolid, a Cebuano peasant village that became a center for komedya (*linambay*) performances from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s. The landed village elite produced and directed performances, while the peasant community provided manpower for the labors of each staging. Both elite and peasants also acted in the komedya in roles that reflected the barrio's social hierarchy.[81]

The first komedya, staged in Cebu in 1598, was in Latin and based on a romance written by the Jesuit Vicente Puche. It was performed by students of the Jesuit friars to welcome a visiting bishop.[82] Subsequent stagings were proselytizing and based on the lives of saints. However, by the 18th century, secular komedyas were being staged; the most prominent was written by Jose de la Cruz or Huseng Sisiw[83] of the preeminent Teatro de Tondo.[84]

Derived from Lope de Vega's Spanish comedia in the sixteenth century, the komedya's subject matter included recent events (*comedia de capa y*

79 Fansler, "Metrical Romances in the Philippines," 204-205.

80 Nicanor Tiongson believes that the staging of the komedya follows a hierarchical structure that is analogous to the social hierarchy in the story. The komedya thus legitimizes the existing social inequality. Tiongson "The Philippine Komedya," 27.

81 Mojares, *Theater in Society, Society in Theater*, 67-78.

82 Wenceslao Retana, *Noticias historico-bibliograficas de el Teatro en Filipinas desde sus origenes hasta 1898* (Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez), 19-20. Tiongson "The Philippine Komedya," 16.

83 Huseng Sisiw lived from 1746 to 1829.

84 "In no time, the komedya began to appear in the non-Tagalog regions. Gonzalo de Cordoba by Anselmo Fajardo was performed for seven days in Bacolor in 1831. In Bicol Don Alejandre y Don Luis by Guillermo Manlangit was staged in 1860. In Cebu Ceferino Regis and Salvador Gantuangco collaborated on Alimpatar in 1876. In Iloilo, Eriberto Gumban's Carmelina introduced the komedya in 1889. In Antique, Principe Gimeno was staged in 1893. From the late 1800s, komedya was performed in the Ilocos." Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya," 18.

espada), the lives of saints (*comedia de santo*), or stories of far-off lands (*comedia a fantasia*). It also preserved the original's three-part verse form, the complicated spectacular plot and idealized roles, and the themes of religiosity, love, and chivalry. A prologue called *loa* introduces the play, and comic skits called *entremeses* and *sainetes* interrupt its long acts. The play utilized showy and ahistorical costumes and unfolded on "a stage with one permanent set of two levels…a balcony on the second level and two main exits [and] entrances on the lower level."[85]

However, Nicanor Tiongson argues that the komedya was also indigenized. The use of local languages localized thought and speech, customs and values, and even worldview. As characters recited its verses and "the native words were released, they connected to an audience that thought and felt in that language, establishing a dialogue and synergy that located the play even deeper in the culture of that native tongue."[86] This is especially effective in komedyas that were written to portray, albeit stealthily, colonial relations. For example, in Francisco Baltazar's 1857 *Orosman at Zafira* "the *pusong* alludes to the guardia civil who could hang indios up by their arms or legs in jail, simply because they did not bring their *impuesto* and *cedula personal* or personal documents."[87]

The komedya performances during fiestas drew large crowds of people, even from nearby towns and their peripheries. This welcomed a massive audience thronged by people of different statuses or classes. Strangers were not seen as strangers or outsiders as they were all enthused to contribute to how the performance would proceed. This is because the unfolding of "the komedya would always depend on how the audience members wanted it to go…[for example,] the batalla or the moro-moro (the war dance) sequences…were always performed over and over again upon the request of the spectators."[88]

Tiongson notes that at the height of Huseng Sisiw's popularity in the 19th century, certain Tagalog komedya traditions had been set.[89] For example, komedya plots and themes were drawn upon metrical romances[90] with either

85 Nicanor Tiongson, *Kasaysayan ng komedya sa Pilipinas 1766-1982* (Integrated Research Center - De La Salle University, 1982), 1-5.

86 Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya," 30.

87 Buenaventura Medina, Jr., *Orosman at Zafira ni Balagtas* (De La Salle University Press, 1990), 95-97.

88 Sir Anril Tiatco, "The Philippine Komedya and the Recuperation of the Cosmopolitan: From Colonial Legacy to Cross-Cultural Encounter," *Modern Drama* 57 no. 1 (2014): 105.

89 Tiongson "The Philippine Komedya", 17.

90 Retana, *Noticias historico-bibliograficas de el Teatro*, 44.

the plosa or awit (dodecasyllabic quatrain) verse form or the hakira or corrido (octosyllabic quatrain) verse form.[91] Also, "[w]ith its rise to popularity, the komedya was standardized in terms of script and performance…[and w]ith the publication of hitherto orally-transmitted metrical romances in *librito* format, the komedya writers and producers now had easier access to what would turn out to be the main sources of the play in the 19th and 20th centuries."[92] Moreover, in the staging, the komedya plot movement and interruption were based on the significance of the hero-prince whose fights and exploits were the highlight of the play, and the *pusong*-jester whose pranks and speech target personalities in the audience and highlight local problems.[93]

During this period, the komedya became the most popular theatrical show in the colonial center of Manila. The end of the monopoly Galleon Trade and the opening of the archipelago to world commerce in 1834 resulted in an increased number of business enterprises that enticed and employed indios from the surrounding provinces to the city. Komedya provided a familiar popular entertainment because it was already in demand and widespread in the provinces. The same general economic changes also enriched the landed elite, who benefited from the trade of agricultural products and subsidized town traditions, including the komedya. As it was in the case of printed metrical romances, it helped that the komedya was deemed benign by the church and colonial authorities and thus escaped censorship.[94]

In the mid-20th century, between November 1950 and March 1951, *Liwayway Magazine* serialized the Bernardo Carpio corrido in a dual format: a prose version on the left side of the page spread and a komiks version on the right. This was in conjunction with the growing popularity of the komiks form introduced into Philippine culture through American colonialism and the Second World War. But this was also indicative of the continued popularity of stories adapted from metrical romances.[95] *Liwayway's* serialization of Bernardo Carpio's story was also turned into a movie, produced and distributed by Sampaguita Pictures in 1951. There were a number of films produced during this period based on stories that were serialized as komiks by magazines,

91 Tiongson, *Kasaysayan ng komedya sa Pilipinas*, 21-22.

92 Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya," 18.

93 Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800*, trans. Vicente del Carmen (The Filipiniana Book Guild, 1973), 80-82.

94 Tiongson, "The Philippine Komedya," 18.

95 Arriola, "*Korido-Komiks* into Film," 1.

such as *Liwayway*; many were stories from corridos.[96] As such, J.L. Arriola describes Philippine society in the 1950s as "hooked on romance" in the form of komiks and film, when the consciousness of the Filipinos was captured by the "korido tradition."[97]

4. Women in metrical romances

Even at the height of its popularity in the nineteenth century up to the early twentieth century, metrical romances have been seen with disapproval by both Spanish scholars and nationalists because of their nonconformity with modern and realist criteria of literature, its overt religious content, and its blatant Europeanness. The most infamous repudiation was perhaps from Trinidad Pardo de Tavera in a 1920 address to teachers, decrying the metrical romance as a residue of the Spanish colonial regime, a regressive and corrupt influence on the religion and education system on the burgeoning Filipino consciousness after the turn of the century. It echoed an earlier statement by Fray Jose M. Ruiz in the Philippine Exposition Madrid in 1887: the corrido is full of anachronisms, inaccuracies, and absurdities. It should be done away with, serving no other purpose than escapism. Tavera cites how "none of the characters is native. All are Turks, Arabs, knight errants, ambassadors, dukes, warriors in armor provided with magic arms and with balsams like the famous one of Fierabras, good Castilians, and bad strangers. All the characters are antipodal to Philippine realities and with the semblance of the real and true being from unknown lands and prodigious races."[98] Tavera's sentiment was shared by other early twentieth-century scholars who sought to find sources of nationalism and national identity from identifiably indigenous traditions. The contradiction and limitation of Tavera's position is his derision of foreign influence while simultaneously being biased towards modern realist definitions of literature. For Tavera and similar scholars, metrical romances were found wanting in terms of depth that could respond to the need for a new consciousness of Filipinos, and even harmful because they petrified European ideas and values.

96 Arriola, "*Korido-Komiks* into Film," 2, 17.

97 Arriola, "*Korido-Komiks* into Film," 17, 25.

98 Pardo de Tavera, *The Legacy of Ignorantism*, 14-15.

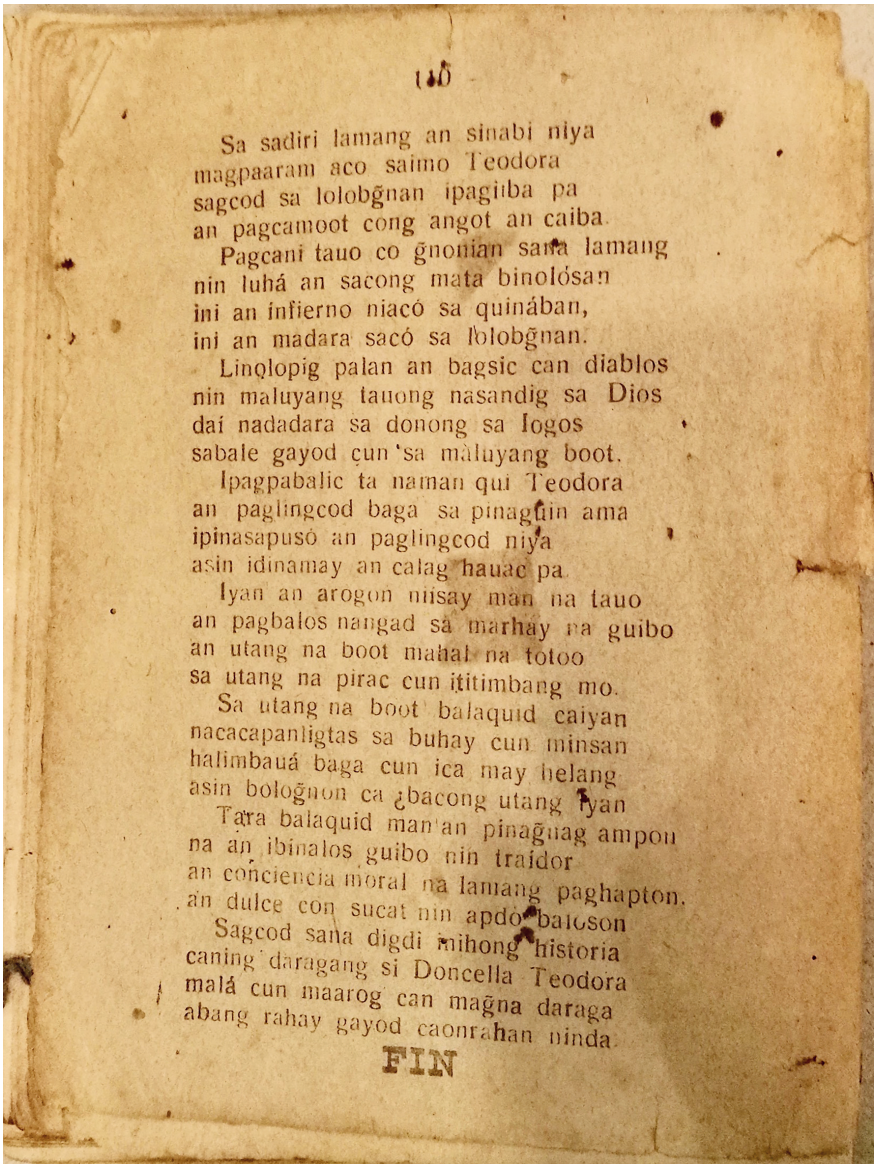
Characters in metrical romances were particularly typical and did not provide variety. Cecilia Carpio notes that "characters are the customary stock figures of medieval romance—brave heroes, lovely ladies, lascivious Turks, giant[sic], enchantresses, and magicians. Heroes and heroines are made to conform to a pattern of the idealized type, leaving little room for development."[99] If the metrical romance is an object that documents a worldview and also reinforces it, it is most useful to see how women were described, what roles they occupied, in what spaces they appeared, and how they acted in metrical romances.

The corrido *Agui-Agui ni Doncella Teodora* closes by declaring that it is a narrative that "if young girls emulate, oh how great and wonderful their honor would be";[100] such a statement is common in the corridos, as they are primarily narratives of exemplar lives (See Fig. 1). Female corrido protagonists are conventionally described by their beauty and religious piety, either through comparisons to a flower in full bloom or through stereotypical Biblical and Classical allusions.[101] With a relative dearth of studies on Philippine metrical romances compared to other literary forms, the focus on character construction in these narratives promises insight into this form and the world it moved in. By no means an exhaustive study, this essay focuses on five categories of women in the corrido, categorized according to their function in the narratives, which are useful in discussing worldviews on women in the nineteenth century. The metrical romances' lowly heroines, *madrastas* or stepmothers, collateral characters, the Virgin Mary, and women background characters are discussed below.

99 Carpio, "Study of Bikol Metrical Romances," 293-294.

100 In *Doncella Teodora:* "malá cun maaarog can mağna daraga /abang rahay gayon caonrahan ninda," *Agui-agui ni Doncella Teodora,* booklet (Museo Historico de la Universidad de Sta. Isabel).

101 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xxx.



Sa sadiri lamang an sinabi niya
magpaaram aco saimo Teodora
sagcod sa lolobgnan ipagiiba pa
an pagcamoot cong angot an caiba.
Pagcani tauo co gnonian sana lamang
nin luhá an sacong mata binolósan
ini an infierno niacó sa quinában,
ini an madara sacó sa lolobgnan.
Linolopig palan an bagsic can diablos
nin maluyang tauong nasandig sa Dios
dai nadadara sa donong sa logos
sabale gayod cun 'sa maluyang boot.
Ipagpabalic ta naman qui Teodora
an paglingcod baga sa pinagfin ama
ipinasapusó an paglingcod niya
asin idinamay an calag hauac pa.
Iyan an arogon niisay man na tauo
an pagbalos nangad sá marhay na guibo
an utang na boot mahal na totoo
sa utang na pirac cun ititimbang mo.
Sa utang na boot balaquid caiyan
nacacapanligtas sa buhay cun minsan
halimbauá baga cun ica may helang
asin bologñon ca ¿bacong utang iyan
Tara balaquid man an pinagñag ampon
na an ibinalos guibo nin traidor
an conciencia moral na lamang paghapton.
an dulce con sucat nin apdo baloson
Sagcod sana digdi mihong historia
caning daragang si Doncella Teodora
malá cun maarog can magna daraga
abang rahay gayod caonrahan ninda.

FIN

Fig. 1. The last page of a booklet copy of *Agui-Agui ni Doncella Teodora* from the Museo Historico de Universidad Santa Isabel in Naga City, Philippines. The corrido closes with a reminder to young women to emulate the life of the corrido's heroine so their lives, too, may be honorable. The image is the researcher's own.

Lowly heroines are women protagonists who are described as having no special status. They either come from a simple family with a reasonable occupation or have undergone a circumstance that has relegated them to a lesser status than before. They may be youthful only-daughters or young wives. In *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria na Aqui nin Magna Para-Asin* (Vida or Agui-Agui of Saint Isideria the Daughter of Salt Workers),[102] Isideria comes from a simple family that is described as "not too poor, not too lacking, not too well-off compared to others, whose only livelihood is to maintain a salt flat."[103] The family status of the protagonist Blanca Nieves from *Vida ni Blanca Nieves asin ni Prinsipe Alfredo* (Vida of Blanca Nieves and Prince Alfredo)[104] is not disclosed, but it is described that upon her mother's untimely death, she is banished to a secret room in the house, only being delivered meals, forced to take baths inside the room, and deprived of all access to the rest of the world. *Vida ni Blanca Nieves* is a corrido retelling of the *Schneewittchen* folktale. In contrast to the hero, who is chivalric, valiant, and willing to face adversity to win his lady love, the corrido heroine is, apart from her beauty, compassionate and loyal to his romantic interest.[105]

Meanwhile, *madrastas*, or stepmothers, are described as possessing beauty. They pay attention to their physical appearance, as embodied by Blanca Nieves' madrasta, whose *espejo* she always carries. So great is the madrasta's value on her physical appearance that she is motivated to eliminate Blanca Nieves, the threat to her status as the most beautiful woman. The madrasta is also defined by her persuasive capacity and her talent in the malicious use of words to serve her interests, which include causing harm to others.

Collateral women characters appear in the narrative briefly, mirroring the lowly heroine's characteristics and supporting her as a character that is usually in close affinity with her but is simply more unfortunate to have their fates ended sooner. Collateral women characters are victims of disease or unjust acts, and their disappearance from the narrative usually signals a shift or a rising conflict—the incoming series of episodes of suffering of the lowly heroine. In *Buhay na Inaguihan ni Maria Alimagno na Aki ni Juan de la Custa asin ni Daliba sa Reinong Ungria* (Life Lived by Maria Crab, the Daughter of

102 Caring Gañolo, *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria na Aqui nin Magna Para-Asin*, typewritten booklet (Museo Historico de Universidad de Sta. Isabel).

103 Gañolo, *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria*, lines 26-32.

104 *Vida ni Blanca Nieves asin ni Prinsipe Alfredo Primera Parte* (Cecilio Press, 1968).

105 Carpio, "Study of Bikol Metrical Romances," 293-294.

Juan de la Custa and Daliba in the Kingdom of Hungary),[106] Maria Alimagno's mother is killed off by her father Juan to abide by the wishes of the woman he is wooing, Maria's future madrasta. Another example is Blanca Nieves' mother, who dies after childbirth.

The Virgin Mother also appears in most, if not all, of the narratives, in various names and titles: *Maria Virgen, Virgen del Rosario, Virgen Ina ng Dios, Virgen defensora, Virgen abogado, Mahal na Virgen*. While the Virgin Mother does not appear physically as other characters and only figures as an image or in prayer, the considerable recurrence of her name in the narratives makes her a significant character. Her name is used to introduce the lowly heroine, who is described as her devout disciple. She is called upon in times of conflict; she provides comfort in grief, discernment and guidance, courage, and in critical times, much-needed intervention. The women of corridos access God's divine power through their intimate relationship with the Virgin Mary.

Women in metrical romances are also stepsisters, queen mothers, nuns, madre rectoras, the mother or wife who is not the protagonist, and other background characters who do not appear to have any distinct characteristics. In *Vida ni Santa Isideria*, the mother is never mentioned apart from being in conjunction with the father, appearing only in the phrase "ama patin ina" (father and mother). She never speaks or appears as herself and is never addressed or described to have her distinct responses or actions, unlike the father, who is described to have the anger of a lion and from whom Isideria asks forgiveness when she has lost her way to the salt flats and does not come home for a long time. The Madre Rectora only appears distinctly as her title, the head authority of the *beateria*. She speaks only on behalf of the beateria or the nuns, who appear in plural like the stepsisters.

In all instances, these characters are static, one-dimensional, and not individualized, unlike characters in modern realist fiction. Commenting on the flatness of characterization in corridos in her study of Bikol metrical romances, Cecilia Carpio writes that "[t]hey undergo no development and show little individuality and character traits, so that a hero of one romance may very well be the hero of another."[107] Even in cases in which women are featured as protagonists and do not rely on romantic interests, where the plot of the

106 Marcelino Almazar, *Buhay na Inaguihan ni Maria Alimango na Aki ni Juan de la Custa asin ni Daliba sa Reinong Ungria*, typewritten manuscript, (Cecilio Press Collection of Manuscripts, Bikoliana Section, James J. O'Brien, SJ Library, Ateneo de Naga University, no date).

107 Carpio, "Study of Bikol Metrical Romances," 293-294.

narrative is supposed to have been driven by them, they exhibit no learning and change from the moment the narration began to the moment it ended, even after having experienced many undertakings. In fact, the heroines seem to have possessed all the characteristics they ever needed to survive their exploits since their birth. They are remarked to have pompous names and be imaginary characters because of being typical, owing to the corridos being built around the purpose of telling an exemplary life instead of telling a life that bears semblance to reality.[108]

Common to the woman characters of the metrical romance is the archetype of the long-suffering woman sustained by divine aid, who may be a calumniated wife, daughter, or mother. This character type, under which Isideria, Blanca Nieves, and Maria Alimagno fall, as do their mothers who died from untimely deaths, is also known as the persecuted heroine that comes from the Eustace-Constance-Florence-Criselda legends or the Constance Saga. Her essence is to withstand the series of injustices and tragedies that befall them by being examples of patience, fortitude, devoutness, kindness, and purity of heart. The long-suffering woman maintains her composure and remains faithful to God and her family amidst physical and moral adversity, such as being falsely accused of an immoral deed, losing a loved one, being caught in the middle of conflict, being tested by the devil, and suffering from maltreatment and persecution. The long-suffering women of corridos share an intimate spiritual connection to the Virgin Mother, calling themselves Her daughter. Their purity of heart is always reflected in their physical beauty, grace, youth, and chastity, considered one and the same with holiness or saintliness. Their misfortunes test their virtues, and to earn exaltation at the side of Mother Mary in heaven, they are required to endure these misfortunes.

An outstanding demonstration of the long-suffering daughter who heeds her parents' wishes and submits to them is Isideria. In *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria,* Isideria's first test is when she loses her way to the salt flats and encounters two scoundrels who attempt to molest her, to despoil her purity. Although her purity prevails with the aid of the Virgin Mary, she then finds herself unable to go home as she is caught, and later on becomes a hero, in Granada's war with Moros. Later, she comes home to her parents, who accuse her of disgracing them, suspecting that her reason for not coming home is her running off to taint her chastity. In no less than sixty lines of verse, Isideria's suffering is described. She is shown in prostration in front of her parents,

108 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, i.

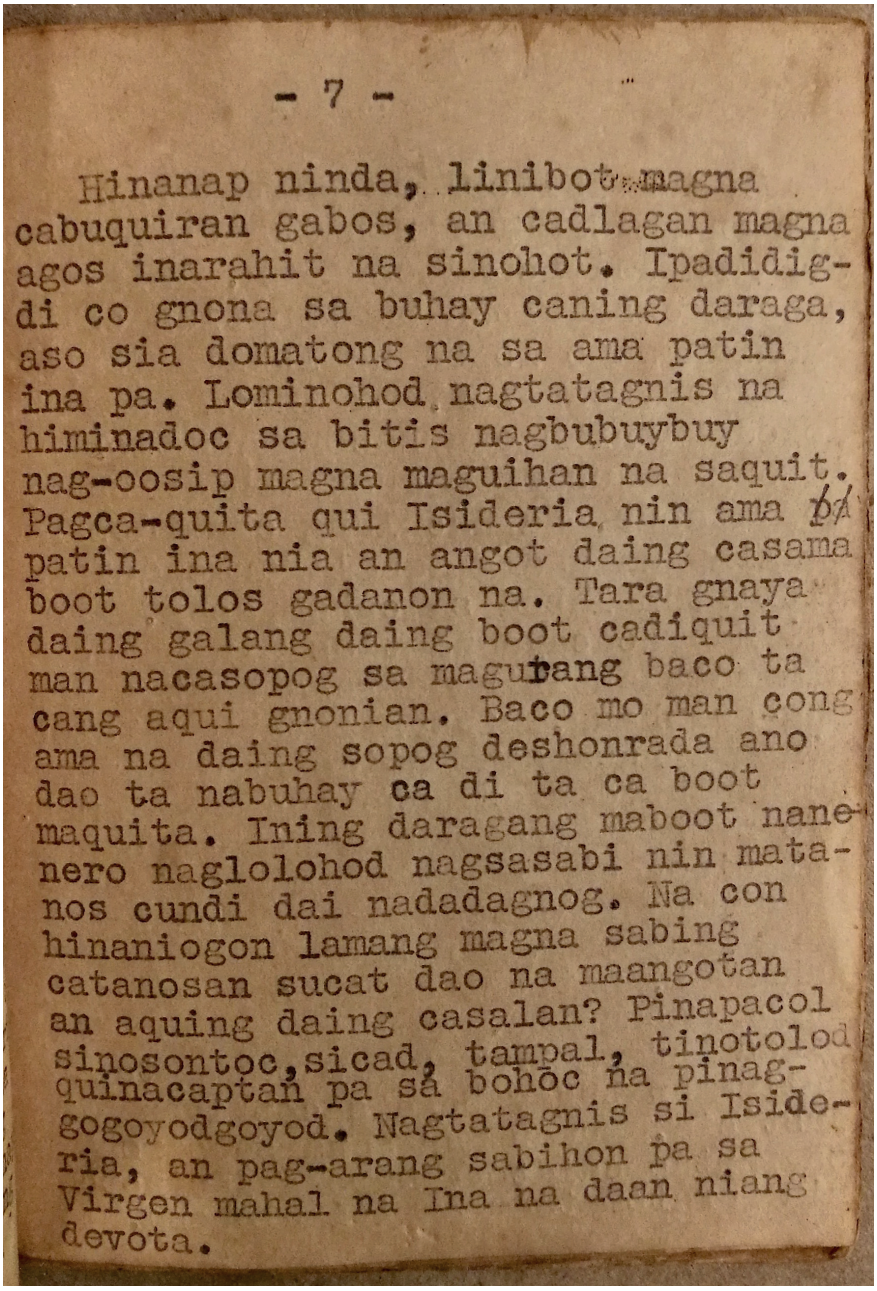
pleading for her innocence, and yet her parents violently castigate her while smacking and striking her, even pulling at her hair and roughly shoving her around.[109] Despite this, Isideria remains steadfast, praying to the Virgin Mother as her devout daughter (See Fig. 2).

To dramatize the intensity of her suffering, Isideria dies twice. She loses her breath after having been beaten up by her parents so violently, but after she is buried, God resurrects her because of her great faith. Once again, she fails to convince her parents of her innocence, so she proceeds to the *beateria,* where she kneels in penitence for three days until finally, God takes her life away, and the nuns find her corpse knelt in eternal prayer, emitting a heavenly fragrance.[110] Isideria's death, though tragic, serves as a preservation of her purity, having died young with her innocence and chastity intact. The series of unfortunate events in the corrido, often decried for its seeming disconnectedness as in Isideria's story, makes sense by understanding the text not just as a literary, i.e., aesthetic text, but one that functions to dictate how readers should act.

Further, the role of the woman is measured according to her embeddedness within the Catholic family. She is expected to preserve this order by pledging loyalty to her husband as a wife or to her parents as a child in their enactment of the will of God within the household. Her patience, fortitude, and devoutness are defined by tolerance of authority and order, which also draws up her constraints. She cannot leave the family home, do things that do not coincide with her parents' wishes, or act out of whim or personal interest, which is seen as oppositional to her sacrificial image.

109 In the original Bikol, "Pinapacol sinosontoc,/ sicad, tampal, tinotolod/ quinacaptan pa sa bohoc/ na pinaggogoyodgoyod." Gañolo, *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria,* lines 250-253.

110 This particular corrido is discussed in the tradition of medieval hagiography and with a focus on the materiality of the grotesque body in Shaunnah Ysabel Cledera, "Ang Banal na Búhay at ang Karima-rimarim: Pagtawid sa Sagrado at Di-Banal ng Materyalidad ng Katawan sa Isang Vidang Bikol," *Daluyan: Journal ng Wikang Filipino* 29 no. 1 (2023): 12-22.



- 7 -

Hinanap ninda, linibot magna cabuquiran gabos, an cadlagan magna agos inarahit na sinohot. Ipadidig-di co gnona sa buhay caning daraga, aso sia domatong na sa ama patin ina pa. Lominohod nagtatagnis na himinadoc sa bitis nagbubuybuy nag-oosip magna maguihan na saquit. Pagca-quita qui Isideria nin ama patin ina nia an angot daing casama boot tolos gadanon na. Tara gnaya daing galang daing boot cadiquit man nacasopog sa magurang baco ta cang aqui gnonian. Baco mo man cong ama na daing sopog deshonrada ano dao ta nabuhay ca di ta ca boot maquita. Ining daragang maboot nane-nero naglolohod nagsasabi nin mata-nos cundi dai nadadagnog. Na con hinaniogon lamang magna sabing catanosan sucat dao na maangotan an aquing daing casalan? Pinapacol sinosontoc, sicad, tampal, tinotolod quinacaptan pa sa bohoc na pinag-gogoyodgoyod. Nagtatagnis si Iside-ria, an pag-arang sabihon pa sa Virgen mahal na Ina na daan niang devota.

Fig. 2. A page from *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria na Aqui nin Magna Para-Asin* by Caring Gañolo, from the Museo Historico de Universidad de Sta. Isabel in Naga City, Philippines. The booklet appears to show no versification, but closer inspection reveals an octosyllabic meter and monorhyming quatrains. The image is the researcher's own.

Hyperbolic scenes of suffering by the heroine go hand in hand with the characters' muteness. In *Vida ni Blanca Nieves*, the heroine is immediately made silent upon her first appearance in the corrido after Nieves' father banishes her into a hidden room in their house, completely disappearing her from the household until her madrasta commands huntsmen to take her away to the woods. The heroine is deprived of all dialogue while her father and madrasta are depicted in conversation. Meanwhile, Maria Alimagno's mother was pushed off a boat to drown in the middle of the sea by her father, her cries not to be heard by anyone. Morguiana, Blanca Nieves' mother, dies after childbirth. Patience in suffering is constructed in the narrative characterization of women as silence. It is an expression of their devotion, submission, and gentleness.

Apart from this, women in corridos appear in various enclosures. These limit their physical movements. Blanca Nieves is deprived of mobility, having been locked up in a secret room; Maria Alimagno is effectively incarcerated in her father's and madrasta's house, as she is coerced to keep working as a servant. When Isideria was waylaid by the two scoundrels and found herself in the Kingdom of Granada, her parents would much rather believe she ran away with impure intentions. Her physical movement and distance from the home, to which she is seen to be naturally confined, is taken as a transgression. Even after having been resurrected, she commits herself to another enclosure, the beateria, refusing not to move out of her kneeling position until God finally takes her soul. Throughout the narratives, the women occupy either very little public space or are kept entirely in seclusion, as if they are only meant to be seen by their higher authority: husband, parent, God, and extensions of this hierarchy. They are gazed at but can never return this gaze because of their muteness. Their sacrifice and martyrdom are their way back to public acceptance. Unjust deaths are not only justified by resuscitations by God's divine hand, as in Blanca Nieves being revived from death thrice and Isideria's resurrection after dying of her parents' beating, but also of a veneration of their martyrdom that parallels that of the Virgin Mary's. It is a redemption of their seclusion by reentering the public sphere when the populace finally celebrates them as intermediaries to God's divine grace.

5. Worlds and Worldviews

The oft-cited negative commentary on metrical romance characters as typical, generic, and foreign is better understood by looking at the metrical romance as a composite print, oral, and performed object produced popularly and outside the Church through a long journey around Europe and the Philippines. The corrido resists easy definition because it came to be through what literary historian Resil Mojares calls a "creative deformation of folk forms under the impact of a new culture and, concomitantly, the naturalization of foreign forms introduced to native society".[111] At its core, simply a narration of life, the corrido's narrative accommodates the worlds through which it moves around. It is transmitted by allowing itself to be repeatedly stitched with other existing stories and overlapped with details from many others. Through retellings, reprintings, copyings, adaptations, translations, quotations, and performances, the corrido moves as it revises and creates, *sustaining* the narration, allowing the corrido to be told and retold, and indeed sustaining the life of the corrido itself as a material object that will remain popular until the early half of the 20th century. What the metrical romance says about Filipino women in the nineteenth century is better understood within its historical contexts: in what spaces could women be seen? How were they understood, treated, and valued? What were expected of them, and how did they respond when they did not meet these expectations? Historical studies provide us with more insight.

Several key contexts from earlier in the colonial regime served as the backdrop of the changes that were to occur in the nineteenth century. Owen cites the Roman Catholic Spanish state's imposition of what Boxer called "Mary and Misogyny," where women were deprived of political power and pushed out of their religious roles as *babaylans* and *catalonans* to be replaced by male Catholic priests.[112] The impact of this 16th-century imposition continued well into the nineteenth century, as did the paternalistic gender ideology that came with this massive shift. Outside of the church and law, women were also expected to be absent in the trade of printing and publishing, where heavy equipment was associated with the Filipino male worker. Eventually, she was also prohibited from partaking in dances and soirees or acting in

111 Resil Mojares, *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel: A Generic Study of the Novel until 1940* (University of the Philippines Press, 1983), 45.

112 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 24.

the staging of comedias after a 1708 royal decree.[113] The secular and public spaces where women were allowed, such as music, theater, and dance, had shrunk drastically.

On the other hand, within the domestic confines of the home, the woman was seen to hold the most dominion. She was expected to be responsible in the household once married. In the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, women's formal education was directed toward molding her after the Spanish feminine ideal: a woman whose main concerns were to be an obedient and loyal daughter, wife, and mother in support of the colonial Spanish Catholic patriarchal order. Apart from sewing and embroidery, the *indias* were taught the Spanish language for reading church texts. The colonizers built *recogimientos* and beaterias, enclaves that took in native women with the promise of preparing them for married life while providing them physical protection, moral direction, and skills training, which were attractive for the financially disadvantaged position of some women and also for women who would otherwise fit better in a correctional institution.[114] Recogimientos and beaterias thus thrived as institutions that produced "decent" women. Prior to this, Philippine women appeared in early chronicles as industrious, enterprising, and propertied, with women "selling and buying property, particularly houses, and boats, with the widows exhibiting full freedom to do so while wives dutifully sought their spouse's consent.[115] Women sold and bought real estate, some from their inheritance, others as business endeavors: houses and land in the city and its environs."[116] They earned a living "through lace-making, spinning cotton, weaving, and embroidery…"[117]

This came to a head with the changes that occurred in the nineteenth century. During this period, the Philippine colonial government "became simultaneously more "liberal" and more interventionist."[118] Liberalism manifested in removing the historic restraints on trade, travel, and residence, ending the centuries-long "insularity" of the archipelago. On the other hand,

113 Carta de Domingo de Zabalburu sobre comedias y festejos, Manila, 26 de junio de 1708, Archivo General de Indias (AGI, Sevilla), FILIPINAS, 129,N.93. In Marya Svetlana Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the17th and 18th Centuries," in *Lo que fue de ellas. Mujeres protagonistas en la ruta transpacífica del Galeón de Manila. Siglos XVI - XIX*, ed. Ana Ruiz Gutiérrez (Editorial Alhulia, 2018), 43.

114 Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the17th and 18th Centuries," 57-58, 59-60.

115 Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the17th and 18th Centuries," 53.

116 Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the17th and 18th Centuries," 53.

117 Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the17th and 18th Centuries," 52.

118 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 26.

interventionism manifested in terms of bureaucratic expansion.[119] The colonial settlement in the 19th century was the largest it had ever been, so much so that there were more Spanish workers when travel was made exponentially easier through the opening of the Suez Canal.[120] These workers were needed to facilitate the supervision and control of an increasingly busier life in the colonial Philippines. The removal of restrictions on trade, commerce, and travel paradoxically put Filipinos under closer control of the state even as they started to enjoy some of its privileges, such as increased opportunities for work. Women were allowed to register property transactions, and in 1863, when the Spanish finally decided to institute schools no longer instructed by friars but by salaried teachers,[121] the number of native women who read and wrote Spanish–albeit for the religious texts–had grown. From this sudden instituted access to literacy, a new "Filipina" emerged, one that would eventually be more visible in the 20th century.[122] There is a dearth of literature on the role that women played in authorship, publication, staging, and consumption of literature and performances in the nineteenth century.[123] This is also true for women authors, publishers, stage directors, actors, and consumers of metrical romances. There are several possible reasons for this: first, women lack access to status and resources needed for such tasks given the social pressure to cultivate their traditional role in the household; second, women are typically excluded from such historical surveys and accounts; and third, women's consumption of metrical romances are not seen to merit academic inquiry as such behavior is assumed to be natural for them as their reading of novenas and other religious materials—this is sustained by the naturalized image of the colonial-period woman as caretaker of home and faith. However, the meager information we know about women producing and consuming

119 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 26-27.

120 Owen enumerates various kinds of work that the Spanish entering the 19th-century Philippines occupied: vaccinators, public scribes, warehousemen, government secretaries, public prosecutors and defenders, development assistants, registrars of land, officers of the Guardia Civil, the revenue service, engineers and doctors. Previously, a handful of Spanish officials had handled several tasks at once. Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 27.

121 Although friars still chaired the boards, they were no longer solely responsible for education. Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 28.

122 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 28.

123 Santiago notes that the literature on the contribution of women writers and publishers during Spanish-period Philippines is so few that one gets the false impression that Filipina women only begun to write and publish during the American period. In Santiago's article, women authors and publishers of the Spanish period are introduced and recognized, including several who wrote and/or printed corridos. Luciano P.R. Santiago, "The Flowering Pen: Filipino Women Writers and Publishers during the Spanish Period, 1590-1898, A Preliminary Survey," *Philippine Studies* 51 no. 4 (2003): 558.

metrical romances and the impression that they were excluded from the culture is challenged by the actual reading and analysis of metrical romances. This is a yawning research gap that is only beginning to be explored.

In the pages of the metrical romances, women characters preserve a glimpse of what women were or have been. Very little is said about the character's appearance, save for sweeping adjectives and stock phrases used repeatedly as formulaic expressions across the corridos, earning the reproach of many scholars. Carpio notes with dismay that "[l]adies possess all the attributes of beauty but are seldom described in minute detail, and their physical charms are seldom enumerated. They are tersely and vaguely portrayed in glowing superlatives, trimmed with mythological or biblical allusions."[124] However, the little we know about them depict them "as if they were Philippine country girls,"[125] just as the foreign settings in the corridos portray Philippine village life "more than the life in the foreign countries in which the stories are supposed to have been laid."[126] Women characters are depicted carrying baskets on their heads, a familiar image of the Filipina of the towns and villages carrying her wares.[127] When Isideria is sent by her father to tend to the salt flats, we imagine a Filipina girl walking along the side of a Philippine rural road, even when the corrido clearly names the setting to be in "Españang cahadean" (Kingdom of Spain).

Vida ni Blanca Nieves opens in "Reinong Babiera" (Bavaria) with Morguiana, who is late in her pregnancy with Blanca Nieves, sitting by the window, embroidering. But instead of her pricking her finger on the thorn of a rose as in the German version of the folktale *Schneewittchen*, with the drop of blood falling on white snow, we have the following scene:

Huli ta amay pa ambon nagturo	As it was still early, mist trickled
sa dahon [can] burac nin sampagang biyo	on the leaf of the sampaga
sa burac dinotdot natodon na moro	the flower her finger brushed, pricking it
tonoc nacasalac malinao na dugo	thorn mixing with her pure blood
Idtong si Morguiana ninsi pagcamasid	This Morguiana, as she watches
can dugo sa moro na nagdadalihig	the blood of her finger oozing
an mata kiniling tomignag sa lagnit	her eyes lifted to the heavens
pinagnalagcalag maputing celajes[128]	to gaze around at the white clouds

124 Carpio, *Study of Bikol Metrical Romances*, 104.
125 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xxxvi.
126 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xxxvi.
127 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, xxxvi.
128 *Blanca Nieves*, lines 29-36.

The metrical romance replaces the rose with sampaga, *Jasminum sambac,* also known as sampaguita or jazmin sampaga, the plant endemic to tropical Asia and now known as the Philippines' national flower.[129] The sampaguita also appears in the establishing lines prior, describing the *maceteras* by her window as that of the jazmin sampaga. The flower's status in 19th century Philippine culture is so that in 1892, it is described in Pardo de Tavera's catalog of medicinal plants *Plantas Medicinales de Filipinas* as the "most popular and most esteemed," that "…there is no fear of making a mistake when asking any indio for it; a description, thus, becomes useless… It is grown in all gardens."[130] It is also noteworthy that the sampaguita does not have thorns like the rose; this factual inaccuracy is most likely a negligible consequence of the more important task of localizing the characters to make them more relatable. After having "pricked" her finger, Morguiana gazes to the heavens and sighs, wishing that the child in her belly resembles the whiteness of the clouds, her teeth to become white as the sampaga flower and pearls.[131] Further, the corrido retains the German version's use of ebony black to describe Snow White's hair and adds two more comparative descriptions:

asin an saro pa niang itinaram	and one more that she spoke of
itom nin evano arogan nin kiray	the black of ebony her brows shall resemble
Huling sa ventana idtong pasamano	As in the window's sill
casugad an color itom nin evano	the color black of ebony was akin
iyan bantulinao casugad parejo	that bantolinao akin as well
camagong na cahoy maitom na gayo[132]	the camagong tree so truly black

Bantolinao is the common name for *Diospyros ferre*, an endemic tree in India and Southeast Asia also known as ironwood and black ebony,[133] while Camagong (*Diospyros blancoi)* is known as Philippine ebony or mabolo, a

129 It was declared a national flower in 1934 by then-Governor General Frank Murphy issued Proclamation No. 65, supposedly owing to the figuring of the sampaguita in folklores and legends, one of which famously tells the tale of Princess Lakambini promising her lover Lakan Galing, a prince from the neighboring kingdom, her love with the words "Sumpa Kita." "Sampaguita - National Flower," Republic of the Philippines - Stamps & Postal History, accessed March 14, 2024, http://www.philippinestamps.net/RP1948-Sampaguita.html.

130 "Es tan generalmente conocida la flor, que no hay temor de equivocaciones al pedirla á cualquier indio; sudescripción, pues, es inútil. Hab. Se cría en todos los jardines: florece en Diciembre." Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, *Plantas Medicinales de Filipinas* (1892) 192-193.

131 *Blanca Nieves*, lines 33-52.

132 *Blanca Nieves*, lines 43-38.

133 The word Bantolinao is found in the *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bicol*, an 1865 dictionary by the Marcos de Lisboa. The entry on page 56 reads "BANTOLÍNAO. pp. Éyano ó palo negro como él".

tree endemic to the Philippines and is only found in the archipelago. While these descriptions are less directly referring to the yet unborn Blanca Nieves, they effectively situate her in close proximity to the Filipino readers, within their world and realm of understanding, because not only does it refer to the daughter that Morguiana desires and eventually, *wills* into reality, but this is also the world that Blanca Nieves is born into.

Las criadas, female house servants, appear in the metrical romances in fleeting scenes. In *Vida ni Blanca Nieves*, a *dama criada* was sent to Blanca Nieves' room to deliver her food. In *Buhay ni Maria Alimagno*, Maria performed the tasks of the criada when she came to live with her madrasta and stepsisters and was forced to clean the house, water the plants, and cook their meals. In another passage, Maria is shown in an occupation similarly tied to the criada:

Sarong aldao naman ining si Maria	And on one day this Maria
nagduman sa salog sia maglalaba	went off to the stream to wash
cadtong mga gubing nin tolong daraga	the clothes of three maidens
ta sia man iyo naguin labandera[134]	as she has also become the *lavandera*

Ma. Luisa Camagay's indispensable book *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* sheds light on the various occupations of women during the period, including *lavanderas* or laundry women, *cigareras* or tobacco-factory workers, *costureras* or seamstresses, and criadas. Camagay's attention to the lives of employed women of the period through her meticulous scouring of archives and nondocumentary sources revealed that they were not as restricted and uninvolved as they are thought to be; employment of women was well-paying enough and significant enough to warrant regulation. In the 19th century, the number of female servants reached numbers that had to be regulated through a decree stating that all domestics must be registered with the Cuerpo de Carabineros de Seguridad Publica.[135] Although there was more demand for male house servants, who were expected to do other household chores because the women had been employed as cigarreras, the criada also did the work of the lavandera and the costurera.[136] Documents show that the rate for criadas in 1892 was two to three pesos for a month, and in that century, employment as a criada for many women in the provinces

134 *Maria Alimagno*, lines 261-264.

135 In 1848. Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 45. Aside from archival resources, Camagay turned to iconography and literature for this study.

136 Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*, 124.

meant leaving home to migrate to the city because of better employment opportunities.[137] In the corridos, moving away from the family house meant violating the rules of the spaces where women can be seen. Isideria losing her way to the salt flats and ending up not being able to go home earns the ire of her parents and is seen as an act of disobedience and dishonor. Similarly, Maria Alimagno's madrasta is quick to reprimand her when she stays outside for too long after having been asked to draw water from the well.

Blanca Nieves' madrasta, like Maria Alimagno's, is understood to be unemployed. Blanca Nieves' father is mentioned to have gone away for business. While there is no mention of Maria's father having an occupation, the corrido reveals that the madrasta Kicay fell in love with Juan, "a different man/ because she has two children, both daughters/ and so at the time fell in love/ with one who'll serve her family."[138] Both women hold authority in their respective households in the absence of their husbands, a reflection of the interesting historical records that reveal this phenomenon to be unexceptional in the nineteenth century.[139]

The vilification of the madrasta might have to do with the corrido's preservation, too, of what women aspired to be, moreso, what women were told to aspire to be. Kicay's description of being "beautiful" is deployed maliciously as what reeled in "Juan the dull's" liking, especially immediately after describing her as "borara," with a tongue so quick to tattle and run off on the affairs of whomever she encounters.[140] Borara (also burara) is commonly translated as slovenly and careless, someone who does not clean after themselves, with connotations of being filthy and damp, but also with connotations of extravagance.[141] In this case, the adjective seems not to pertain to the physical cleanliness of Kicay, but her "pagcabugtac" or nature. Earlier in the romance, Kicay is also described as a woman up to no good, like the devil,[142] not far from the misogynistic "woman is the most monstrous animal ..."[143] Her use of words to deceive strikes a contrast to the muteness of other exalted women

137 Camacho, "Women's Lives in Manila in the 17th and 18th Centuries," 51. Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*, 108 and 128.

138 *Blanca Nieves*, lines 49-52.

139 Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 33.

140 *Blanca Nieves*, lines 29-32.

141 In *A Tagalog English and English Tagalog dictionary* (1904), the word "burara" appears thrice, in variants of the word "prodigal".

142 Original: "sa demoniong guibo sia na oogma/ sa babaeng ini na dai nin data." *Blanca Nieves*, lines 47-48.

143 Quote is by Casimiro Dias, OSA, 1745. Quoted by Owen, "Maria Clara and the Market," 34.

characters, the endurance of centuries-long indoctrination of the Spanish colonial paternal gender ideology that has deployed the biblical character of Eve as the model of disobedience to religious authority. Eve is perpetually linked to the *serpiente astuto* whose adept wielding of words persuaded her to take a bite from the fruit of the tree of knowledge, also allowing her access to voice. Between Eve and the *diablo,* voice is a capacity for deceit and the concealment of true intention. Command emerges from the ability to compartmentalize external verbal expression and internal character, striking a contrast to the transparent purity of the Virgin Mother Mary that, in her wordlessness, radiates even greater.

The general muteness of women in the metrical romances in comparison to men, despite their figuring as protagonists, speaks about the relatively unchanged perceptions of women despite the drastic changes in their material conditions and is owed to the persistence and popularity of *Virgen Maria* in Filipino culture. Reinforced by the ubiquity of town fiestas, churches, and cultural traditions in her name,[144] the "dalagang banal" or saintly maiden of the corridos act as extensions of Mary's many titles and manifestations, "alive but not real"[145]—dramatizations of ideals instead of historically accurate biographies or mimetic depictions of real people. The Filipinized heroines become more accessible *Virgen Marias* that the common folk can continue to aspire to be.

As popular texts in circulation at the same time as *Urbana at Felisa* and Rizal's "Letter to the Young Women of Malolos," the 16th-century conquistador's india who is to be tamed, civilized, and secluded for physical and spiritual betterment in the name of *Virgen Maria,* is also sustained as Rizal's Maria Clara. In *Noli Me Tangere,* the corrido makes an appearance that highlights both the influence of corrido and komedya on public opinion and Rizal's indictment of the form. In the chapter "The Meeting in the Town Hall," a young man advocating for newer theater forms for the town fiesta asserts:

144 Wendt notes how the growth of the cult of Virgin Mary is evidenced by the considerable increase in the number of Philippine churches dedicated to her from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (20 percent) to the twentieth century (32 percent). Reinhard Wendt, "Philippine Fiesta and Colonial Culture," *Philippine Studies* 26 no. 1 (1998): 3-23.

145 Robert Scholles, James Phelan, and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 161.

> What are those princesses doing who go into battles, exchange strokes and two-handed blows with the sword; do battles with princes and roam alone through mountains and valleys seduced by the tikbalang?[146] In our customs we love sweetness and tenderness in a woman - and we would be fearful to clasp a damsel's hands which are reeking with blood, even if this were the blood of an infidel or a giant... Would it not be a thousand times better for us to depict our own customs in order to correct our vices and defects and commend the good qualities?[147]

Apart from Rizal's apparent rebuke of the form's disagreeable depiction of women, which, unlike that of Tavera's critique of its anachronisms and foreignness, is motivated by the promotion of a disciplining homogenous "custom," this passage also underscores how corridos determine the possibilities and limits of the native women's potential. In instances in which characters broke through the enclosures of their roles as silent mothers, wives, and daughters suffering in the privacy of the house and the beateria, the social order built around the patriarchal gender ideology is struggled with. Rizal, through a nameless character in the Noli, though falsely attributing women warriors and princess adventurers to the foreign and "not our own customs," recognizes the threat of "positive, idealized visions of a woman in romantic love [that in the corridos, fiestas, and popular traditions] seamlessly joined with religious symbolism ... whose popularity increased in the period."[148]

Corridos saw the censorship of romantic love, or its suppression by spiritualization, as was the case of the *Corrido at Buhay na Pinagdaanan ng Dalawang Magcapatid na si Juan at si Maria sa Reynong Espana* (Narrative of the Life of the Two Siblings Juan and Maria in the Kingdom of Spain), which was not only barred from being reprinted but its copy was also destroyed.[149] And yet, even at a time of outright censorship and suppression of these themes, the women of the corridos, presumed to be meek and dependent on their male counterparts, also appear as negotiators, advocates, and warriors. Isideria, even under duress upon her encounter with two men, prayed to the Virgen del Rosario and then addressed them gently. With words from her pure heart, she appeals that they halt their dishonorable

146 The *tikbalang* is a creature from Philippine folklore popularly depicted as half-human, half-horse. They are known to mischievously lead travelers astray.

147 Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, 119. Also quoted in Raquel A.G. Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (University of Washington Press, 2008).

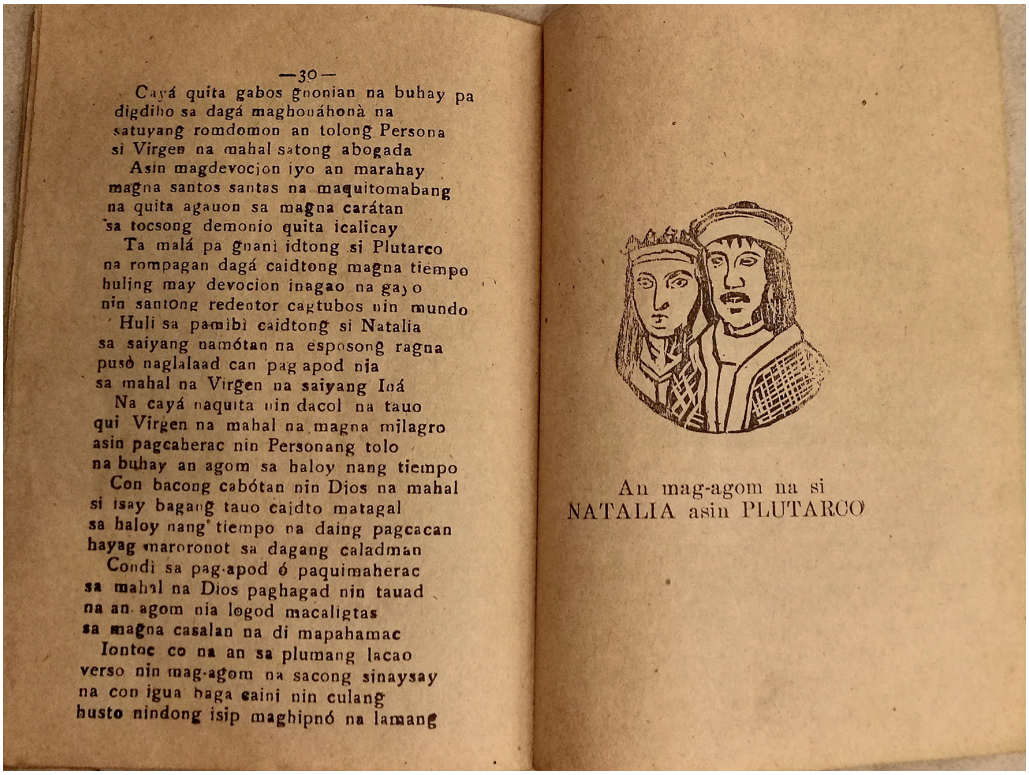
148 Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*, 53-54.

149 In 1983, the corrido was applied for reprinting by one of the few female publishers at the time, Doña Cornelia Fajardo, but was condemned for being "a truly defamatory libel against Christ, and the Virgin Mary, and against the rites of the Sacrament of Matrimony...," even after it had been previously printed with ecclesiastical approval.

desires, as she sees that "their blood is clean."[150] The men are assuaged by Isideria's penetrating sight, bestowed by her intimacy with the Virgin; in this instance, the gaze on Isideria, of both the men and the all-seeing eye of God, who knows all intentions, is reversed. Isideria's sight and speech are translated immediately into persuasive power, the otherwise mute and passive character gaining control of her destiny. In the corrido *An Nacua sa Minahan na si Plutarco, Agom ni Natalia, Dai Nagadan sa Irarom nin Daga sa Haloy na Panahon, ini Sarong Milagro* (*He Who Was Found in the Quarry, Plutarco, Husband of Natalia, Who Did Not Expire Despite Having Been Buried Beneath the Earth for a Long Time, A Miracle*), Natalia similarly uses persuasive power to demand from the *capitan* that her husband Plutarco be released and not forced to work in the mines, offering him bribe money of *caglima* or fifteen pesos (See Fig. 3).[151] In an even more difficult situation, Isideria once again flips her role as the lowly heroine when she dons men's clothes to fight in the war of Granada against the Moros, leading them to triumph. From being a passive victim of circumstance, losing her way to the salt flats, and finding herself amidst the conflict, she acts outside of her assignment as a holy virgin daughter or loyal wife. In these instances, although the belief in God's will undermined this, the outcome of the circumstances is favorable for Isideria and in agreement with her own will.

150 Gañolo, *Vida o Agui-Agui ni Santa Isideria*, line 118.

151 In the nineteenth century, fifteen pesos was worth a five-month salary of the typical *cigarrera* and *criada*, a reasonable bribe for a *capitan* from Natalia, who is described to have come from a simple household.



—30—

Cayá quita gabos gnonian na buhay pa
digdiho sa dagá maghouáhonà na
satuyang romdomon an tolong Persona
si Virgen na mahal satong abogada
Asin magdevocion iyo an marahay
magna santos santas na maquitomabang
na quita agauon sa magna carátan
sa tocsong demonio quita icalicay
Ta malá pa gnanì idtong si Plutarco
na rompagan dagá caidtong magna tiempo
huling may devocion inagao na gayo
nin santong redentor cagtubos nin mundo
Huli sa pamibì caidtong si Natalia
sa saiyang namótan na esposong ragna
pusò naglalaad can pag apod nia
sa mahal na Virgen na saiyang Inà
Na cayá naquita nin dacol na tauo
qui Virgen na mahal na magna milagro
asin pagcaberac nin Personang tolo
na buhay an agom sa haloy nang tiempo
Con bacong cabótan nin Dios na mahal
si isay bagang tauo caidto matagal
sa haloy nang tiempo na daing pagcacan
hayag maroronot sa dagang caladman
Condì sa pag-apod ó paquimaherac
sa mahal na Dios paghagad nin tauad
na an agom nia logod macaligtas
sa magna casalan na di mapahamac
Iontoc co na an sa plumang lacao
verso nin mag-agom na sacong sinaysay
na con igua haga caini nin culang
husto nindong isip maghipnó na lamang

An mag-agom na si
NATALIA asin PLUTARCO

Fig. 3. The last pages of a booklet copy of *An Nacua sa Minahan na si Plutarco, Agom ni Natalia, Dai Nagadan sa Irarom nin Daga sa Haloy na Panahon, ini Sarong Milagro* from the Museo Historico de Universidad Santa Isabel in Naga City, Philippines with what appears to be a woodblock image of the couple Plutarco and Natalia. The image is the researcher's own.

In the same episodes where women are seen grieving and suffering, the recurrent and sustained sound of prayers, laments, and pleas emerge as a voice, specifically a voice that perceives and recognizes actual conditions and thus cannot be easily disregarded or persuaded. When heroines address the Virgin Mother to take them out of their misfortune, they immediately express their dissatisfaction with their current situations, challenging the divine will that dictates their fates, the same divine will that structures the social order and subjects them to the will and authority of their parents, husbands, and church officials. The heroines only cry out their sorrows and pleas because their suffering and grief are unjust and undeserved, ignoring the truth of their innocence. Isideria asserts her innocence to her parents when she is accused of dishonoring them, and upon dying and being resurrected, she does it over again, only to be driven away. Maria Alimagno's tears are never-ending

because her stepsisters and madrasta ask her to do tasks too oppressive for the physical capacity of her body. In the end, the women of corridos are, after all, not mute. The limits of the colonial gender ideology seen in the roles imposed upon them in corridos are exposed in scenes that puncture the narratives. Beyond it, visions of a different woman and her world can be glimpsed. Perhaps, in this different world, the long-suffering woman sees a world in which her space and voice are not violated, and her perception is equal to that of others.

Structured by the genericity and sparsity of their descriptions, the women of corridos were malleable enough to accommodate the interpretations of their readers and listeners, as well as the interventions of their copiers, composers, translators, and performers. What were considered marks of the corrido's unsophistication and lack of literariness—its triteness, excessive use of stock phrases, and lack of imagery—had allowed the narratives their sustained transmission and circulation.

Conclusion

Previously, scholars have written separately on the metrical romance as oral and textual literature and komedya as performance art. Both are cultural forms that have seen their flourishing in the nineteenth to early twentieth-century Philippines. This chapter contributes to but departs from these bodies of work in several ways. First, at the level of theory, this study insists on the substantial continuities of texts and understands the oral, performed, and textual as different materialities of the metrical romance form. Typically, the rigidly upheld generic classifications, as well as divisions on form and material of these texts, make it difficult to see the processes of their production and consumption as synchronous and overlapping. This chapter has shown that these supposedly separate cultural forms were equally influenced by nineteenth-century societal changes and contributed to each other's popular circulation and reception.

Second, this chapter shifts the focus of such works on women, who are otherwise marginalized characters in the writing of history. Apart from there having close to naught studies on women writers and publishers of corridos, there is also surprisingly very little research done on women writers and publishers during the Spanish period in general. This is particularly more so in the question of women's consumption habits of metrical romances. It may

be the case that metrical romances are assumed to be gendered, with their oft-derided elements of passionate love, escapism, religion, and fantasy attributed to the putative interests of their female readership. Thus, this chapter applies a critical attitude to reevaluate history and show how women have been generally excluded, marginalized, or misconstrued in their writing. It opens possibilities for inquiry on how obsolete gendered and colonial biases have hardened distortions of women's place and roles in society.

Third, this study complicates earlier depictions of the passive and silenced nineteenth-century Filipina by reading the women of metrical romances as capable of recognizing their conditions and, thus, as presenting potential challenges to these conditions. Following the works of Camagay, Camacho, and Owen, the static, homogenous, and negligible Filipina in the nineteenth century is contravened. The women of the corridos were recited, performed, and repeatedly revised, along with the various worlds it carried: some contradictory, some obsolete, some carrying utopian potential, all recognizable realities to the public that has so widely accepted it. Although the nineteenth century was a period of drastic social and economic change, the colonial Spanish Catholic paternal gender ideology remained dominant, reinforced by cultural practices and social structures that perpetuated the same values. Significant changes in women's economic and social status and its effects on their roles in various spheres agree with the female characters of corridos, who can break out of the confines of their adherence to the Spanish feminine ideal.

As corridos accommodated reinterpretation and rewriting, reading the texts as objects circulated in print, oral, and performance reveals fissures in the women characters' supposed fixed role of either submissive daughter or long-suffering wife. Thus, a reconsideration of the Philippine metrical romance as a popularly produced, transmitted, and circulated object also provides a glimpse into the negotiations and struggles with dominant definitions of womanhood in the nineteenth-century Philippines. This chapter contributes to the expansion of space for the continuous reevaluation of texts in the nineteenth century if only to ensure that we do not deprive ourselves of a much more vibrant and just picture of the past.

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The Local and Locale in the Nineteenth Century Novenarios to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje of Antipolo, Philippines

Espacio y lugar en los novenarios del siglo XIX a la Virgen de la Paz y Buen Viaje en Antipolo, Filipinas

Mary Josefti C. Nito
University of Asia and the Pacific

Abstract

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, novenarios to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje in different regional languages were published and circulated in the Philippines. This paper examines these nineteenth-century novenarios published in the following languages: Spanish, Tagalog, Hiligaynon, and Waray. Among the prayers found in these *novenarios*, the study focuses on the closing prayer of the prayerbooks, referred to as the "Gozos" or "Capurihan." These, which could also be sung at the end of each novena, were composed of at least ten verses and narrated the miracles attributed by the locals to the Our Lady of Antipolo. The provenance of these miracle narratives in prayerbooks can be traced back to the eighteenth-century writings of the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde. A critical reading of these novenarios aims to bring out local worldviews and the forging of community identity, highlighting the role of the locale and the dynamic process of placemaking in the Spanish Philippines.

Keywords

Antipolo; Our Lady of Antipolo; novenarios; miracles; placemaking

Resumen

En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, se publicaron y distribuyeron en Filipinas novenarios a Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje en diferentes idiomas regionales. Este trabajo se centrará en estos novenarios del siglo XIX publicados en los siguientes idiomas: español, tagalo, hiligaynon y waray. Entre las oraciones que se encuentran en estos *novenarios,* este estudio se centrará en la oración final de los libros de oraciones, conocida como "Gozos" o "Capurihan." Estas oraciones, que también podían cantarse al final de cada novena, estaban escritas con al menos diez versos y narraban los milagros atribuidos por los lugareños a la Virgen de Antipolo. La procedencia más temprana de estas narraciones de milagros en estos libros de oraciones serían los escritos del siglo XVIII del jesuita Pedro Murillo Velarde. La lectura crítica de estos novenarios pretende poner de manifiesto las cosmovisiones locales y la forja de la identidad comunitaria, destacando el papel del lugar y el proceso dinámico de creación de lugares en las Filipinas españolas.

Palabras clave

Antipolo; Nuestra Señora de Antipolo; novenarios; milagros; placemaking

1. Introduction

Devotion to the Virgin Mary, or *Inang Maria*,[1] is one of the most popular traditions in the Philippines. It has produced countless rituals, such as novenas, processions, and pilgrimages, which are accepted as part of Filipino heritage and culture. For some communities, the devotion to the *Inang Maria* has served as a catalyst for placemaking, forging their community identity, and narrating their local histories.

The history of the devotion to the Virgin Mary in the Philippines traces its roots to the Spanish history of colonization and evangelization. Religious orders vigorously promoted the introduction and deepening of devotion to different icons of the Virgin Mary in their mission areas. For example, "The Dominicans propagated the Nuestra Señora del Rosario. The Franciscans and the Jesuits preferred the Inmaculada or the Immaculate Conception. The Augustinians and the Augustinian Recollects pushed for the Nuestra Señora de la Correa or Our Lady of the Belt. These images were closely associated with the devotional life of each religious order."[2]

According to the Jesuit Pedro Chirino, Father Antonio Sedeño, the leader of the first Jesuit mission in the Philippines in 1581, actively introduced the devotion to sacred images among the local churches. "He looked around for Chinese painters and lodged them in our house, that they might paint saints, not only for our churches but others in Manila and outside. He encouraged the *encomenderos* and parish priests to provide their churches with religious images, helping them accordingly. In this way, he furnished all the churches in the islands with statues, almost all of which depicted the mother of God."[3] Aside from locally made icons, many of these sacred images arrived via galleon ships from Mexico. For example, the famous icon of the Jesus Nazareno in Quiapo, Manila, traces its provenance in Mexico. Similarly, the icon of the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje or Our Lady of Antipolo, which is the focus of this paper, was also brought to the Philippines via the galleons from Mexico.[4]

1 Inang Maria is Tagalog (one of the major local languages in the Philippines particularly in Luzon) for "Mother Mary."

2 Rene Javellana, SJ., *La Casa de Dios: The Legacy of Filipino-Hispanic Churches in the Philippines* (Pasig: Ortigas Foundation, Inc., 2010), 25.

3 Rene Javellana S.J., *The Philippine Colonial Tradition of Sacred Art, Art History and Conservation Publication Series* (Manila: National Museum of the Philippines, 2020), 35.

4 Javellana, *The Philippine Colonial Tradition of Sacred Art*, 3: 5.

This paper explores the history of the icon of Our Lady of Antipolo and the devotion to it expressed in the novenarios published in the nineteenth century. The related literature for this study begins with Monina Mercado's *Antipolo: A Shrine to Our Lady,* published (1980),[5] and Michael de los Reyes' *Morena Graciosa: The Devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo through the Centuries* (2016).[6] Both works look at the general history of the Our Lady of Antipolo. The lens of these two books emphasizes the religious perspective and the agency of the missionaries and the Catholic church in introducing and propagating the devotion.

The present study, however, seeks to move beyond this discourse by critically examining devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje within the framework of its nuanced colonial context. To achieve the critical reading of devotion, the author also draws on the works of Vicente Rafael, Resil Mojares, Deidre de la Cruz, and Christina Lee.

Vicente Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule,* published in 1988 by the Ateneo de Manila University Press,[7] problematizes the conversion process and the translation to Tagalog of Castilian and Catholic ideals and signs into Tagalog. According to Rafael, translation gave the Tagalogs a space for appropriation and demarcation[8] of what was foreign into something more comprehensible within their worldviews. Rafael examines the vernacular transmission of evangelization by analyzing early Spanish-period grammar books, confession manuals, and the *Doctrina Cristiana*. He asserts that these translations had a political dimension, with the power to affirm the social discourse of order and hierarchy.[9]

Affirming this perspective but with greater emphasis on context rather than language, Resil Mojares argues that narratives rooted in the experience and mentalities of folk communities should be examined, focusing on the social production of meaning and the different structures that mediate its formation, such as the "topos" or place, out of which a given text speaks.[10] In his

5 Monina A. Mercado, *Antipolo a Shrine to Our Lady* (Metro Manila: Craftnotes, Inc. 1980).

6 Michael P. de los Reyes, *Morena Graciosa: The Devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo through the Centuries* (Quezon City: Claretian Communications Foundation Inc., 2016).

7 Vicente Rafael. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule.* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1988).

8 Rafael. *Contracting Colonialism*, xi.

9 Rafael. *Contracting Colonialism*, 211.

10 Resil Mojares, *Waiting for Mariang Makiling: Essays in Philippine Cultural History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 4.

article "Stalking the Virgin," Mojares identifies "... catechisms, official shrine narratives, approved liturgies and texts, sermons by priest-interpreters, rules of iconographic presentation, and a system of moral and material sanctions and rewards" as expressions of symbolism and meaning negotiated between the foreign and the local.[11]

In her book, *Mother Figured: Marian Apparitions and the Making of a Filipino Universal,* published by the University of Chicago Press in 2015, Deidre De la Cruz analyzes miracle narratives, such as apparitions, for their universal values and characteristics. She examines several nineteenth-century apparitions of the Virgin Mary in colonial Philippines, which were recorded in prayerbooks and accounts written primarily by missionaries.[12] The majority of the book, however, examines twentieth-century Marian miracles, apparitions, and popular devotions as they were mediated through different media.

Lastly, Christina Lee's *Saints of Resistance: Devotion in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule,* published by the Oxford University Press in 2021, looks at iconographic devotion and the voices of resistance among different identities in early Spanish Philippines. Through a critical reading, the author recovers "the voices of the colonized Philippine subjects as well as those of Spaniards who, through the veneration of miraculous saints, projected and relieved their grievances, anxieties, and histories of communal suffering."[13] These works attest to the richness of hagiographical sources as a lens for understanding the worldviews and mentalities of the folk population who are otherwise silent in the official histories and documents of colonial society.

2. The Locale of Antipolo and the Introduction of the Icon

Antipolo is a town about thirteen miles east of Manila near the northwest corner of Laguna de Bay. It is landlocked and bounded to the north by San Mateo and Rodriguez, to the east by Tanay, to the south by Angono, Taytay, and Teresa, and to the west by Cainta and Marikina in Metro Manila. Antipolo is situated in the northern half of Rizal Province, on the slopes of the Sierra

11 Mojares, *Waiting for Mariang Makiling*, 161.

12 Mojares, *Waiting for Mariang Makiling*, 27.

13 Christina H. Lee, *Saints of Resistance: Devotion in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 8.

Madre mountain range. This upland community was historically an agriculturally based society, but it has since developed into a thriving real estate hub. Politically, Antipolo city is also now the seat of the Rizal Province.[14]

Antipolo was established as a strategic location for evangelizing the natives in the mountainous region of what is now Rizal Province. According to Chirino:

> Not just one individual but whole towns started coming over to us, the good father finding them sites and helping them build their homes. In the town of Antipolo, almost a thousand souls came over in a single year, that of 1594 and 1595, and in the same year, more than five hundred of them were baptized. They had come from some very rugged mountains a long distance away, where they had houses and lands, all of which they had forsaken out of affection for our holy faith...[15]

In his *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas,* Chirino writes about his observations of the Tagalogs and their pre-Hispanic practices and beliefs. He notes that among the Tagalogs, there was a strong belief in survival after death and that the dead needed nourishment like the living. It was, therefore, a sacred duty to lay food and drinks in the tomb of the dead during special occasions. The Tagalogs were said to be also very sensitive about the disturbance of the resting places of the dead. They also believed in other spirits colloquially called *anito* or *diwata*. These spirits "live in trunks of ancient trees, in caves, in birds of ill omen and beasts of prey; in short, whatever in nature was of dreadful aspect or injurious of man was either a spirit or its instrument. The Tagalogs attempted to represent these spirits visibly in the form of images or *larauan* in the local vernacular, which they fashioned out of wood, bone, or metal. The forbidding appearance of these little idols of which a few have survived shows that the beings they bodied forth were looked upon as malignant or at least redoubtable; to be feared rather than loved."[16]

Chirino made Taytay his base and regularly traveled to Antipolo and the other upland villages. Because a big part of this chapter will talk about the fluvial procession along the Pasig River, Chirino's observation about the Tagalog's relationship with the river is worth mentioning. According to him:

> The people of Taytay loved the water. They built their houses right up to the edge of the river and spent much of their time in it. Even the crocodiles with which it was infested could not deter them from daily dip. They simply staked

14 "City of Antipolo," Philippine Statistics Authority, accessed December 2020, https://psa.gov.ph/content/city-antipolo-rizal

15 Pedro Chirino SJ, "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas," *The Philippine Islands, 1493 - 1898*, eds. Emma Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Manila: Bank of the Philippine Islands, 2000 [1903]), 13: 37.

16 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 137.

> out an enclosure with bamboo poles and hoped that the Old One (*nono*, the name by which they addressed the rapacious beast) would stay out of it. Chirino could not get over his amazement at this passion for washing, for like most sixteenth-century Spaniards, he considered frequent bathing a menace to health. "These islanders," he says, "take to the water as soon as they are born." Men and women, even as very small children, swim like fish. To cross a river, they do not need a bridge.[17]

It was in Antipolo that Chirino made one of his most important conversions—the baptism of Sayor, who is described as a mighty hunter who eventually became a Christian and took the name "Pablo." After his conversion, Pablo became an important pillar of support to the Jesuits in establishing the church in Antipolo. The small town of Antipolo grew considerably from 1595 to 1596 when the Jesuits established a mission station there. The 100 households recorded in 1595 rose to 700 by 1596, as entire barangays scattered across upland villages resettled in Antipolo. Due to this growth, along with Antipolo's salubrious climate, it was decided that Antipolo would become the center of the Jesuit mission instead of Taytay.[18]

According to the 1601 letter of Francisco Vaez, SJ, the Jesuit residence of Antipolo was ordinarily maintained by three priests. Vaez mentions, "We have tested the great devotion of this people, and their rare sense of piety in frequenting the sacraments, in offering prayers, and in undergoing discipline and performing other good and edifying works; and, finally, there has been wrought in them all a great change in conduct." During these early years of colonization, a hospital and a school for boys were established in Antipolo.

In 1602, when the building of a church was proposed, the generosity of the Antipolo Christians exceeded expectations.

> Two families donated a house and a lot each; another donor gave the money to purchase a set of vestments; a third turned in 70 fanegas of rice; other gifts raised the church fund to 400 pesos. Those who could contribute neither money nor goods gave their labor, going deep into the forest for the best timber they could find and hauling the logs back through runaways they had to clear themselves.[19]

In 1630, Rector Father Juan de Salazar proposed the construction of a new stone church. To build it, they formed labor battalions to gather both lumber and stone for construction. This new stone church was completed in 1633 and became the home of the icon of Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje,

17 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 136.

18 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 153.

19 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 186.

which had been brought to Manila from Acapulco in 1626 by Governor-General Juan Niño de Tabora.[20]

The Nuestra Señora de la Purisima Concepcion icon, colloquially known as Our Lady of Antipolo, arrived in Manila aboard the galleon *El Almirante*[21] with Governor-General Tabora. According to de los Reyes, devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje, or Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage, is one of the oldest Marian devotions in the country, spanning nearly four centuries, given the arrival of the sacred image on June 18, 1626.[22] According to Father Pedro Murillo Velarde SJ, the image was brought to the country by Don Juan Niño de Tabora, who first saw it in Acapulco, Mexico. However, there is no known record of the church in Acapulco where Don Tabora first encountered the image. According to Velarde's account, the incoming governor was so enamored by the icon that he begged the church to allow him to bring it to the Philippines.[23] As de los Reyes describes, "The image is made of dark wood and stands one and a quarter *vara* (more or less 41 inches)."[24] Because of his special affection for the Jesuits, he entrusted them with the image to be enshrined in their mission in Antipolo in 1632.

The history of the Our Lady of Antipolo is tied with the history of the Manila galleons. These Spanish sailing vessels made an annual round trip across the Pacific between Manila and Acapulco from 1565 to 1815. The first voyage of the Our Lady of Antipolo to Mexico took place in 1641, a year after Governor-General Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera ordered its removal from Antipolo following reports of its desecration by the Sangleyes fleeing Manila in 1640.

The table below outlines the journeys of the Our Lady of Antipolo, with the galleons acting as its protectress.

20 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 365.

21 The books on the history of the Our Lady of Antipolo mentions "El Almirante" or "El Admirante" in Christina Lee's book as the name of the galleon ship, while in the account Pedro Murillo Velarde he uses the name "La Almiranta."

22 Michael P. Delos Reyes, *Morena Graciosa: The Devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo through the Centuries* (Quezon City: Claretian Communications Foundation Inc., 2016).

23 Pedro Murillo Velarde, "Capitulo 1: Noticia de la Sagrada Imagen de la Virgen de Antipolo, y descripción de su templo," *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje* (Manila: Asilo de Huerfanos, 1887), 3.

24 Delos Reyes, *Morena Graciosa*, 9.

TABLE 1. Travels of the Our Lady of Antipolo with the Galleon[25]

Name of the Galleon Ship	Year of Travel
San Luis	1641, 1643, and 1647
Encarnación	1648
San Francisco Javier	1651
San Diego	1653
San José	1659
Nuestra Señora del Pilar	1746 and 1748

During its 1653 journey back to Manila aboard the San Diego, the image was given the title "Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje" as an act of gratitude from the prestigious travelers of the galleon. Among the passengers of San Diego were the incoming Governor-General Manrique de Lara, and Archbishop Miguel de Poblete, who believed that Our Lady had saved them from typhoons during the dangerous crossing of the San Bernardino Strait. In gratitude, the governor-general also vowed to return the image to its mountain shrine in Antipolo. Its return to Antipolo from the galleon in Manila began with a grand procession along the Pasig River, followed by a long inland procession from Taytay to Cainta until it finally reached Antipolo.

Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje,* published in 1887,[26] narrates these processions in detail. However, the account was first written in 1748, when he served as the rector of the Jesuit mission in Antipolo. Velarde was a Jesuit priest best remembered today as the cartographer behind the 1734 Velarde Map, commissioned by Governor General Valdes Tamon. This Jesuit historian and cartographer arrived in the Philippines in 1723 and became the first Canon and Civil Law professor at the Jesuit College in Manila. Later, he served as the rector of Antipolo (1747-1748) and wrote the continuation of the history of the Jesuits in the Philippines, titled *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compania de Jesus,* published in

25 This table is put together using the following sources: 1) Michael P. Delos Reyes, *Morena Graciosa: The Devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo through the Centuries* (Quezon City: Claretian Communications Foundation Inc., 2016), 10-11. 2) Christina H. Lee, "Our Lady of Antipolo, Our Lady of the Tree" in *Saints of Resistance: Devotion in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 180 – 182 and 3)(Primary source) the narratives of the voyages are also included in Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje* (Manila: Asilo de Huerfanos, 1887).

26 Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje* (Manila: Asilo de Huerfanos, 1887).

Manila in 1749.[27] Some chapters of the *Historia de la Provincia* document the local devotion to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje of Antipolo. These chapters were later published separately as *Historia de la Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje* (1887).

The grand fluvial processions of 1653 and 1748 demonstrate the extent of devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[28] Based on the devotees who participated in these processions, it is evident that devotion to the Virgin of Antipolo had already spread across various Tagalog towns.

By the nineteenth century, novenarios dedicated to Our Lady of Antipolo, published in different local languages, such as Waray, Bisaya, Bikolano, and Tagalog, indicate that her devotion had reached beyond the immediate environs of Antipolo. These novenarios include narratives of miracles attributed to the intercession of Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje. The miracle narratives within these novenarios firmly establish her presence and endear her to the locals of Antipolo and its neighboring towns. The provenance of these accounts can be traced to Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compania* and the *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje* of Pedro Murillo Velarde.

The most important among these narratives is the miraculous appearance of the image atop a tipolo tree. Eventually, the Jesuit missionaries chose the site of the tree as the location for the church, and the miraculous tree's trunk was used as the pedestal for the image. This was not the original plan; the image was supposed to be enshrined in the chapel of Barrio Santa Cruz, where church construction was underway.[29] However,

> ...the Virgin was often seen missing in her shrine and would always be found in a tipolo tree of breadfruit (*Artocarpus incisa*). Because of this, the tree was cut down, and its trunk was made into a pedestal for the Virgin. Later on, there was a need to cover the pedestal with stones because devotees would always get pieces of the bark, believing it had curative power.[30]

27 Jose S. Arcilla SJ, "Jesuit Historians in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 44, no. 3 (1996).

28 Please see the author's article "Folk Devotion in the Waterscape of the Pasig River: The 1653 and 1748 Fluvial Processions of the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje." *BANWAAN: The Philippine Journal of Folklore* 1, no. 01 (2021).

29 Delos Reyes, *Morena Graciosa*, 10.

30 Delos Reyes, *Morena Graciosa*, 10.

The town of Antipolo, where the miraculous image of Our Lady of Socorro and Buen Viaje is venerated, takes its name from this tree. A river near Carigara, on the island of Leyte, also bears the same name, as this type of tree grows in both areas. In the case of Antipolo, the appearance of the image on the tree and the consequent incorporation of the tree into its veneration are seen as a way of indigenizing the image of the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje.[31] The tipolo tree was abundant in the province and was widely recorded for its various uses among locals. It was already considered curative, but it became doubly miraculous when it became the apparition site of the Virgin of Antipolo. The connection between the Virgin and the tipolo tree remains ingrained in popular consciousness, as seen in contemporary paintings that portray the virgin enshrined in the tree.[32]



Fig. 1. Painting by Nani Reyes on the Apparition of the Our Lady of Antipolo[33]

The other miracles of the Our Lady of Antipolo took place in Antipolo and its surrounding areas, many of which were water-related. For example, there is the story of Jacinto Bernardo, who was wounded while crossing the Pasig River and was saved by the Virgin of Antipolo after promising to serve at her shrine in Antipolo for a year. There are two other accounts of the Virgin Mary saving people from drowning: One involved a child who fell into a river in Angono, while the other tells of Don Pablo Marquina, who was swept away by the flood. The nineteenth-century map below shows Antipolo and its neighboring towns, such as Angono, Baras, and Taytay.

31 A detailed discussion on this is in another work of the author. The publication details are: "Colonizing Sacred Spaces: Geography of Belief, Local Histories, and Marian Historiographies," *Filipinas: Journal of the Philippine Studies Association, Inc.* Volume 3. Quezon City: Philippine Studies Association, Inc., 2020.

32 An example would be Nani Reyes' "Ang Pagpapakita ng Mahal na Ina sa Puno ng Antipolo" in 2017, displayed in the Antipolo church today. The English translation of the title would be: "The Apparition of the Beloved Mother in the Tree of Antipolo."

33 Nani Reyes. Ang Pagpapakita ng Mahal na Ina sa Puno ng Antipolo, 2017. Photo taken by the researcher in 2021. This painting is inside the cathedral and near the area of the shrine.



Fig. 2. 19th-century map of Manila highlighting Antipolo and its environs[34]

3. Voices of the Local in the Novenarios

The miracle narratives from the account of Pedro Murillo Velarde were popularized through novenarios or prayer books. The narratives became accessible to the folk population and more understandable with translations into different local languages. The novenarios[35] that will be the focus of this study were all published in the late nineteenth century and printed in Waray, Bisaya, Bikolano, Tagalog, and Spanish.[36]

The proliferation of the novenario publications in the nineteenth century was because, during this period, "...the major printing presses were still owned by

34 Antonio Morata and Francisco Coello, *Islas Filipinas, Primera Hoja Central.* 1852. Accessed from: https://www.oldmapsonline.org/en/Philippines?gid=8f22e7b6-4039-5ed5-9887-bb2325afb180#position=9.5023/14.5846/121.2461&year=1850

35 *Novena y Breve Noticia De La Milagrosa Imagen De La Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viage; De Sus Prodigios y Favores, Que Se Venera En El Pueblo de Antipolo Manila,* Reimpresa en el Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1899; *Novena y Breve Noticia Manila*, 1885; *Novena Sa Milagrosang Ladauan ni Nstra. Sra. De la Paz Y Buen Viaje* Nueva Caceres, 1895; *Novena Sa Nuestra Senora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan Nga Virgen Maria Nga Guisingba sa Antipolo Provincia Sa Manila Ug Guinsisingba Man sa Bongo sa Burauan Provincia sa Leyte* Tambobong, 1894. Translated to Tagalog by Mariano Pilapil*; Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan sa larauang mapaghimala nang mahal na Virgen nang capayapaan at mabuting paglalayag at nang mga cababalaghang aua niya sa sinasamba sa bayan ng Antipolo Niyari sa uicang castila, at inihulog sa uicang tagalog nang Dr. Mariano Pilapil, Catedratiko sa ... Manila*, 1905; *Novena Cag Madali sa Pagsusugud Sang Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viaje.* Translated to Bisaya by Timoteo Espino. Manila, 1886.

36 Researcher's note: These novenarios were the only ones found by the researcher in the library of the Agustinos Filipinos and the archives of the Franciscans. There could have been novenarios published earlier than the 19th century and there could also have been more novenarios for the other icons.

the religious orders so that the materials published were inevitably religious in character."[37] Another major development was the founding of the *Comision Permanente de Censura* in 1856, whose main function was to authorize the publication and importation of books deemed safe for the native population. According to de la Cruz, chapbooks with religious content (such as novenarios) were "...part of the rearguard attempt by Spanish friars to counteract these developments (such as liberal ideas) and keep the native indio in a somnambulant state of small-time devotion."[38]

The different novenarios examined in this study were preserved in the archives of the Agustinos Filipinos in Valladolid and the Franciscans in Madrid. Among the many types of novenarios housed in these archives, those dedicated to the Virgin of Antipolo were the most numerous. No other devotion manifested through the novenarios was as prolific as that of the Virgin of Antipolo —so much so that the novena prayers were even translated into different local languages. The following novenarios dedicated to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje are studied in depth in this paper.

The earliest of the published novenarios is the 1860 *Novena y Breve Noticia de la Imagen Milagrosa de la Virgen de la Paz y Buen Viage: De sus prodigios y favores, que se venera en el pueblo de Antipolo*, written in Spanish. It bears an official stamp of approval, indicated on the first page as "*Con Superior Permiso.*" It was printed in Manila at the Reimpresa en el Colegio de Santo Tomas under the supervision of Don Juan de Cortada. No identified author is listed for this work.

The next novenario includes a short history of the devotion written in Tagalog. It's titled *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan ucol sa larauang mapaghimala nang Mahal na Virhen ng Capayapaan at Mabuting Paglalayag at nang manga cababalaghang aua niya na sinasamba sa Bayan nang Antipolo.* It also has a stamp approval, which reads "caloob nang manga puno", and was published in 1886 in Guadalupe at the Imprenta del Asilo de Huefanos. On its title page, it is stated that this novenario is a translated version of the Spanish novena. It also indicates that it was translated by Don Mariano Pilapil of the Real Colegio. The original Tagalog text reads: "Niyari sa uicang castila, at inihulog sa uicang tagalog nang Doctor Don Mariano Pilapil, Catedratico sa Latinidad at Retorika sa Real Colegio nang Poong San Jose sa Maynila."

37 de la Cruz, *Mother Figured*, 18.

38 de la Cruz, *Mother Figured*, 18.
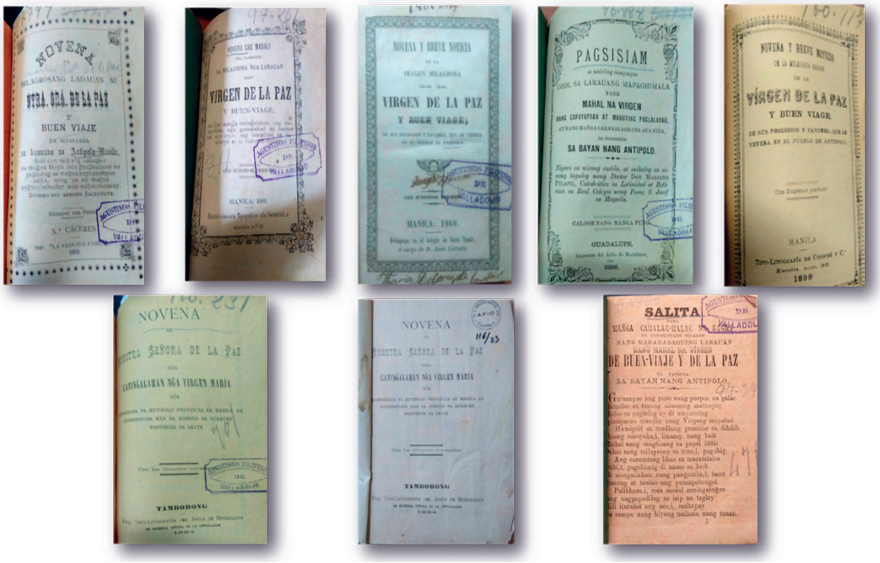


Fig. 3. Novenarios to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje of Antipolo[39]

The third novenario was also published in 1886 in Manila, specifically at the Establecimiento Tipografico "La Industrial" in Escolta N. 18. However, unlike the previous versions, this novenario is written in Hiligaynon or Panayanon, as it is referred to on its first page. The complete title of this novenario is *Novena cag madali nga pagsugud sa Milagrosa nga Larauan sang Virgen de la Paz y Buen – Viage, sa iya manga catingalahan, cag ca ayohan, nga guinatahud sa banua sa Antipolo, cag binadbad sa bisaya D. Timoteo Espino*. The title refers to the Virgin of de la Paz y Buen Viaje as a miraculous image venerated in Antipolo. Similar to the Tagalog version, this novenario does not mention an author but acknowledges a translator, Don Timoteo Espino.

39 *Novena y Breve Noticia De La Milagrosa Imagen De La Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viage; De Sus Prodigios y Favores, Que Se Venera En El Pueblo de Antipolo Manila*, Reimpresa en el Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1899; *Novena y Breve Noticia Manila*, 1885; *Novena Sa Milagrosang Ladauan ni Nstra. Sra. De la Paz Y Buen Viaje* Nueva Caceres, 1895; *Novena Sa Nuestra Senora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan Nga Virgen Maria Nga Guisingba sa Antipolo Provincia Sa Manila Ug Guinsisingba Man sa Bongo sa Burauan Provincia sa Leyte* Tambobong, 1894. Translated to Tagalog by Mariano Pilapil; *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan sa larauang mapaghimala nang mahal na Virgen nang capayapaan at mabuting paglalayag at nang mga cababalaghang aua niya sa sinasamba sa bayan ng Antipolo Niyari sa uicang castila, at inihulog sa uicang tagalog nang Dr. Mariano Pilapil, Catedratiko sa ... Manila*, 1905; *Novena Cag Madali sa Pagsusugud Sang Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viaje*. Translated to Bisaya by Timoteo Espino. Manila, 1886.

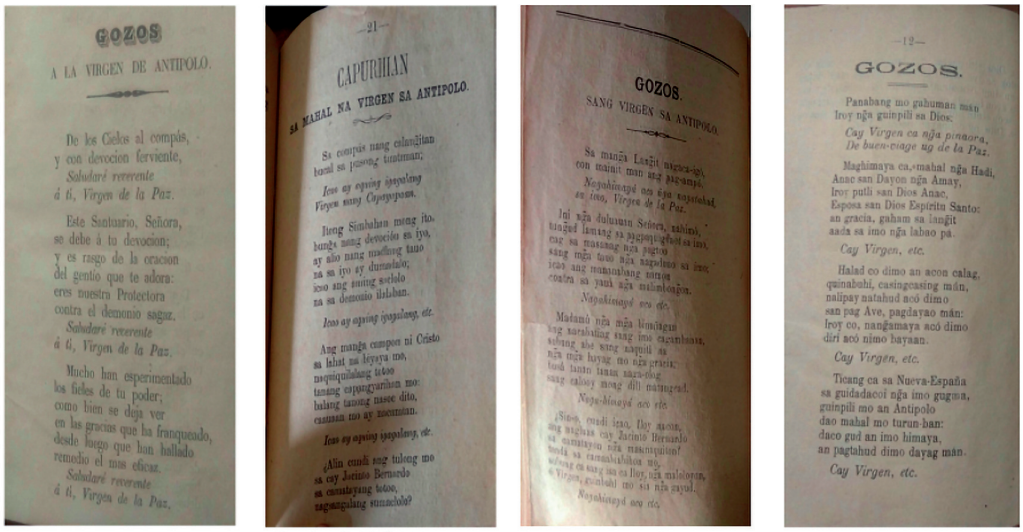


Fig. 4. The Gozos or Capurihan Section of the Novenarios[40]

The fourth novenario was published in 1894 in Tambobong, written in Waray, and intended for the locals of Burauen, Leyte, in the Visayas. The full title of this work is *Novena sa Nuestra Senora de la Paz nga Catingalahan nga Virgen Maria nga Guisisingba sa Antipolo Provincia sa Manila ug Guinsisingba mans a Bongto sa Burauen Provincia sa Leyte*. The stamp of approval appears as "con las licencias necessarias." This novenario was published at Peq. Tipo-Litografia del Asilo de Huerfanos de Nuestra Señora de la Consolacion. Unlike the previous ones, this one does not identify an author or even a translator.

The fifth novenario (though not included in the photo above) was published in 1895 in Nueva Caceres at the Impresa La Sagrada Familia. The complete title of this novenario is *Novena sa Milagrosang Ladauan ni Ntra. Sra. De La Paz y Buen*

40 *Novena y Breve Noticia De La Milagrosa Imagen De La Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viage; De Sus Prodigios y Favores, Que Se Venera En El Pueblo de Antipolo Manila,* Reimpresa en el Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1899; *Novena y Breve Noticia Manila*, 1885; *Novena Sa Milagrosang Ladauan ni Nstra. Sra. De la Paz Y Buen Viaje* Nueva Caceres, 1895; *Novena Sa Nuestra Senora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan Nga Virgen Maria Nga Guisingba sa Antipolo Provincia Sa Manila Ug Guinsisingba Man sa Bongo sa Burauan Provincia sa Leyte* Tambobong, 1894. Translated to Tagalog by Mariano Pilapil; *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan sa larauang mapaghimala nang mahal na Virgen nang capayapaan at mabuting paglalayag at nang mga cababalaghang aua niya sa sinasamba sa bayan ng Antipolo Niyari sa uicang castila, at inihulog sa uicang tagalog nang Dr. Mariano Pilapil, Catedratiko sa ... Manila*, 1905; *Novena Cag Madali sa Pagsusugud Sang Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viaje*. Translated to Bisaya by Timoteo Espino. Manila, 1886.

Viaje na sinsamba sa banuaan sa Antipolo – Manila, huli can saiyang balaquid na magna biaya asin gnagnalasan na pagsorog sa magna napapaampon saiya, orog na an magna nagnagbabaclay asin nagnanasacay, guinibo nin sarong sacerdote. The stamp of approval appears on the cover page as "Itinogot nin Poon." It also does not identify an author or translator on the title page.

These five novenarios share the same structure: they begin with a nine-day prayer and conclude with *Gozo,* or in Tagalog, "Capurihan"— a long poem that praises and recalls the miracles of Nuestra Señora de Antipolo, underscoring her power as an intercessor. The formula for the prayer is also consistent across all novenarios. There is an introductory prayer to be recited each day, followed by a prayer specific to the day, and then a recitation of the *Gozo* to complete the novena prayer. The novena prayers for each day are consistently worded and translated strictly for prayer. However, the *Gozos*, which narrates different miracles, allow more space for the local culture to enter the narratives. For this study, the researcher focuses on the reading and analysis of the *Gozos*.

The Tagalog novenario, translated from Spanish by Don Mariano Pilapil and published in 1886, attributes Velarde's accounts of the Nuestra Señora de Antipolo as its source.[41] These miracles can be found in Chapter 5 of the *Historia de la Paz y Buen Viaje*, titled "Milagros hallados en la archivo de su iglesia y referidos en la historia de Filipinas por el Padre Murillo Velarde," which translates as "Miracles found in the archive of this church and referred to in the history of the Philippines by Father Murillo Velarde." Don Marianao Pilapil, as an author of devotional works, was also studied by Reynaldo Ileto in his work *Pasyon and Revolution*. Ileto criticized Pilapil's work, stating "...Pilapil is a highly imperfect composition that probably does not deserve much attention from a literary or theological standpoint. It stands out mainly as -to paraphrase Marc Bloch – a mirror of the collective consciousness."[42] "A purely textual analysis can reveal only a faint reflection of how various pasyons shaped, and in turn, were shaped by society. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that a text like the

41 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan sa larauang mapaghimala nang mahal na Virgen nang capayapaan at mabuting paglalayag at nang mga cababalaghang aua niya sa sinasamba sa bayan ng Antipolo Niyari sa uicang castila, at inihulog sa uicang tagalog nang Dr. Mariano Pilapil, Catedratiko sa Latinidad at Retorica sa Real Colegio nang Poong S. Josef sa Maynila* (Guadalupe: Imprenta del Asilo de Huerfanos, 1886).

42 Reynaldo Clemena Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840 – 1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979), 13.

Pasyon Pilapil was, for all puposes, the social epic of the nineteenth century Tagalogs and probably other lowland groups as well."[43]

The introductory stanzas of the Tagalog *Gozo* invite the devotee to join in narrating the power of the Virgin, as expressed in the lines "...tayo ay magsamang magsaysay nang caniyang cabagsican."[44] To show how powerful the intercession of the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje of Antipolo is, the novenarios recount various miracles attributed to her. Among the most common is the story of Jacinto Bernardo, a man from Mandaluyong who was heavily wounded and had to swim across La Laguna for survival. Another one is about the miraculous rescue of a child from Angono who had drowned and was saved by the Virgin of Antipolo. Finally, the healing of a sick Dominican friar serving in Baras, who was cured through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. These miracle narratives can be found in the Gozo of the five novenarios examined in this study.[45]

The more detailed *Gozos,* such as the Waray novenario, also includes the story of Bernardina Lucena from Antipolo, who was nearly dead but brought back to life by the Virgin of Antipolo. Another account describes the miraculous healing of Barbara Diamante, also from Antipolo, who was cured of madness. Lastly, there is the story of Pablo Marquina, who was saved from drowning during a flood. Marquina was also said to have traveled from Taytay to visit the Virgin of Antipolo.[46] These miracles are situated within Antipolo and its surrounding towns. Notably, many of these miracles are water-related. In the second-to-last paragraph of these *Gozos,* a similar theme of intercession is reiterated:

> (Spanish) *"Ciegos, cojos, y tullidos / en ti han hallado remedio; / estrella brillante y medio / navegantes y alligidos: / todos digamos Unidos / sin espiritu falaz"*[47] (The blind, lame, and crippled have found remedy in you; a bright star and a way, sailors and those with disabilities: let us all say together, without a deceitful spirit).
>
> (Tagalog) *"Mga bulac sampong pilay, / at manga lumping gupaypay, / pagcatanao, pagcasilay / nang muc-ha mo ay nagtatagumpay: / tayo ay magsamang Magsaysay*

43 Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution,* 11.

44 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan.* English translation: "together let us sing of her power/greatness"

45 The complete texts of each gozo can be found in the Appendix of this paper.

46 *Novena Sa Nuestra Señora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan Nga Virgen Maria Nga Guisingba sa Antipolo Provincia Sa Manila Ug Guinsisingba Man sa Bongo sa Burauan Provincia sa Leyte* (Tambobong: Peq. Tipo-Litografia del Asilo de Huerfanos de Nuestra Senora de la Consolacion, 1894), 13-16.

47 *Novena y Breve Noticia de la Imagen Milagrosa de la Virgen de la Paz y Buen Viaje, De sus Prodigios y Favores, Que se Venera en el Pueblo de Antipolo* (Manila: Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1860), 15.

/ nang caniyang cabagsican"[48] (The blind, crippled, and those who are sick, prevail upon seeing your face, together let us narrate her greatness).

(Bisaya/Panayanon) *"Bulag, piang cag iban pang masaquiton, / sa imo sila nacaquita sing caayohan; / busa cami o masiga nga Bitoon, / tanan cami Dungan nga mamulong / sang pagdayao nga uay duhaduha"*[49] (The blind, lame, and those who are sick, in you they found favor, therefore, O bright star, we will all speak of praising [you] without doubt).

(Waray) *"Mga pobres, habdanianon, / masorub-on, masaquiton, / mga buta, piang, lulid / sa Virgen cayo pangayop; / pagdoroyug camo pag canta, / pag sanorog, pag dayao man"*[50] (The poor, lonely and sick, blind, [and] crippled, to the Virgin they seek refuge, together let us offer songs of rejoicing and glorifying).

(Bicolano) "Bota, lopog asin pilay / saimong pinaomayan; / ta bitoon cang paalauan / nin mamondong parasacay: / quita gabos magnagtaram / sa daculang cagalagnan"[51] (For the blind, crippled, and lame, you are like a guiding star, we will all speak about [her] magnanimity).

All the *Gozos* conclude with a recognition of the distance to Antipolo and, despite this, express the faithful promise to cross the mountains to visit the Virgin Mary, as evidenced by the following lines: "*Cahit malayong totoo / ang bundoc nang Antipolo, / sasalunsong din ang tauo / pagdalao lamang sa iyo: / caya sa caauaan mo / silang lahat nananagan*" [52] (Despite the distance/ of the mountains of Antipolo / the people will go / just to visit you / that is why in your mercy / they all go). In Velarde's 1887 *Historia*, which originally narrates these miracles, the stories always include a promise to travel to Antipolo, at the very least, to attend mass at the church. Others even chose to stay and serve in the church of Antipolo, repaying the favor they had received through the intercession of the Virgin Mary.

The various translations attest to the widespread devotion to Nuestra Senora de la Paz y Buen Viaje. Novenarios were printed for towns far beyond Antipolo's immediate environment, including Bicol and Leyte. The ritualistic repletion of the *Gozos* imprints a collective articulation of folk hardships, such as sickness,

48 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan*, 23.

49 *Novena Cag Madali sa Pagsusugud Sang Virgen de la Paz Y Buen Viaje sa iya manga catinghalahan, cag caayohan nga guinatahud sa banua sa Antipolo, cag binadbad sa binisaya ni D. Timoteo Espino* (Manila: Establicimiento Tipografico La Industrial, 1886), 16.

50 *Novena Sa Nuestra Señora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan.*

51 *Novena sa Milagrosang Ladauan ni Ntra. Sra. De La Paz y Buen Viaje na sinsamba sa banuaan sa Antipolo – Manila, huli can saiyang balaquid na magna biaya asin gnagnalasan na pagsorog sa magna napapaampon saiya, orog na an magna nagnagbabaclay asin nagnanasacay, guinibo nin sarong sacerdote* (Nueva Caceres: Impresa La Sagrada Familia, 1895).

52 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan. sa larauang mapaghimala*, 23.

poverty, and survival amid disasters like flooding. The repetition of phrases emphasizing the need to come together creates an imagined community of devotees that extends beyond their immediate locale.

Were the locals truly rendered somnambulant by these novenarios and prayer books? It seems, instead, that the novenarios served as a medium for movement through pilgrimages and the beginning of a shared sense of community beyond their towns. The embodied expressions of devotion, such as pilgrimages to shrines or joining fluvial processions, represent instances of mobility for the locals and the widening of connections between different towns or pueblos in the Spanish Philippines.

4. Conclusion: The Creation of a Pilgrim City

According to Yi Fu Tuan, space is a continuum, while place is a pause within that continuum.[53] Applying this definition, all the pueblos surrounding Antipolo, though also contexts of miracles, remained undifferentiated "spaces." Meanwhile, Antipolo became a meaningful and valued "place" due to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje. In this instance, we see devotion as a crucial element in the placemaking of Antipolo. The *Gozos* start with the claim that the church of Antipolo was born out of the devotion and prayers of the faithful to Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje. The Spanish version states, "*Este Sanctuario, Señora, / se debe a tu devoción, / y es rago de la oración / del gentio que te adora*"[54] (This church, [my] Lady / is because of the devotion / and depth of prayers / of the people who venerate you). The Tagalog version similarly expresses, "*Itong Simbahan mong ito, / bunga nang devoción sa iyo, / ay alio nang madlag tauo / na sa iyo ay dumadalo*" (This church/fruit of the devotion to you /is loved by many people / who come to visit you).[55] The devotion to the Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje also signifies the sacralization of Antipolo. It has become a designated place that "bears a direct connection to the superhuman entity or entities postulated to exist within a religious system or is directly involved in the interactions between humanity and such entities."[56]

53 Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

54 *Novena y Breve Noticia de la Imagen Milagrosa de la Virgen de la Paz y Buen Viaje*,13.

55 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan sa larauang mapaghimala*, 21.

56 Stump, *The Geography of Religion*, 21.

In the miracle narratives found in the novenarios, Antipolo is perceived as a holy land and sacred space—not because of the concentration of miracles there, but because it was chosen by the Virgin Mary herself "*guinpili mo an Antipolo, / dao mahal mo turun-ban*"[57] (you chose Antipolo / because of your true love). As mentioned earlier, the Virgin Mary in these *novenarios* is described as powerful—"*walang casing bagsic.*" She is often compared to a star, "*estrella brillante*" (bright star), who always protects and saves those faithful to her. The Tagalog novenario says, "*Itong Simbahan mong ito, / bunga nang devocion sa iyo, / ay alio nang madlang tauo / na sa iyo ay dumadalo; / icao ang aming saclolo / na sa demonio ilalaban*" [58] (This church/fruit of devotion to you / is the refuge of many people / who come to visit you;/you are our help / who will fight the devil).

The prayers of the novenario raise the Virgin Mary as a powerful intercessor, especially for devotees facing extraordinary physical challenges. To successfully gain the petition asked for, the novenarios insist that one must go to Antipolo. One must ascend to Antipolo and gaze upon the Virgin, as expressed in the Tagalog novenario "*pagcatanao, pagcasilay nang muc-ha mo ay nagtagumpay*"[59] (looking, gazing at your face is victory). It must take place in Antipolo, creating a community of devotees united in their devotion to Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje—a group composed of the poor, the sick, the blind, and the lame, who together promise to brave the mountains of Antipolo to visit her. The long-standing tradition of travelling up to Antipolo to venerate Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje has shaped the identity of Antipolo as a pilgrimage city.

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57 *Novena Sa Nuestra Señora De La Paz Nga Catingalahan*, 12.

58 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan*, 21.

59 *Pagsisiam at maicling casaysayan*, 23.

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Sa Loob ng Intramuros
Baroque Remembrance in Nick Joaquin's A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino

Sa Loob ng Intramuros: Recuerdo barroco en un retrato del artista como filipino de Nick Joaquin

Jimmy B. Dillo, Jr.
De La Salle-College of Saint Benilde, Philippines

Abstract

Nick Joaquin's language has been critiqued as a failed English because it uses the English language but in a style inspired by Spain's Miguel de Cervantes. This ornate language technique became the impetus for Joaquin's style to be characterized as baroque English. Through his play *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino* (1961) and its adaptation by Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana and its Filipino translations by Rolando Tinio and Bienvenido Lumbera, the paper examines how Intramuros and the Marasigan House are depicted and provoke remembering. In understanding a location that will unify baroque and memory, the paper uses Severo Sarduy's baroque artificialization and its mechanism: proliferation, substitution, and condensation, to trace and signify the movement in space and the motion of memory. The paper concludes that baroque remembrance is a restorative memory sustained through constant elaboration.

Keywords

Baroque; Nick Joaquin; spatial studies; Intramuros; translation; memory studies

Resumen

El lenguaje de Nick Joaquin ha sido criticado como un inglés fallido porque utiliza el idioma inglés pero con un estilo inspirado en el español de Miguel de Cervantes. Esta técnica de lenguaje ornamental se convirtió en el impulso para que el estilo de Joaquin se caracterizara como inglés barroco. A través de su obra de teatro *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino* (1961) y su adaptación por Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana y sus traducciones al filipino por Rolando Tinio y Bienvenido Lumbera, el artículo examina cómo se representan Intramuros y la Casa Marasigan y provocan el recuerdo. Para comprender un lugar que unificará el barroco y la memoria, el artículo utiliza la artificialización barroca de Severo Sarduy y su mecanismo: proliferación, sustitución y condensación, para rastrear y significar el movimiento en el espacio y el movimiento de la memoria. El artículo concluye que el recuerdo barroco es una memoria restauradora que se sostiene a través de una elaboración constante.

Palabras clave

Barroco; Nick Joaquin; estudios espaciales; Intramuros; traducción; estudios de la memoria

1. Introduction

After the Philippine liberation during World War II, the rigor to possess a recuperation of the past for the imperatives of the present became a sentiment in literature.[1] Vicente Rafael explains that we can see a notion of history wherein the past is always current and where modernity was not a negotiation of tradition but its fictive kin.[2] This postwar landscape brought cultural and aesthetic paradoxes from the Philippine Hispanic and American colonial past, which were used to introspect independence and retrospect the colonial rule. Situating this context, Filipino scholars sought to "regain agency, reconstruct native culture, and locate the origins of identity in the indigenous tradition."[3] Nick Joaquin explores these global and localized perspectives by examining colonial experience and local appropriation or reinvention of this influence.[4]

In Nick Joaquin's creative and critical process, he coined "tropical baroque," which suggests a "Western form of the Philippine nation he imagined,"[5] what is in the Philippines is not a pure replication of the Western baroque style but a baroque with Filipino sensibilities. To frame the argument, in Joaquin's view, the baroque style in Intramuros, Manila is not simply a Spanish import but rather a distinctly Filipino interpretation of baroque, as Indio-American rococo because it is a style that was developed by the Filipinos themselves, adapted to the local climate, and responsive to natural phenomena like typhoons and earthquakes which is already different.[6] Hence, the tropical

1 John Blanco, "Baroque Modernity and the Colonial World: Aesthetics and Catastrophe in Nick Joaquin's A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino," *Kritika Kultura*, No.4 (1 March 2004), 6.

2 Vicente L. Rafael, *Motherless Tongues: The Insurgency of Language amid Wars of Translation* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016), 59.

3 Hidde van der Wall, "Tropical Faustian: Nick Joaquin's Spenglerian Imagining of Colonial History in the Post-Authoritarian Philippines," *The Philosophical Journal of Conflict and Violence*, Issue 2, Vol. 6 (2022): 105, 10.22618/TP.PJCV.20226.2.144.006

4 Resil Mojares, "Discourses of the Devil's Advocate: Nick Joaquin as Historian," in *Interrogations in Philippine Cultural History: The Ateneo de Manila Lectures* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017), 10.

5 Hidde van der Wall, "Tropical Faustian," 105.

6 "The postwar law that would permit only "Spanish" architecture in Intramuros ignored the fact that the style of prewar Intramuros was egregiously Philippine, and Philippine because it was a style that had developed among us [Filipinos], was adapted to our climate, and geared itself to such local phenomena as typhoon and earthquake. In Spain, the tendency is to shut out the sun and keep interiors, especially church interiors, as dark as possible; but the old churches in Intramuros, with the possible exception of the Cathedral, were bright and airy, in keeping with a culture that has ever revelled in the blinding sunlight that transfuses it. What our architecture reflects is Indio-American rococo—and that's already one remove from Spain's Renaissance styles. Nick Joaquin, "Introduction," in *Intramuros*

baroque is a sensibility that encapsulates a rich fusion of past colonial influences and Filipino hybridity, a concept articulated by John Blanco as Joaquin's baroque mode or mentality.[7] This sensibility arose alongside the evolution of Manila's urban culture between the Philippine Revolution and World War II, reflecting the complexities of modernity as a tapestry woven from disaster and disenchantment; it embodies the tension between embracing a contemporary ethos and what Caroline Hau calls specters haunting the Filipino nation: resisting the pressures of conformity to both Western ideologies and nationalist reinterpretations of history.[8] Joaquin's baroque mentality reveals a dynamic interplay of historical and cultural narratives, tracing the lineage from the Spanish conquest to contemporary society and underscores an ongoing dialogue with the colonial legacy.

John Blanco described Joaquin's prose as a "'failed' English, learned and obeyed at the dictates of US colonialism in the first half of the twentieth century, but with its grammar and syntax perverted, folded back upon itself more closely resemble the rhetoric of Spanish in the time of Cervantes."[9] Nick Joaquin's language is ornamented by the American and Spanish consciousness of the Philippine colonial past, and this unique circumstance gave birth to a literary sensibility and cultural sensitivity reminiscent of the nature of baroque.

The baroque style transforms into a religious, colonial, and cultural strategy. According to Zamora and Kaup, during the seventeenth century, the Catholic church, in response to the Protestant insurgency, used the baroque style as a counter-reformation aesthetic and ideology; then, it became new world baroque when the diverse cultural streams of cultural perspectives and indigenous iconographies (materials from Manila, Mexico, and Peru, motifs of localized flora and fauna, artistic methods, etc.) from the colonists were included.[10] Indeed, baroque creates an openness to diffuse meaning in the

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of Memory, eds. Jaime Laya and Esperanza B. Gatbonton (Manila: Ministry of Human Settlements, Intramuros Administration, 1983), 3.

7 John Blanco, "Baroque Modernity and the Colonial World: Aesthetics and Catastrophe in Nick Joaquin's A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino," 7.

8 John Blanco, "Baroque Modernity and the Colonial World", 6; Hidde van der Wall, "Tropical Faustian," 106; Caroline Hau, "Literature and History," in *Necessary Fictions* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 101.

9 Blanco, "Baroque Modernity and the Colonial World," 6.

10 Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, "Baroque, New World Baroque, Neobaroque: Categories and Concepts," in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monica Kaup (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 3-4.

process of figuration and fragmentation that are suited to rediscovering one's own aesthetic and ideological purposes. Its open proliferation of signifiers and flexible transmission of meanings allow plural trajectories of thoughts and the labyrinth of figures. This paper focuses on how Nick Joaquin's "failed English" becomes a baroque English – a distinct language that was used from an instrument of colonial rule to an instrument of cultural revision or renewal through constant elaboration – instantiated by his play and its adaptation by Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana, and translations of Bienvenido Lumbera and Rolando Tinio in Filipino.

Central to the baroque strategy of this paper is Severo Sarduy's notion of baroque artifice and its mechanism. The baroque artifice is the return to the primordial *nature* that is ironic, a mockery of nature, and the finest expression of process.[11] It remembers nature through the constant elaboration of meaning from its denotative to connotative level, decenters, duplicates, and divides its central signifier. This inordinate signification is characterized by three mechanisms: (a) substitution conceals or replaces a signifier with another that eroticizes and exaggerates the totality of the work; (b) proliferation pulverizes meaning and creates an orbit of signifier due to an absent singular signifier; and (c) condensation semantically merges the two. It fuses a single discourse in the spectator's memory.[12] Through these baroque artifices, the paper navigates the texts by (a) tracing the lexicographic instance using Juan de Noceda and Pedro Sanlucar's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* in 1860; (b) reconfiguring the memory of Intramuros by comparing and contrasting moments of baroque deformation and reformation as Joaquin's play adapted and translated; and (c) determining the transformations happened from the different recollection of the play.

11 Severo Sarduy, "The Baroque and the Neobaroque," trans. Christopher Winks, in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monica Kaup (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 271.

12 Sarduy, "The Baroque and the Neobaroque," 272-279.

2. The Artifice of Intramuros

Joaquin describes the stage direction:

> *The curtains open on a second curtain depicting the ruins of Intramuros in the moonlight. The sides of the stage are in shadow.* Bitoy Camacho *is standing at far left. He begins to speak unseen, just a voice in the dark.*[13]

The play is set by the moon illuminating the desolate streets and shadowing the dilapidated infrastructures of Intramuros. Bitoy Camacho, the memorist,[14] sees Intramuros as physically and psychologically chaotic. The setting of Intramuros in ruins situates the play in baroque representation.[15] Caroline Hau further explains that the space created by the play is a space in which interpretation serves not only as the content and form of the play but also as a crucial element of the play.[16] The play's setting brings a multi-layered interpretation where the audience is pulled in to create a deeper insight and interpretation.

However, the eroded and decayed Intramuros did not bring amnesia but created a space for structured remembering. Edward Casey posits that chaos is not a scene of disorder but a scene of emerging order.[17] It means that chaotic space allows us to remember because there are identified missing objects and people in the place that are different from one's memory. This confident position on chaos is cusped by Gonzalo Celerio as the rupture of tradition is also a tradition of rupture, which becomes a statement of continuity.[18] Accordingly, the ruins of Intramuros are the rupture of the physical space, but this very rupture continues for the place to be remembered and contemplated. The recognition that there is forgotten in the place disorients the memorist, but the very acknowledgement of forgetting leads to remembering. Bitoy accepts and acknowledges the contradiction of the past and present and indicates

13 Nick Joaquin, *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino: An Elegy in Three Scenes* (Manila: Alberto S. Florentino, 1966), 2.

14 Memorist is the one who remembers and prompts the return of memories. Edward Casey, "Preface," in Remembering: A Phenomenological Study, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 5.

15 Blanco, "Baroque Modernity and the Colonial World," 14.

16 Caroline Hau, "Literature and History," 101.

17 Edward Casey, "Preface: Disappearing Places," in *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (California: University of California Press, 1998), 9.

18 Gonzalo Celerio, "From the Baroque to Neobaroque," in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monica Kaup (Durnham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 490.

an openness to a continuing redefinition and/or revision of self-image.[19] Here, chaos is an act of sensing mourning of loss and absence, which Nick Joaquin projects as the play in three elegiac scenes.

In the *Portrait*, Joaquin continues to describe Intramuros:

> BITOY: Intramuros! The old Manila. The original Manila. The Noble and Ever Loyal City…[20]



Image 1. Intramuros coat of arms during the Spanish colonial period, 1596. Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Escudo_de_Armas_de_Manila_(1596).jpg. Public Domain.

Bitoy describes Intramuros during the Spanish colonial period. He has a double-eyed vision of Intramuros because of the difference between Intramuros in his memory and what he sees now. From this setting, Bitoy's impulse to remember is confounded because of space and time movements. Joaquin initially alludes to Intramuros' motto in its coat of arms (Image 1)[21] given by King Phillip II of Spain: *Insigne y Siempre Leal*/ Illustrious and Ever Loyal.[22] Intramuros was a tropical cosmopolis: it was the provenance of the new civilization in terms of economic, political, and cultural exchange; it was an emporium of oriental wealth in the mode of occidental conviction; and it was the city founded for Catholicism in the east.[23] The spatiality is figured by cartographic possession that turns out to be a way of remembering.

19 Gabriel Jose T. Gonzalez, S.J., "Fictionalizing National Identity: Decolonizing the Filipino Self-Image in Nick Joaquin" (Master's thesis, Ateneo de Manila University), 146.

20 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 3.

21 Escudo de Armas de Manila (1596), photograph, Wikimedia Commons, February 9, 2025, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Escudo_de_Armas_de_Manila_(1596).jpg

22 The insignia legitimized the rights and prerogatives of the capital under the Spanish empire. Manila was given its own coat of arms which in the heraldry was a shield with a castle on top of the lion with the body of the dolphin. Dela Costa further narrated that the city was Queen Isabella's seaborne empire which King Ferdinand placed a crown over the castle in recognition of the fact that Manila remained loyal to the monarchy despite movements for independence that swept through America. Horacio dela Costa, Jr., *Intramuros: The Beginnings* (Manila: National Media Production Center, 1976), 10-11.

23 The figuration of the Manila is based on Intramuros as 'the warehouse of (Catholic) faith." Ramón Ma. Zaragoza, *Old Manila* (Singapore; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 15; the capital of

Joaquin's play opens Intramuros in its assured entirety: poised, centered, and filled with glory, "Intramuros!" In this sense, the exclamation point is ambiguous, for it not only punctuates its glorious past but also serves as an apostrophe that summons the deceased and lost city. Bitoy's opening lines of the play are clinched on the historical flavor of loyalty stemming from Intramuros' Spanish heritage.

In Bienvenido Lumbera's translation:

> BITOY: Intramuros! Ang lumang Maynila. Ang unang Maynila. Ang marangal at tapat na Maynila.[24]

Critical to his translation is the word old to *luma*. In Virgilio Almario's translation of Sanlucar and Noceda's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*'s, *lomá* is "vejez de ropa ò de otra cosa/ Ang katandaan ng damit o ng ibang bagay."[25] *Luma* is an object's present state, which is outdated through the ways of the present. Intramuros' cosmetological dust and structural patinas are contours of deterioration and fragmentation that emphasize its distinction in the past. The other variation of *luma* is *lòma,* which means "apocarse, menoscabarse/ hiyain, sirain and loob, maliitin."[26] In this trajectory, the recognition of Intramuros' state of erosion is a sense of mortification. It is a mockery that the remembered Intramuros is presently non-existent. The Philippine culture is initially categorized as foreign and native in the moment of transition and translation—the passage from the Spanish past into the American present in Philippine history.[27]

Conversely, Rolando Tinio's *Larawan: The Musical* presented the prologue differently. Instead of Bitoy, singly evoking Intramuros of the past, he directs a choir to sing it and homogenizes the words *luma* and *una* in Almario's translation to *araw*. As the curtain opens, the old city is collectively reverberated in the prologue:

> KORO. [sa mga manonood]
> Intramuros
> Ang Maynila nung araw.

'las islas poniente'/ 'the west islands' (my translation). It is a Western enclave in the Eastern world, and *'la ciuœdad mas Hermosa, magnifica y soberbia del Oriente/* the most beautiful, the most splendid, and the proudest city in the Orient.' Horacio dela Costa Jr., *Intramuros: The Beginnings*, 31.

24 Nick Joaquin, *Retrato ng Artista Bilang Filipino (Isang Elehiya na may Tatlong Tagpo)*, trans. Bienvenido Lumbera (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017), 3.

25 *Vocabulario de la Lengua de Tagala*, s.v. "lomá."

26 *Vocabulario de la Lengua de Tagala*, s.v. "lòma."

27 Caroline S. Hau, "Literature and History," 101.

Intramuros—
Ang Maynila nung araw.[28]

Vocabulario relates *araw* as "Tiempo/Panahon, Ser de dia/ Mag-umaga, Hacer ó salir sol/ Sumikat ang araw."[29] *Araw* herein is not only a description of time in the past (*noong araw*) but also a temporal marker that refers to a specific day (*ang araw*). Araw's brilliance lies in the figuration of Intramuros as a place of the past and a specific past. Thus, using this observation, Tinio's repetition of araw reinforces a collective memory rather than a personal memory that Joaquin stresses in Bitoy. This difference leads to a proliferation of meaning.

The first moment of *Maynila nung araw* means a fact that Intramuros was Manila; the second moment signifies that the present remembers Manila's past. However, the tension in using *araw* emerges because the play is set in the moonlight. The sun appears only to disappear. There is an insistent eclipse in its time and importance. The moonlight setting decenters the poised notion that the sun is the central signifier. The moon is the sun of the sun. Congruent to this is Alejo Carpentier's concept of *intramuros* within the streets of Havana. Carpentier mentions in "The City of Columns" that Havana is the city of shadows designed for the exploitation of shade.[30] The moonlight tempers down the deadening sun and exacerbates deterioration. *Araw*'s radiance is blinding, but setting it in the moonlight makes it bearable. The interplay of light and shadow in the setting and the lines diffuses meaning but elaborates details to the memory. A place is lighted where you see objects within it. Coincidentally, as the light illuminates objects for the spectator to see, objects cover the light, creating shadows. Using this principle to memory, the light is the recognizable memory of the memorist, highlighted by the shadows that were forgotten. Only by indirect seeing can a spectator see what is being lighted. In the process of remembering, one remembers, but the memory is still in question because the whole picture is being searched. There are shadows cast that need to be put into light.

In the introduction of the play, Bitoy further recalls Intramuros:

28 Rolando Tinio, "ANG LARAWAN, the Musical," in *Ang Larawan: from stage to screen* (Mandaluyong: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2017), 185-186.

29 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, s.v. "araw."

30 Carpienter explains that in Havana, the tropical necessity of playing hide-and-seek with the sun, snatching surfaces, extricating shadows, fleeing from the torrid twilight with an ingenious multiplication of *esquinas de fraile* that are still in great demand even today in old Havana. Alejo Carpienter, "The City of Columns," *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monica Kaup (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 245.

> To the early conquistadores she was a new Tyre and Sidon, to the early missionaries she was a new Rome. Within these walls were gathered the wealth of the Orient – silk from China; spices from Java; gold and ivory and precious stones from India. And within these walls the Champions of Christ assembled to conquer the Orient for the Cross. Through these old streets once crowded a marvelous multitude – viceroys and archbishops; mystics and merchants; pagan sorcerers and Christian martyrs; nuns and harlots and elegant marquesas; English pirates, Chinese mandarins. Portuguese traitors, Dutch spies, Moro sultans, and Yankee clipper captains. For three centuries this medieval town was a Babylon in its commerce and a New Jerusalem in its faith...[31]

Through Bitoy's narration, the grandeur of Intramuros is remembered as a city that can be compared to Tyre and Sidon, Rome, Babylon, and Jerusalem and by the exhibition of Oriental wealth.

In urban construction during the Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, Intramuros was a place focused on colonial and organizational exclusivity of race and social distinction. Critical to the memory of Joaquin's Bitoy is that Intramuros' walls gathered and assembled oriental wealth that shows pageantry of cultures, but that mixture within the old city contained social, economic, and political distinction. Bitoy recalls nations based on the wealth they contributed to the extravagance of the cosmopolitan city: China (silk), Java (spices), and India (gold, ivory, and precious metals), rather than simply recognizing them as merchants who visited for trading. The way Intramuros is remembered is not only through the people, but people are identified through their material association.

Gerard Lico also observes Bitoy's recollection of Intramuros in *Arkitekturang Filipino*. He mentions that the layout of the city, the erection of infrastructures, and the design of settlements articulated the power of expansionists and imperialists' replication of European grandeur in the colonial domain; protected the exclusivity of the site; maintained cultural superiority; and cultivated a system of 'othering' as Indios, Chinese, and Japanese were relegated outside the vicinity of the walls.[32]

However, when the Americans arrived and after the war, Intramuros dramatically experienced a drastic increase in inhabitants, forcing the city to expand its limbs, extend its limits, and move its center. Nick Joaquin's Bitoy remembers:

31 Nick Joaquin, *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino*, 2.

32 Gerard Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino: a history of architecture ad urbanism in the Philippines* (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 104.

> Now look: this is all that's left of it now. Weeds and rubble and scrap iron. A piece of wall, a fragment of stairway—and over there, the smashed gothic façade of old Santo Domingo… *Quomodo desolata es, Civitas Dei!* (*From this point, light slowly grows about Bitoy*).[33]

The greatness of Intramuros was pulverized by rubble and scrap iron and was covered by weeds. Intramuros is ruined and chaotic. The coordinates of association were diminished, and only the remnants of the place were left to save the presence of the past. These movements in space and the dissolution of Intramuros' clear images led to its Spanish colonial heritage crumbling and being forgotten. Blanco explains that Bitoy underscores the dramatic tension through his access to two distinct temporalities: his teenage memories of pre-war Intramuros and his experiences of the ruined city in his adult years.[34] This juxtaposition forces him to navigate the devastating impact of Manila's destruction, first by the Japanese invasion and later by the US firebombing in 1945. Bitoy tells the audience to look at the ruined Intramuros and identifies objects such as the piece of wall, a fragment of the stairway, and remnants of Sto. Domingo Church. The images in his recollection dramatize physical fragmentation as the aftermath of the war and the psychical disintegration of this ruinous scene. Bitoy's nature of narration and citation of objects are not chronological and directional but simultaneous interpenetration of images.

The situation frames Intramuros in the stage's corners and pictures it out in its chaotic condition. The coinciding presentation of images does not give formation of space but introduces deformation of space. The insubstantiality and impermanent presence of structure that we have seen through Joaquin's description in the play, translation of Lumbera, and adaptation of Avellana arrest Bitoy to wander where he emotionally resonates with the physical state of Intramuros. In the face of the ruined Intramuros, Bitoy weaves a metanarrative that he designates but does not redeem in any meaningful way.[35] This notion becomes an experience of synaptic architecture where the memorist's perception echoes the state of the place. Hence, Intramuros as a colonial space becomes chaotic, which Edward Casey calls a "place-panic."[36]

Joaquin forwards in the play's introduction:

33 Joaquin, *A Portrait of the Artist as Filipino*, 2.

34 Blanco, *Baroque Modernity*, 16.

35 Blanco, *Baroque Modernity*, 16.

36 Casey, *The Fate of Place*, 6.

> BITOY: When I was a little boy, some of those old houses were still standing—but, oh, they had come down in the world! No longer splendid, no longer the seats of the mighty; abandoned and forgotten; they stood decaying all along this street; dreaming of past glories; growing ever more dark and dingy with the years; turning into slum-tenements at last—a dozen families crowded into each of the old rooms; garbage piled all over the patios; and washlines dangling between the sagging balconies…[37]

Here, the changing material condition, signification, and the plight of ilustrados outside the city transformed it into a different space. Bitoy initially gives the face of Intramuros in specific coordinates in terms of ancient cities and markers of pageantry in terms of wealth, people, and culture; however, these coordinates become inordinate due to intrusions of new dwellers. Interestingly, the markers became darker in motifs such as slum tenements, garbage, and washlines. This moment illustrates the forgotten state of old Manila and is reinforced by intruders—the Americans who seized the city from its Spanish heritage and the outsiders who were strangers to the city's customs and ceremonies—who forced the people to forget Intramuros' past grandeur. Joaquin narrates this change through Bitoy seeing Intramuros as dying:

> BITOY: Intramuros was dying. Intramuros was decaying even before the war. The jungle had returned—the modern jungle, the slum-jungle—just as merciless and effective as the real thing—demolishing man's moment of history and devouring his monuments. The noble and ever loyal City has become just another jungle of slums. And that is how most of us remember the imperial city of our fathers.[38]

The changes in Intramuros are at first seen as forgetting. The colonial stature of Intramuros was demolished through time. It became a jungle of slums. There is an erasure of its past due to the intrusion of strangers and also because of the passage of time, which can be seen in Daisy Hontiveros Avellana's adaptation:

> BITOY:… When I was a little boy, some of those old houses were still standing—but, oh, they had come down in the world! No longer splendid, no longer the seat of the mighty; abandoned and forgotten; they stood decaying all along this street (Calle Real). Intramuros was dying, Intramuros was decaying even before the warafter the way, the noble and every loyal city had become just another jungle of slums…[39]

37 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 2-3.

38 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 3.

39 Nick Joaquin, "Portrait of the Artist As Filipino: An Elegy in Three Scenes," in *Tropical Baroque*, ad. Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana (Quezon City: National Bookstore, Inc., 1979), 2.

Avellana's adaptation remembers Bitoy's Intramuros in a distant and matter-of-fact tone, in contrast to Joaquin's Bitoy, which uses images to show how Intramuros becomes a jungle of slums.

In Teodoro Agoncillo's essay, "Manila in the 1890s," he narrates that artists, scholars, and writers who grew up in Intramuros found the city cramped and crabbed, and so they migrated to other places beyond the Walls; the less cultured and some ne'er-do-wells invaded it and, like the barbarians who invaded the ancient Rome, contributed to its decline.[40] The fortified city was devoured by changing time and consciousness. The vicissitudes signaled Intramuros' cultural shift, particularly among ilustrados. In Renato Constantino's *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, he elaborates that Filipino elitism during the Spanish colonization was based on class affluence — the educational formation of ilustrados about the lifestyle of decorum that exhibited European tastes.[41] Moreover, de las Alas describes that ilustrados were characterized by a delicacy in taste, graceful and studied gestures, extreme politeness, a desire for knowledge, artistic accomplishment, stylish attire, knowledge of world history and geography, and a fancy home.[42] The milieu of the local elite was enriched by socialization with melody and lyrics, poetry, theater, and culinary arts. Hence, the intricacies of customs and traditions marked the vibrancy of being affluent. Here, Joaquin's Bitoy uses a representation of memory. Bitoy remembers Intramuros through the value of presence, who go inside and equate them with the precious objects they trade and the roles they play within the walls of the city.

On the contrary, when the Americans arrived, ilustrados shifted its colonial framework. The Spanish elite was not deemed coterminous to the Filipino elite during the American period. The new colonial orientation to education became an egalitarian positioning of class structuration. Instead of ancestral elitism, Americans forged democratic elitism. Constantino explains this condition from class affluence to case affluence. This means that the wise are not necessarily rich, and the rich of today need not even be wise.[43] The

40 Teodoro Agoncillo, "Manila in the 1890s," in *History and Culture, Language and Literature: Selected Essays of Teodoro Agoncillo*, ed. Bernadette Reyes Churchill (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2003), 346-7.

41 Renato Constantino, *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness* (Manila: Erehwon, 1979), 118.

42 Jason A. de las Alas, "Medieval Manila: Life at the Dawn of the 20th Century," in *Asian Perspectives in the Arts and Humanities*, (2011) accessed January 18, 2018, https://journals.ateneo.edu/ojs/index.php/apah/article/view/133/65, 107.

43 Constantino, *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*, 122.

colonial orientation of education in pursuit of economic gains made the majority of the ilustrado end up in the service of other local and foreign elites. This is perfectly worded by poet and scholar Danilo Francisco M. Reyes, "The decline of aristocracy is the rise of the middle class."[44]

The intrusion of the emerging social class in Intramuros defined the shift of colonial power and slowly changed the character of the city; the exclusivity of Intramuros became elusive. Joaquin writes that Bitoy stands in Intramuros recollecting his memories of where old houses were still standing and disdains its present situation: the mighty seats were abandoned and forgotten; the Calle Real Street was dark, dingy and dilapidated; and the houses were turned to slum-tenements.[45]

Obliterating the Spanish heritage started to occur when American forces expanded Manila beyond its exclusive zone. It was still a cultural center because of its history, but it was not the financial center of the expanding metropolis. Furthermore, Intramuros, as an educational hub for higher education institutions, schools mobilized outside the walls—from Intramuros to Ermita, Sta. Cruz, and Sampaloc.[46] Because of these reasons, Americans transformed Intramuros into an ornate place for recreation. Gatbonton describes the place where moats became sunken gardens, golf courses, and aquariums, and the walls were demolished.[47] The thick fortifications of Intramuros failed to defend the city against destruction. The enclosed space, as a strategic defense, became a liability because of its fixity.

In Lumbera's translation of Joaquin's work, he renders:

> BITOY. Noong munting bata pa ako, nakatayo pa ang ilan sa matatandang bahay dito—kaya lang, naging aba na ang kanilang katayuan! Wala na ang dating rangya, hindi na sila luklukan ng panginoon—pinabayaan na at kinalimutan—nabubulok na nakahanay sa kalyeng ito, ginunam-gunam na lamang ang luwalhating pinag-

44 This statement is taken during one of our discussions in Development of Fiction with Prof. Danilo Francisco M. Reyes, second semester of academic year, 2015-2016 in Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines.

45 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 2.

46 Agoncillo, 346-7.

47 The fortifications were obsolete and no match to American cannon. The walls ceased to be useful to real war, remaining a relic of old-fashioned warfare. The moat was considered a health hazard, and the walls were actually to be demolished. The Americans changed the face and role of Intramuros. The moat was filled soon after the Americans arrived and made into Sunken Gardens, featuring a gold course and an aquarium. The Port Area was built on reclaimed land, shutting off Intramuros from the sea front. Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *Intramuros: A Historical Guide* (Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1980), 7.

> daanan, lalong nangingitim at dumurusing at nagkakandabulok sa pinagdadaanan ng mga taon; at sa kalaunan nagiging paupahang aksesorya—dose-dosenang pamilyang nagsisiksikan sa bawat isa sa mga lumang kwarto; nagkalat na tambak ng basura sa mga patio; at mga sampayang nangangalawit sa pagitan ng mga balkonaheng palugso na…[48]

The spatial and memorial intrusion happened because Intramuros was decaying—*nangingitim* at *nagkakandabulok*. It also became a place where overcrowded families lived and filled the city with *nagkalat na tambak ng basura* and *sampayang nangangalawit*. Interestingly, *bolók* in *Vocabulario* means: "hedor de carne ó pescado podrido/ mabaho o masangsang na amoy ng bulok na karne or bilasang isda."[49] This signifies that Intramuros' corporeal decay, through olfactory analogue, is similar to rotten meat or fish. Intruders led Intramuros to decompose: royal banners became hallucinogenic clotheslines, and the ilustrados became commoners. The changes in Intramuros—the anonymity of the place, heterogeneity of inhabitants, and indistinguishability of social, economic, and political positions—illustrate a shifting signification of Intramuros that is totally different from its past.

The state of chaos in Intramuros is expounded with the "jungle of the slum." Lumbera translates it as *kagubatan ng kubakub*. *Vocabulario* denotes *kobákob* as, "Hacer esclava á toda una parentela/ Gawing alipin ang lahat ng kasapi ng pamilya."[50] Intramuros is compared to a forest that is enslaved by invaders and strangers where its filiality to its Spanish ancestral traditions became too distant to be recognized. The generational change and economic progress led to erasures, which are also a mode of social forgetting. Aleida Assmann explains that social forgetting consists of the routinized replacement of the old by the new, is unchallenged, and is seen as a constituent part of cultural evolution in the domains of science, technology, and economy.[51] The substitution of the inhabitants in Intramuros means the disappearance caused by generational, structural, and economic changes. In Joaquin's words, the decaying of Intramuros is the image of a jungle. Lumbera thickens this image to *kagubatan ng panahon at kalikasan*. The jungle of the slums befits virtual indistinguishability because Intramuros' physical and symbolical meaning changes become acts of forgetting. Lumbera translates:

48 Nick Joaquin, *Retrato ng Artista Bilang Filipino (Isang Elehiya na may Tatlong Tagpo)*, trans. Bienvenido Lumbera, 4-5.

49 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, s.v. "bolóc."

50 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, s.v. "kobákob."

51 Aleida Assmann, "Forms of Forgetting," Castrvm Peregrini, https://h401.org/2014/10/forms-of-forgetting/7584/

> Naghihingalo na ang Intramuros, naaagnas na ito bago pa man makadigma. Binawi na ito ng kagubatan—ng kagubatan ng ating panahon, gubat ng mga barong-barong tulad ng kalikasan, ay walang patawad at magaling sa pagbura sa marka ng tao sa kasaysayan at sa paglalagom sa mga dakilang bantayog na itinayo niya. Ang marangal at laging tapat sa Siyudad kagubatan ng mga kubakob. At ganyan ang gunitang naiwan sa marami sa atin ng imperyal na siyudad ng ating mga ninuno.[52]

Lumbera's translation of the word forgotten is *pagbura*. A mark that is crucial for this forgetting is *borá* which *Vocabulario* explains as "andar escupiendo sin tener que echar"/ dumahak ngunit hindi ito iniluluwa."[53] *Borá* is not only erasing and forgetting, but it is also mocking its process. A respiratory condition characterized by the necessity of expectoration, yet there is a deliberate refusal to expel. The act of spitting not only alleviates breathing but also recognizes foreignness within the body. In Lumbera's translation within Intramuros, intruders were not repelled; there was no direct resistance because economic, political, and cultural changes were seen as natural and beneficial.[54]

Nick Joaquin narrates on his play:

> BITOY. Now look. This is all that's left of it now. Weeds and rubble and scrap iron. A piece of wall, a fragment of stairway—and over there, the smashed Gothic façade of old Santo Domingo… *Quamodo desolata es, Civitas Dei*![55]

At this point, the study would like to extend the discussion of thievery in the condition of Joaquin's discourse to Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana and Rolando Tinio's adaptations of the play.

Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana adapts the play for the Barangay Theater Guild as:

> BITOY: Intramuros was dying, Intramuros was decaying even before the war, the noble and ever loyal city had become just another jungle of slums.[56]

Rolando Tinio translates:

> KORO: Laos na'ng Intramuros
> Bago pa magkagera
> Noong bata pa man kami,
> Bulok na'ng mga bahay,

52 Joaquin, *The Portrait*, trans. Bienvenido Lumbera.

53 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, s.v. "borá."

54 This concept is similar to Assmann's automatic forgetting where she compares forgetting to cells in an organism, "the objects, ideas, and individuals of a society are periodically replaced. This slow process of (ex)change is considered natural and does not raise any alarm. Forgetting happens silently, inconspicuously and ubiquitously…" Asmann, "Forms of Forgetting."

55 Nick Joaquin, *Portrait*, 3.

56 Joaquin, *Portrait*, ad. Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana, 2.

Siksikan sa kuwarto
Ang mga pamilya
Sa patyo sa bukana
Nagtambak ang basura;
Sa lundo nang balkonahe
Nagsampay ang labada.
Ang siyudad ng imperyal
Ng ating mga ama,
Parang gubat na ngayon
Na panay barong-barong.[57]

Conjoint with Avellana and Tinio's adaptations, the intrusion is in the form of condensation of ideas and reduction of words. Joaquin's profound images of dying Intramuros are constricted from modern and slum jungle to jungle of slums and laos na'ng Intramuros. Intramuros is compared as a simile, "parang gubat na ngayon." The adaptation presents the decay in a reportorial tone, which is in contrast to Joaquin's editorial narration. This difference happens because of proximal experience. The play resonates with Joaquin's experience about Intramuros[58] while the narrations of Bitoy in the play's adaptations are in the distanced stream of time; as time distances, preservation becomes more pronounced rather than the emotional appropriation. Hence, adaptations are modes of archiving but forgetting. Avellana and Tinio see the play as an archive that is extracted to attach greater value, but in its operation, the deletion of lines shows personal detachment to Intramuros. Deletion predicates forgetting; the fast pacing of time propels distancing and breaks the bonding of the present from a heritage.[59]

57 Rolando Tinio, "ANG LARAWAN, the Musical," 186.

58 See the Introduction of Jaime C. Laya and Esperanza B. Gatbonton, *Intramuros of Memory* (Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1983), 1-17.

59 This condition of speeding time is termed by Nora as the "acceleration of time." [W]e find an integrated, dictatorial, memory—unself-conscious, commanding, all-powerful, spontaneously actualizing, a memory without the past that ceaselessly reinvents tradition, linking the history of its ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins, and myths. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-24, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928520.

3. The Artifice in the Marasigan House

Bitoy's recollection of returning to Intramuros is to go to the house of Marasigan, where the portrait was painted by Don Lorenzo Marasigan for his two daughters. A Frenchman marveled and wrote about it and it became a national object of study.[60] This sensational news becomes the source for people to go to Marasigan's house and be accommodated by Candida and Paula. This instance of reception becomes the armature of moving personal and collective memory. Here, the collective invocation of memory is designated as a collective baroque performativity.

The articulation of memory, the transaction of place, and the oscillation of place-remembering are negotiations and exchanges of hospitality. The visitors become foreigners in the setting of complementation; hospitality is the reception of identification and reciprocation.

Nick Joaquin writes the *Portrait's* stage direction when Bitoy revisits the Marasigans as:

> (A pause while Bitoy stands smiling at the room.
> Enter Candida Marasigan at right, bearing a chocolate-pot on a tray. Seeing Bitoy, she stops in the doorway and stares at him inquiringly… When among strangers, she is apt, from shyness, to assume the severe forbidding expression of the crabbed old maid. She is staring severely now at the grinning young man on the stairway.)
> Bitoy: Hello, Candida.
> (He waits, smiling; but as her face remains severe, he walks towards her.)
> Candida, surely you know me?
> (As he approaches, her face quickens with recognition, and she advances to meet him.)
> Candida: But of course, of course! You are Bitoy, the son of old Camacho! And shame on you, Bitoy Camacho—shame, shame on you for forgetting your old friends![61]

After years of absence, Bitoy is in the Marasigan house and waits for recognition while Candida inquiringly looks at Bitoy's familiar face. The staring is an inquisition of familiarity that needs verification to access the house. This

60 "PAULA: My father painted this picture only for us – for Candida and myself. He gave to us as a present; and for a whole year it has hung here in peace. Then that Frenchman came and saw it and wrote about it. And since then we have had no peace. No day passes but we must face a reported from the newspapers or a photographer from the magazines or a group of students from the universities." Joaquin, *Portrait*, 6.

61 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 6.

instance corroborates three moments: Bitoy is being questioned about his foreign presence in the house; he answers the question of Candida by smiling to affirm his safe and familiar presence; and he asks for confirmation by Candida telling Bitoy's paternity. Critical to this instance are Bitoy's polemic facial and spatial movements. It is an expression that dichotomizes initial blindness for Candida because of the anonymity of the intruder and the fear that the visitor is mad.[62] In response, Bitoy smiles, which is an obvious action from a person of the past. His grin displays the wish to be recognized, but when he senses Candida's failure to recognize him, he moves forward to put a light on what he considers obvious. He is Bitoy, the son of a family's old friend Camacho.

Furthermore, after recognizing Bitoy, Candida's demeanor becomes more accepting. This instance reflects the colonial machinery of differentiation the Spanish colonizers implemented in Intramuros. According to Gerard Lico, "protecting the exclusivity of the site and interiors of Intramuros was meant to maintain cultural superiority and to cultivate a system of 'othering.'"[63] Instead of the original preservation of *pureza de sangre* or purity of the Iberian blood in Intramuros, as its inhabitants, Candida's action becomes a psychological inheritance of practicing intramuros, within the walls of old affiliation against the extramuros, outside the walls of affiliation. That is why the scrutiny of the visitors double-voiced with a sense of security toward a visitor of the house and a sense of differentiation of acquaintance.

The actions of Bitoy between the adaptation of Avellana and the translation of Tinio situate two expositions of hospitality. On the one hand, Joaquin and Avellana's Bitoy present conditional hospitality where a pact or a contract is made between the Marasigans and him, as an old friend.[64] He waits to be recognized and named that he is the son of Old Camacho. Being a guest is a right granted to be identified by his name and affinity. This advantage is the

62 According to Derrida, in hospitality, there is a strange alliance of blindness and madness. Blindness emphasizes the foreigner's raised turn that it is obvious even to a blind person, while at the same time, madness situates fear of the foreigner as someone deranged. Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle invites Jacques Derrida to respond*, trans. by Rachel Bowlby (Standford, California: Standford University Press, 2000), 9.

63 Gerard Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino*, 104.

64 Jacques Derrida differentiates conditional hospitality and unconditional hospitality. The conditional hospitality is a right or pact that reciprocally links the foreigner; it's a question of knowing whether it counts beyond the individual, and if it also extends to the family, to the generation, to the genealogy. Thus, it is a right granted to the foreigner through familial right applying to one generation. It becomes an extension that the foreigner wants to insist the reciprocity of the commitment. Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, 25.

reason for Bitoy's entrance to the house first before his fellow journalists. He demands unconditional and absolute hospitality as he enters the sala of the Marasigan house and perpetually does progressive movements without first entering reciprocity or pact.

Tinio writes:

> [Papasok si BITOY sa sala; papasok si CANDIDA na may dalang bandehang may tsokolatera na ipapasok sa kwarto ng kanilang ama.]
> BITOY: Candida, kamusta, kamusta?
> CANDIDA: Bitoy! Si Bitoy Camacho ka![65]

Candida willingly accepts Bitoy. The house opens itself to a foreigner who becomes a guest. Bitoy's movement in the house is a break from hospitality by birthright. According to Derrida, absolute hospitality requires the host to absolutely open up the house to anonymous others, give a *place* to them, and let them arrive without asking for reciprocity or even their names.[66] It is clear that hospitality in baroque remembrance is an articulation organized by social relations. Sakai forwards that in the articulatory practice, the dispersion, detotalization, or decentering of certain positions are analytic moments of discourse.[67] Thus, the Marasigan house is not just a *bahay na bato* but is a mausoleum, a private residence preserving its ancestral heritage, and a museum for collective heritage where a prominent artist and his art live.

3.1 MARASIGAN HOUSE: THE MAUSOLEUM OF ANCESTRAL HERITAGE

The first scene of the *Portrait* places Bitoy to visit the Marasigan house. The house is silent, and as he walks into the familiar room, something inside him is disturbed. He describes this feeling as an insult, like a slap in the face.[68] However, his impression of the place that is in silence takes him to remember. Joaquin narrates:

> BITOY:... For the first time in a long, long time, I could hear myself thinking, I could feel myself feeling and breathing and living and remembering. I was conscious of myself as a separate person with a separate, secret life of my own. This old room grew young again, and familiar. The silence whispered with memories... Outside, the world was hurrying gaily towards destruction. In here, life went on as usual;

65 Tinio, *Ang Larawan*, 187.

66 Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, 25.

67 Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis; London; University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 123.

68 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 5.

> unaltered, unchanged everything in its proper place; everything just the same as yesterday, or last year, or a hundred years ago...[69]

The scene presents how the Marasigan house affects Bitoy. For him, the effect is disorienting because it leads him to recognize that he is separated between Bitoy of the past and the present. The power of the place to trigger remembrance is through the preservation of time. According to Nick Joaquin in the introduction of *Intramuros of Memory*, there are three ways of remembering Intramuros: Intramuros of childhood; the Intramuros seen again, and with a colder eye, in early adolescence; and the Intramuros rediscovered just in time before it vanished forever.[70] Thus, layered remembering is triggered by emotion and gestures to objectively and empathically remember what is within the memorist's recollection and what is *sa loob ng Maynila* (within Manila). The antidote to the changing time is the memory that is unaltered and unchanged because the place defies change in the course of time. Thus, initially, Bitoy sees the house as a mausoleum of his past memory. Bitoy initially relives in the structure of Marasigan house as a *malaking bahay (or bahay na bato)*[71] or an arquitectura mestiza[72] where:

> A wooden staircase or *escalera,* with two landings led to the upper floor and directly onto the interior overhanging verandah (*caida*). As one ascended this staircase, one waited to be received at the caida or *antesala*, which was the most immediate room from the stairs, and was an all-purpose room for entertaining, dancing, or even dining. In the *sala*, or living room, dances and balls were held during fiestas and other special occasions.[73]

The place's precise layout, as he verifies through his childhood memory, moves him to recollect his childhood memory of the house and the ritual—the *tertulias* in the Marasigan house every Friday. Together with Candida and Paula, Bitoy recounts:

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69 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 5.

70 Jaime C. Laya and Esperanza B. Gatbonton, "Introduction," In *Intramuros of Memory* (Manila: Ministry of Human Settlements, Intramuros Administration, 1983), 2.

71 "The wealthy always had the big *carruajes* (carriages) pulled by beautiful horses, an Antillean house made of hardwood and adobe stone and described during those days as *malaking bahay* (*or bahay na bato*), and big retinue of servants." Teodoro Agoncillo, "Manila in the 1890s," 319.

72 The bahay na bato is called an arquitectura mestiza because it is a hybrid version of the Filipino traditional house bahay kubo. To be resilient against natural disasters like fire, earthquake, cyclones, the logical solution was to combine stone with wood. Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino*, 160-1.

73 Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino*, 161.

> CANDIDA: He still fondly remembers our old Friday tertulias.
> PAULA: Oh, you were a big nuisance in those days, Bitoy! I was always having to wipe your nose or to take you out to the small room. Why did your father always bring you along?
> BITOY: Because I howled and howled if he tried to leave me behind!
> PAULA (*throwing back her head*): Oh, those old Friday nights! How we talked and talked! (*She begins to move gaily all over the room as though a crowded "tertulia" were in progress, chattering to imaginary visitors and fanning herself with an imaginary fan.*) More brandy, Don Pepe? Some more brandy Don Isidro? Doña Upeng, come here by the window, it is cooler! What, Don Alvaro—you have not read the new poem of Dario? But my good man, in the latest issue of the "Blanco y Negro," of course! Doña Irene, we are talking about the divine Ruben! You have read his latest offering?
> *"Turo razón tu abuela con su cabello cano,*
> *muy mas que tu con rizos en que se enrosca el dia…"*
> Aie, Don Pepe, Don Pepe—tell me, do you not consider that poem an absolute miracle? Oh, look everybody—here comes Don Aristeo at last! Welcome to our house, noble soldier! Candida, find him a seat somewhere!
> CANDIDA (*acting up, too*): Over here, Don Aristeo, over here! And may I ask, my dear sir, why you failed us last Friday? Paula, some brandy for Don Aristeo!
> PAULA (*offering imaginary glass*): I forbid you to talk politics tonight! Must we hear about nothing else these days except the eternal Don Q?
> CANDIDA: Oh, listen everybody! Don Alvaro is telling us just where his Don Q was, during the Revolution!
> PAULA: Oh yes, Doña Irene, we went to all the performances—but we consider this zarzuela company inferior to the one we had last year.
> CANDIDA: And next month the Italian singers are arriving! Alas for us girls! The men will all be lined up again at the stage-door!
> PAULA: More brandy, Don Miguel? Some more brandy, Don Pepe? Doña Irene, would you prefer to sit by the piano? Oh, go on, go on, Don Alvaro! And you say that General Aguinaldo was actually preparing his army for a last assault?
> BITOY (*in voice of ten-year old*): Tita Paula. Tita Paula—I wanna go to the small room!
> PAULA: Hush, hush, you little savage! And just look at your nose![74]

The make-believe shows that Candida, Paula, and Bitoy remember not only through words but also through actions. The ritualities in *tertulias* encrypted the supposed responses and use of the Spanish language[75] and habits of the people who joined this Friday ritual that gave Intramuros' tone and style.[76] The make-believe of Friday *tertulias* by them in the Marasigan house is the subject

74 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 8.

75 Intramuros was the center of Spanish culture in the Philippines because prominent schools and churches were there. The Spanish language was popular in the Old city because it has many Spanish inhabitants and Spanish-speaking Filipinos. Teodoro Agoncillo, "Manila in the 1890s," 339-40.

76 Jaime C. Laya and Esperanza B. Gatbonton, *Intramuros of Memory*, 3.

of remembering private memories. They re-enacted their tertulia through the memory of verbal and kinesthetic habitus:[77] Bitoy pretends to be a nuisance boy; Paula moves around the room and gives brandy to Don Pepe, Don Isidro, Doña Upeng, Don Alvaro, and Doña Irene; and Candida converses about the latest trends and gossips about the world of poetry. Remarkably, despite alterations created by the passing of time, they remembered the tertulia with great precision that is untouched by social changes. The make-believe presents tertulia as a canonized memory.[78] It institutionalizes the past as a present, as a message addressed to the future, and purifies the reproduction of the memory. The house arrests them to remember familiar faces and actions, just as a mausoleum houses the bodies of the dead. When visiting a grave, one is compelled to remember old memories through re-enactments. The memory is embarked on an intimate memory relative only to people who know the place's customs and ceremonies.

The characters' memory automatically moves them to precision across space and time because it is a habitual practice. The make-believe utilizes mimicry as their bodies' production is mediated by their past and becomes vessels of cultural formation through the rituality of reenactment. The stylized repetitions of the social habits in *tertulia* become mediated physiological techniques that figurate the psychical formulation. The memory is extended from the body to the collective performance.[79] Thus, the movement of the body is a technique for nostalgia during the time of modernity. Memory's habitation within the body and the house figures ancestral customs and traditions, which the study argues as what Pierre Nora calls as "lieux de memoire/ site of memory."

According to Nora:

> [L]*ieux de memoire* [is] where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn—but

77 Habit memory is described by Mauss as the acquired ability of bodily techniques and the work of collective and individual practical reason. Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," (1973) Economy and Society, http://ox.doi.org/10.1086/03085147300000003, 73; Pierre Bourdieu explains that habitus is the principle of constructing system of structured, structuring disposition, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions. Pierre Bourdieu, "Structure, *Habitus*, Practices," in *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 52.

78 According to Assmann, canon keeps the past as present. Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Media and Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 98.

79 "...what I [Mauss] want to get at now is the confidence, the psychological momentum that can be linked to an action which is primarily a fact of biological resistance, obtained thanks to some words and a magical object." Mauss, 75.

> torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists.[80]

Nora explains that lieux de memoire is a recognition of a torn historical consciousness that poses a problem and that identification creates an opening for historical continuity. Hence, the place triggers them to remember past memories, and through its situatedness, the space canonizes their traditional tertulias and their customary hospitality through their reenactment. The old tertulias are historical moments bound to break, and remembering is a return to question the memory in the sense of memorial continuity.[81] The possible modes of reenactment and the habits of the body are pressures of resistance against the suppression of the past. Bitoy remembers the habit because as a child, he imitated actions, which were successfully performed by the authorities, Candida and Paula. This singular encounter is where the private becomes a collective recollection. There is a communal sharing of expectations and experiences. The make-believe becomes a means of transportation for the house to go beyond physical space and become a universal psychical home.

3.2 THE MARASIGAN HOUSE: THE MUSEUM OF COLLECTIVE HERITAGE

The reunion of Bitoy and the Marasigan sisters is an intimate and entwined remembering of private heritage; however, when Bitoy reveals that he is also a journalist with an ulterior motive of getting the story about the painting of Don Lorenzo, he asserts a new ground of the house as a museum that shelters memory—the private memory becomes a public memory. Joaquin narrates:

> BITOY: Do you know, a visiting Frenchman has written an enthusiastic article about this picture.
> CANDIDA: Oh yes—he was very nice, that Frenchman. He said he had long been an admirer of my father. He was thoroughly acquainted with my father's work. He has seen them in Madrid and Barcelona. And he promised himself—(*She pauses. Bitoy has taken out a notebook and is jotting down what she is saying. She and Paula exchange glances.*)
> BITOY (*looking expectantly*): Yes? He promised himself what?
> CANDIDA (*drily continuing*): Well, he promised himself that if he ever found himself in the Philippines he would try to locate father. So, he came here, and he saw

80 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire.*" *Representations,* No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, trans. by Marc Roadebush. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928520, 7.

81 Patrick Flores explains that the theory of habitus demonstrates reflexivity of subject position as it deals with the conditions of its continual displacements, with its continually displaced social field. Patrick D. Flores, *Painting History: Revisions in Philippine Art* (UP Office of Research Coordination; National Commission for Culture and Arts: 1998), 64.

> father, and he saw the new painting, and then he published the article. As I said, he was a very nice man—but we are very sorry he ever came.
> BITOY (*looking up*): Sorry?
> CANDIDA: Tell me something, Bitoy—are you a newspaper reporter?
> BITOY (*after a moment's hesitation*): Yes. Yes, I am.
> CANDIDA (*smiling*): And *that* is why you have come to visit us after all these years?
> (*Still smiling, she walks away. Bitoy looks blankly after her. She goes to table and begins to beat the chocolate. Bitoy turns to Paula.*)
> BITOY: Paula, what is the matter! What have I done?
> PAULA: Oh nothing, Bitoy. Only, when people come here now, it is not to visit us, but to see the picture.[82]

Bitoy becomes not a guest but a spectator who desires reasons and an established interpretation of the painting from Candida and Paula. The purpose of his questions is for documentation. Just as the Frenchman wrote an article about it, Bitoy initially comes to the house because he is intrigued by Don Lorenzo, the well-known painter. He is a reporter who writes for a collective reader; the personal interest is moved to a collective interest. In Bienvenido Lumbera's translation the question of Bitoy asking Candida and Paula if they know that a Frenchman wrote an article about the portrait as "Alam ba ninyo na isang Pranses na dumalaw sa Pilipinas ang nagsulat ng isang artikulong hangang-hanga sa retratong iyan" is problematic.[83] Aside from shifting Bitoy's question to a statement, Lumbera's translation of the Frenchman's enthusiasm about the portrait as *hangang-hanga*. *Vocabulario* translates the word as "exagerar, engrandecer, admiracion/ magmalabis; palakihin' paghanga."[84] The Filipino translation shifts the tone to exaggeration and expression of magnitude. This implies that the portrait only became popular because a Westerner validated its beauty, and the public followed suit. Lumbera's translation questions the portrait's merits and popularity by casting doubt on the Frenchman's sincere appreciation. However, Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana's adaptation likely expressed admiration for the portrait's artistry by adding, "But this is magnificent! This is a masterpiece!"[85]

The Marasigan house is disturbed by dissolved privacy and by the continuous visitation of people. The accessibility of the house to accommodate various people leads to the vulnerability of the private space, which Candida and

82 Joaquin, *Portrait*, 17.

83 Nick Joaquin, *Retrato ng Artista Bilang Filipino (Isang Elehiya na may Tatlong Tagpo)*, trans. Bienvenido Lumbera, 19.

84 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, s.v. "hánga."

85 Joaquin, *Portrait*, ad. Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana, 6.

Paula find strange. Hence, the house is not a mausoleum of a family but a museum that houses an artifact. Candida and Paula are not only daughters of Don Lorenzo Marasigan but also archons of the museum where they are the guardians of the works of the great painter, "El Magnifico." In Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever*, this is the domiciliation of the archive directed by the archons of memory.[86]

When reporters from the newspaper, photographers from the magazine, or a group of students from the universities visit the house, it becomes a museum. There is an unwritten assignation of archontic power. The Marasigan house was an ilustrado's private *bahay na bato,* but has now become an abode of an archived memory. There is indeed a dissolution of partition between the public and the private life of the Marasigan and secrets and non-secrets of historical data about the painting. Thus, the house functions as a legitimate open house for archontic interrogation and contestation of details, and direct and indirect implementation of power given by the archons. Hospitality is the armature of an unwritten law that governs the spectators of the house.

Baroque remembrance figures centripetal movement where it characterizes what is inside, but in its process of identification, it is proliferated by different notions and conditions situating the play the questions of forgetting customs and traditions, substituting memory with another context, and condensing memory to a sensibility remembrance. On the one hand, deformation in the memory of Intramuros happens when the play is situated in adaptation because the medium and purpose limit the space to remember. On the other hand, reformation in the memory of Intramuros happens when the play is translated into the vernacular. In the process of translation, dislocation and relocation of ideas through lexicographic ideas complicate the reading of memory. The interior space allows remembering to be located to certain associations, but the exterior space performs motion based on what the spectator can remember and associate. In addition, as the analytic and aesthetic discourses situate baroque remembrance as a convoluted reconstruction of memory in different spaces, the experience itself is also mutating.

Baroque remembrance is not a contestation of originality but a mutative process exemplified by a moment of historical and cultural collisions and

86 Derrida traces the word archive from the Greek word 'arkheion' which initially means a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the 'archons' those who commanded. Then domiciliation is the house arrest where archives dwell permanently. Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2.

permutations, which is oscillated by the process of remembering. It is a seduction of excavating concrete architectural, urban space and its myths where aesthetic visions elaborate estrangement and intimacy.

4. Conclusion

In *Portrait of the Artist as Filipino*, the evolution of language usage through historical lexicography reveals an interaction between the past and present. The paper analyzed Filipino translations of Joaquin's baroque English as a means of unpacking cultural resonances in the act of remembering. By rendering the drama into Filipino, it reveals the nuances that otherwise remain obscured in the original—from subtle shifts in tone and connotation to the layered histories embedded in language. This method allows for a more intimate engagement with Joaquin's historical imagination, demonstrating how translation is not only a linguistic exercise but a cultural act that reanimates the past in a distinctly Filipino way. From Joaquin's stylistic excesses, the translations and adaptations embrace the baroque artifices: proliferation allows the expansion of meaning and amplifies the original's richness; substitution magnifies the interplay between colonial and local imaginaries as words and phrases reveal new inflections; and condensation explores the intricate narratives of Joaquin into a more compact Filipino expression. Thus, the act of translation and adaptation is a dynamic engagement with history, memory, and identity.

In addition, the play's translations and adaptation highlight how language evolves to reflect the shifting imperatives of modernity, illustrating how memory is substantiated through a recuperation of past experiences. This process highlights the struggles inherent in reconciling colonial legacy with the projections of Philippine modernity.

As language usage transforms over time, it mirrors the spirit of the present experience and reveals how historical contexts influence contemporary interpretations. The temporal distance introduced by translation and adaptation often leads to the deformation of meanings or reinterpretation of past experiences. Eventually, the play's reception and understanding become increasingly mediated by the evolving attitudes of the present, demonstrating how historical lexicography shapes and reflects the ongoing dialogue between past and present. This dynamic interplay ultimately enriches comprehension

of both the play itself and the broader cultural and historical narratives it engages with.

The paper analyzes the transformation of Intramuros from its physical aspect to collective memory in Nick Joaquin's translation and adaptation, which reveals a multifaceted interplay between historical reality and cultural narrative. The textual analysis of Joaquin's work highlights how the physical devastation of Intramuros is intricately linked to the shifting contours of collective memory.

Joaquin's adaptation and translation of the work arrest the evolving perceptions of Intramuros, reflecting how its physical destruction intersects with its role in national identity and memory. The process of the play's translation and adaptation serve as lenses through which the transformation of Intramuros is both recorded and interpreted and shows how the city's historical and cultural significance is continually reconfigured.

Through this paper, it is evident that the transformation of remembering Intramuros is not just a matter of physical change but also a profound shift in collective memory. Joaquin's work illustrates how the city's past is refracted through contemporary lenses, which affect both the representation of its physical ruins and the cultural narratives surrounding them. This interplay shows the arbitrary relationship between historical events and collective memory, revealing how each influences and reshapes the other. The result is a more transformative and nuanced reading of Intramuros that embodies historical continuity, memory, and identity.

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Salay: Examining toponymic representations from text and memory

Salay: Examen de representaciones toponímicas a partir de textos y memoria

Jay Rome O. de los Santos
Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology

Marjorie S. Almario-Magdadaro
Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology

Abstract

One of the challenges in writing about the early history of towns in the Philippines is the scarcity of written documents, as seen in the case of Salay, a municipality in Northern Mindanao. This paper explores the indigenous culture of Salay by analyzing its toponym as a text, offering a glimpse into its past while addressing two key problems: first, the differing toponymic perspectives and narratives on Salay, and second, the lack of historical sources on Salay's indigenous culture. Ethnohistorical research reveals various toponymic representations from text and memory. Examining these narratives through folkloric, cultural, linguistic, and historical perspectives leads to a convergence point: the necklace—a physical object that symbolizes an indigenous material culture. This connection further illustrates early Salay's human activities and relationship with nature. Lastly, as a toponym representing the past in the present, Salay serves as an intangible heritage that requires preservation and protection.

Keywords

Salay; heritage; higaunon; local history; memory; Northern Mindanao; toponym

Resumen

Uno de los retos a la hora de escribir sobre la historia temprana de los pueblos de Filipinas es la necesidad de contar con documentos escritos, como en el caso de Salay, un municipio del norte de Mindanao (Filipinas). Este artículo ofrece un conocimiento histórico de la cultura indígena de Salay a través del uso de su topónimo como texto para vislumbrar su pasado e investigar estos problemas: en primer lugar, las diferentes perspectivas y narraciones toponímicas sobre Salay, y en segundo lugar, la falta de fuentes históricas sobre la cultura indígena de Salay. La investigación etnohistórica revela diversas representaciones toponímicas a partir del texto y la memoria. El examen de estas narraciones desde las perspectivas folclórica, cultural, lingüística e histórica conduce a un punto de convergencia: el collar, un objeto físico que representa una cultura material indígena. Esta conexión refleja además las actividades humanas del Salay primitivo y su relación con la naturaleza. Por último, como topónimo que representa el pasado en el presente, es un patrimonio inmaterial que requiere preservación y protección.

Palabras clave

Salay; patrimonio; higaunon; historia local; memoria; Mindanao del Norte; topónimo

1. Introduction

Writing the history of a town in the Philippines often begins with its toponym. Without documentary sources, a toponym is not merely a place name; it can also be analyzed as a text that provides important insights into past activities and relationships. This approach applies to Salay, a coastal municipality in Misamis Oriental, Philippines. Despite its numerous distinctions—such as being recognized as a Child-Friendly municipality and receiving the Seal of Good Local Governance—its early sociocultural history remains relatively obscure. This is reflected in its conflicting narratives, starting with its place name.

A local tourism pamphlet printed in 2016 describes Salay as having been named after sigay,[1] a native term for cowrie shells[2]—a story popularly known among locals. In fact, since its inception, the annual Kasilay Festival, celebrated every May 1st, has emphasized sigay as a central theme. On the other hand, Bonifacio Cabasagan, in his unpublished manuscript on the brief history of the town, traces the name Salay to a tree locally known as bansilay.[3] The Cabasagan account presents an alternative etymological perspective, which was eventually adopted by the local government.

Previous historical works and related studies revealed that the place name Salay already appeared in Spanish colonial records as one of the early *pueblos* established in the second district of Misamis in the 19th century.[4] The geographical surveys of Buzeta and Bravo (1850), Mas (1842), and Mallat (1846) identified Salay as a pueblo in Misamis.[5] Additionally, religious reports from the *Padres Recoletos* and Jesuit letters cited Salay as a *visita*.[6] As defined by

1 Local Government Unit of Salay - Tourism Office, "Turismo sa Salay" (LGU Salay: Tourism Office, 2016), 1.

2 Cowrie (or cowry) is the common name for a group of small to large sea snails classified as marine gastropod mollusks in the family Cypraeidae. Cowries are typically found in rocky areas of the sea bed. Their shells are usually smooth, shiny, and more or less egg-shaped.

3 Bonifacio Cabasagan, "Ang Kasaysayan sa Salay" (LGU Salay: Unpublished manuscript, n.d.), 1.

4 *Erección de los Pueblos (Misamis, 1808-1839); (Misamis, 1824-1884); (Misamis, 1859-1891)* (Manila: National Archives of the Philippines).

5 Buzeta & Bravo, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas*, Tomo 1 (Madrid: Imprenta de Jose C. Dela Pena, 1850), 336, 580; Tomo 2, 341, 418, 514; Sinibaldo de Mas, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 / por el autor del Aristodemo del Sistema Musical de la lengua castella, etc.*, Tomo 2 (Madrid : Imprenta de I. Sancha, 1843), 30; Jean Mallat, *Les Philippines Histoire, Geographie, moeurs, agriculture, industrie et commerce des colonies espagnoles dans l'Océanie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846), 212.

6 Jose Arcilla, S.J., *Jesuits Missionary Letters from Mindanao (Vol 4: The Dapitan-Balingasag Mission)* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 2000); Toribio Minguela, *Conquista Espiritual de Mindanao por los Agustinos Recolectos* (Valladolid: Imprenta y Librería de Luis N. de Gaviria, Impresor del Ilustre Colegio de Abogados, 1888), 7.

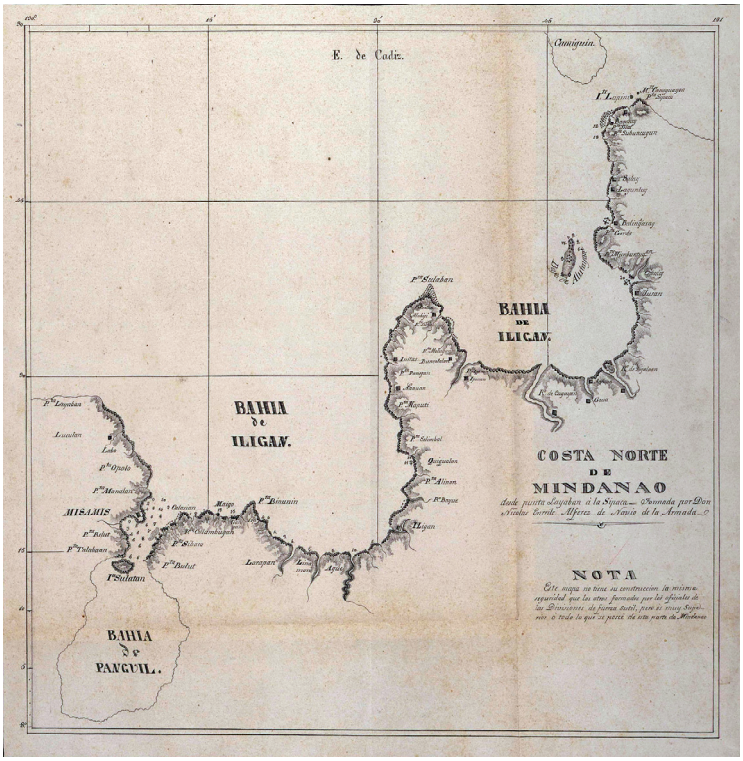


Fig. 1. Costa Norte de Mindanao desde punta Layaban à la Sipica / Formada por Don Nicolas Enrrile Alferez de Navio de la Armada, 1826. Source: Images from the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, https://catalogo.bne.es/permalink/34BNE_INST/f0qo1i/alma991036989219708606.

Arcilla, "visita was a term used for all administrative centers, including the sitio and municipality, that did not have a resident priest and were merely visited for priestly ministries."[7] Within the *cabecera-visita* system, Salay functioned as a visita under the ecclesiastical supervision of neighboring *cabeceras* in the region. Initially administered by Cagayan,[8] it was transferred to Jasaan in 1830[9] and later to Balingasag in 1849.[10]

In the *Erección de los Pueblos (Misamis, 1859–1891),* an official document dated 1883 specifically mentioned Salay. It records a petition from the local *principalia*, supported by the *gobernadorcillo*, requesting the transfer of the *población* of Salay to Casulog and citing detailed reasons for the move.[11] It is also noteworthy that Jose Montero y Vidal, a Spanish historian,

7 Arcilla, *Jesuits Missionary Letters from Mindanao,* Vol 4, 60.

8 Minguela, *Conquista Espiritual de Mindanao por los Agustinos Recolectos*, 7; Buzeta & Bravo, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas*, Tomo 1, 443.

9 "Expediente 6 - Expediente a representatcion de los principales y demas habitantes de los Visitas de Tagoloan, Jasaan, Balingasag y Bagacay, solicitando su separacion en lo espiritual de su matriz el pueblo de Cagayan..." *Errecion de los Pueblo (Misamis, 1808-1839)* (Manila: National Archives of the Philippines), S47-61.

10 Peter Schreurs, *Mission to Mindanao (1859-1900) from the Spanish of Pablo Pastells, S.J.*, Vol.2 (Cebu City: San Carlos Publication, 1994), 232.

11 "Expediente 17 - Solicitud del Gobernadorcillo y principales del pueblo de Salay, pidiendo permiso para trasladar su poblacion al de Casulog del 2nd Dsitrito de Mindanao Misamis," *Errecion de los Pueblos (Misamis, 1859-1891)* (Manila: National Archives of the Philippines), S302-307b.

documented that "In Iligan (Misamis District): Iponan, Alilitum, Gompot, Salay [emphasis added], Sipaca were sacked and burned"[12] during the height of the Moro counterattacks in Mindanao. This is the earliest historical record mentioning Salay in the second half of the 18th century. Beyond colonial reports, Salay also appears on various Spanish maps from the 19th century, the earliest in 1826 (see Fig. 1).

Filipino scholars have also contributed to understanding Salay's history through their works. Mardonio Lao noted that Salay was one of the coastal settlements in Northern Mindanao engaged in early trading activities before Spanish colonization. According to his account:

> Bukidnons before, particularly those living along the coastal areas, were involved in trading activity. The coastal *Bukidnons* were only drawn away from this trading activity when they were gradually pushed into the hinterlands in what is now the Province of Bukidnon as a consequence of the coming of the Visayan-based settlers who began to dominate the population of the Misamis coast from 1622 when Christianity was introduced in the area. Unable to regain dominance over their former coastal settlements like Jasaan, Salay, [emphasis added] Tagoloan, Balingasag, Gusa, Kagayha-an, the Bukidnons established settlements in the north and central sections of the plateau.[13]

The Historical Data Paper (HDP) collections housed in the National Library of the Philippines can serve as a valuable source for writing about the histories of towns and provinces in the Philippines, especially in the period following WWII. However, historical information about several towns in Misamis Oriental, including Salay, is either missing or not recorded by the local government.

Despite this gap, Jay Rome de los Santos, a history professor, was able to compile available historical sources on Salay. In his published narrative, he reinforced Salay's status as a Spanish pueblo in the 1830s. He described its integration into the colonial structure and its transformation across multiple aspects, including religion, politics, culture, and socio-economics.[14] Furthermore, de los Santos' work also established that Salay is an old toponym, appearing in colonial sources as early as the second half of the late 18th century.

12 Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Pirateria Malayo-Mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo*, Vol. 1 (Madrid: M. Tello, 1888), 335.

13 Mardonio Lao, *Bukidnon in Historical Perspective* (Bukidnon: Central Mindanao University, 1985), 17.

14 Jay Rome de los Santos, "In Search of Salay in the Historical Sources," *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. LV (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 2021), 1-39.

In summary, early foreign and local sources clearly describe Salay, particularly its political and ecclesiastical status during colonial times. However, the preceding review reveals two key issues this paper seeks to address. First is the differing toponymic perspectives and narratives on Salay, and second, the lack of historical account of Salay's indigenous culture. The limitations of official documents, missionary reports, letters, and other secondary sources, which primarily present the voice of colonial authorities, underscore the significance of this study, centering on the perspective of the local people.

Through an ethnohistorical approach, this study explores the indigenous culture of Salay (*ethnos*) by drawing primarily from its rich oral accounts and the available documentary evidence related to its toponym. According to Russell Barber and Frances Berdan, interpreting toponyms or place names offers an alternative approach to reaching a blindspot of the past that is not recorded.[15] In ethnohistory, place names are not randomly assigned; they are intentional reflections of past cultural and social realities.[16] Guided by this framework of analysis, this paper is structured around its research problems and objectives: (a) to present the different toponymic narratives on Salay, as gleaned from folkloric, cultural, linguistic, and historical perspectives, and (b) to examine their convergences to determine the etymological origin of Salay and to reconstruct the indigenous cultural images embedded in its place name.

In addition to filling the historical knowledge gap on Salay's indigenous culture and society, this paper underscores the importance of toponyms as historical texts. It further asserts that the lack of written records in many towns, such as Salay, does not prevent local historians from writing their past.[17] Philippine towns are abundant with materials that serve as repositories of the people's histories and as containers of their collective memory. As part of a non-writing society,[18] this paper shows how examining toponyms enriches the praxis of local historiography in the Philippines.

15 Russell Barber and Frances Berdan, *The Emperor's Mirror* (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1998).

16 Barber and Berdan, *The Emperor's Mirror*, 115.

17 Teodoro Agoncillo, "Oral and Local History: An Appraisal," in *History and Culture, Language and Literature: Selected Essays of Teodoro A. Agoncillo*, ed. Bernardita R. Churchill (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2003), 74.

18 Marjorie Almario-Magdadaro, "Diyandi: Kultural na Performans bilang Kabilin at Kasaysayan ng Dakbayan sa Iligan" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of the Philippines-Diliman, 2023), 14.

For the research methodology, this ethnohistorical study collected both available documentary evidence and oral accounts. Primary sources, including Spanish colonial records, were obtained from the Recollect and Jesuit Archives and the National Archives of the Philippines. These documents include *Erección de los Pueblos Misamis (1808-1839, 1824-1884, 1859-1891), The Jesuit Missionary Letters from Mindanao,* Vol. 4, and various reports on the spiritual conquest of the Augustinian Recollect and Jesuit religious orders in Mindanao from the 18th to 19th century. Other primary sources, such as Spanish maps, government and religious reports, geographical surveys, botanical books, and 19th-20th century dictionaries, were retrieved from online databases.

The oral accounts of Salay as a toponym consist of both oral traditions and oral history. Oral traditions are verbal testimonies passed down through generations, while oral histories are based on first-hand experiences.[19] The oral accounts used to interpret Salay's toponym were gathered from six (6) Higaunon informants, the area's culture bearers, and indigenous people. As one of the indigenous groups of Mindanao, the Higaunons inhabit the forested interior plains and mountains of the island's northern and central regions. In Salay, the Higaunon community is concentrated in the interior barangays. Interviews were conducted using the Key Informant Interview (KII) technique at their residences in Barangay Alipuaton and Barangay Poblacion in Salay town. Among the interviewees was a community chieftain known as a *datu*. In addition to the indigenous inhabitants, eight (8) residents of Salay's coastal barangays, including Poblacion, were also interviewed.

The oral interviews were conducted in 2016 during one of the authors' fieldworks for his master's thesis. The key informants, most of whom were in their 70s and 80s at the time of the interviews, expressed verbal consent and have since passed away. Their oral accounts remain invaluable as they have not been used in any publication and are first-hand information as culture bearers.

To validate the research data obtained from their oral accounts, further consultations were conducted with Higaunon people from the nearby municipalities of Opol (Misamis Oriental province), Talakag and Lantapan (Bukidnon province), and Barangay Rogongon, Iligan City. Data triangulation was also carried out with two (2) Mëranaw[20] respondents from Iligan City.

19 Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

20 Spelling based on Komisyon ng Wikang Filipino on Mëranaw.



Fig. 2. Map of Misamis Oriental Province showing the location of Salay.Source: Google Maps.

The locale of the study, Salay, is a fourth-class coastal municipality in the province of Misamis Oriental, located in the Northern Mindanao region of the Philippines. Geographically, Salay is bounded in the north by the municipality of Binuangan, east by the municipality of Claveria, west by Macajalar Bay, and south by Lagonglong. Traditionally, the Higaunon people, the only indigenous ethnic group in the area, are recognized as Salay's original inhabitants. The municipality of Salay has a total land area of 9,279 hectares. Of its eighteen (18) barangays, eight (8) are along the seacoast, while ten (10) are in the interior. Barangay Poblacion, the center of Salay's socio-political and economic activities, is located in the coastal area. It is approximately two kilometers away from the boundary line in the South.[21]

21 LGU Salay - Municipal Planning and Development Office, "Socio-Economic Profile" (LGU Salay: MPDO, 2000), 3.

2. Sigay, Silay, Bansilay: Toponymic Narratives of Salay

The text requires reading, while memory is about remembering.[22] Examining historical texts produced during the colonial and contemporary times provides insights into Salay's earliest political status of Salay as a Spanish pueblo and a Catholic visita. However, the absence of indigenous references is substantiated by non-textual sources. Diana Taylor explains that these sources represent "the historical memory of native and marginalized communities who relied primarily on former practices, genealogies, and stories to sustain their sense of self and communal identity."[23]

The toponym Salay, in itself, evokes memories among indigenous and non-indigenous residents, who present three versions of its origins. Their oral narratives recount different stories of a Native-Spaniard encounter, a theme present anywhere in the Philippines.[24] The first version associates Salay with the cowrie shell, locally called sigay, a popular recollection among coastal residents. Various oral accounts state:

> *Kanang pangalan nga Salay kay gikan sa sigay. Naa daw mga katsila [kastila] kaniadto nga niabot tapos gipangutana katong mga nitibo unsa ni nga lugar. Ang pagtoo nila gipangutana sila unsa ilang gikuha. Maong nitubag daw sila nga "Sigay." Sa kadugayan ang "sigay" nahimong "salay"* (The name Salay originated from *sigay*. When the Spaniards arrived in the area, they asked the natives for the name of the place. Believing they were being asked about their activity, the natives responded, "sigay." Over time, sigay became salay).[25]
>
> *Kaning baybay sa Salay nga dapit daghan kaayo diha makit-an ug makuha nga klase-klase nga kinason, mga shell. Daghan....Hangtud man karon. Mao na sa una among ginakuha sa bata pami. Basta kay ang istorya sa unang panahon niabot ang mga Spaniards dayon gipangutana nila katong mga karaang tao nga naabtan nila sa baybay unsay ngalan sa lugar. Sa pagtoo nga gipangutana sila unsa ilang gibuhat, nitubag sila nga nangita og sigay* (In the coastal area of Salay, various types of seashells can be found—even today. During our childhood, we would collect and gather these seashells. There is a story that, long ago, Spaniards arrived and asked the natives they encountered on the seashore for the name of the place.

22 Diana Taylor, *The Archive and The Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Lon-don: Duke University Press, 2003), 8.

23 Diana Taylor, "Performance and/as History," *TDR: The Drama Review* 50, No. 1 (2006): 67-86.

24 Arnold Azurin, *Reinventing the Filipino: The Sense of Being and Becoming Critical Analyses of the Orthodox Views in Anthropology, History, Folklore and Letters* (Quezon City: UP Press, 1995).

25 Interview with Ernesto Salvana, 81 years old, August 26, 2016.



Fig. 3. Salil Kumar Mukherjee, Cowrie shells, 2023. Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cowrie_shells.jpg

Thinking they were being asked what they were doing, they replied that they were looking for sigay).[26]

Ang Salay abunda gayud og kinason. Maski asa dapit sa dagat makakita gayud ikaw og kinason. Kami sa una mga bata pa tuig 1950s, ag panguha kami kaniadtu og kinason (Salay is a place abundant in seashells, which can be found all along the coastal area. Back in the 1950s, we would gather and collect them).[27]

Makit-an biya nimu hangtud karun nga ang Salay daghan og shell. Matud pa nila, sukad pa kaniadtu daghan gayud kana sa Salay....Ug diha matud pa gikan ang pangalan nga Salay (Even today, Salay remains rich in seashells. It is said that, even in the past, Salay was a place abundant in shells. For this reason, the name Salay came to be).[28]

Mao naman gyud ang naandan kaniadtu pa sa Salay ug sa munisipyo nga ang pangalan sa Salay gikan sa sigay. Maong pagpista, kanang Kasilay Festival – shell gayud ang imahe tungod sa pagkaabunda sa Salay (This is what the people and municipality of Salay believe—that the name Salay was derived from sigay. For this reason, every fiesta celebration, during Kasilay Festival, the image of a shell is used, symbolizing its abundance in the area).[29]

26 Interview with Nenesa Vallar, 85 years old ,August 26, 2016.
27 Interview with Anania Agcopra Roa, 89 years old, August 26, 2016.
28 Interview with Arturo Bagobaldo, 86 years old, August 27, 2016
29 Interview with Cora Faith Cauzon, August 27, 2016.

These stories recounted by elderly residents of Salay's coastal area—many of whom are now in their 80s—described Salay as a place frequented by Spaniards, who named it based on what was most abundant: cowrie shells or sigay. This claim is supported by their experiences of seeing and collecting numerous sigay along the shores during childhood. The widely held belief that Salay originated from sigay inspired the annual Kasilay Festival, an event explicitly centered around sigay and necklaces made from sigay. For instance, the Miss Salay pageant showcases sigay necklaces as candidates' accessories. Similarly, in the Kasilay street dancing, sigay are consistently featured as props and integral elements of the contingent's costumes.

The second version of the story links the toponym Salay to a necklace, locally known as silay. This account describes another Native-Spaniard encounter, but this time involving a native woman named Salilang, who lost her necklace in the river and encountered Spaniards while looking for it.

Old folks of Salay continue to recount the oral tradition about Salilang, a princess who lost her precious necklace, called silay, in the Casulog River. Their supporting narratives include the following:

> *Naa toy usa ka prinsesa. Sa iyang paglakaw-lakaw nawala ang iyang kwentas. Diha man daw dapit sa Casulog nga suba. Katong kwentas mao natong Salay* (There was once a princess. While wandering around, she lost her necklace in the Casulog River. That necklace was Salay).[30]
>
> *Kana akong nadunggan...nahibal-an nga istorya nga naa lagi daw prinsesa tapos naay kwentas* (That is the story I heard and knew back then, the story of a princess and her necklace).[31]
>
> *Diha sa may Casulog kanang sa suba dapit diha niabot ang mga puti tapos gipangutana unsa ni nga lugar. Dili man sila magkasinabot ky lahi man tong pinulungan sa una lagi. Mao to ang gitubag sa tao ky Silay ky gipangita man nila ang kwentas* (In Casulog around the river area, the white men arrived and asked the natives about the place. Since the natives could not understand the language, they assumed the question referred to what they were searching for. They answered, "Silay" because they were looking for the necklace).[32]
>
> *Salilang ang pangalan sa prinsesa ug diha sa Casulog nakita sa mga Kastila. Naa syay kwentas* (Salilang was the name of the princess, and the Spaniards saw her in Casulog. She had a necklace).[33]

30 Interview with Normal Remadavia, Higaunon, 54 years old, August 31 2016.

31 Interview with Anania Agcopra Roa, 89 years old, August 26, 2016.

32 Interview with Macarita Agocoy, 81 years old, August 27, 2016.

33 Interview with Pedro Vallar, 75 years old, August 27, 2016.

Examining Spanish texts, it becomes evident that Spanish exploration in Northern Mindanao was concentrated along the coastal and riverine areas.[34] Due to the extensive territory and the limited number of missionaries assigned to Misamis, effective control was restricted to coastal settlements, including Salay. The Recoletos were the first to enter the area and convert its inhabitants to Christianity. However, with the return of the Jesuits in the latter half of the 19th century, Salay was eventually transferred to them.[35] The Jesuit letters support the local memory regarding Native-Spaniard encounters[36] along the coastal area and Casulog River in Salay. Notably, Father Francisco Paulo de Sanchez wrote on May 5, 1889:

> We passed the barrio of Kasulog within an hour and a half, three hours sailing in front of the village of Salay. The most colorful and varied madrepores littered these shores, which they call "hunasan." What a pleasing undersea orchard the Lord has placed in these places.[37]

In Barangay Casulog, near the Casulog River, a historic mission cross is inscribed with the words "*Esta fue nuestro refugio* 1883." According to local belief, the Jesuits erected this cross during their missionary efforts in the area in 1883.[38] It is a symbolic marker of the Jesuits' presence and their role in providing spiritual sanctuary.

On the other hand, Salilang is described as a native woman. According to Oona Paredes, one of the indigenous groups of northern Mindanao, where Salay is located, is the Higaunon. The Spanish called them *monteses*,[39] while Bisayan settlers referred to them as Bukidnons.[40]

34 Oona Paredes conceptualized the mission history of northeast Mindanao as consisting of four distinct periods, which closely parallel the history of colonial administration. The first mission period (1600-1820) was characterized by a shortage of personnel. The second mission period (ca. 1820-1859) was marked by mission intensification, with a significant increase in Recoletos and colonial administrative personnel. The third mission period (ca. 1859-1898) was defined by the return of the newly reconstituted Jesuit Order to Mindanao in 1859 and its usurpation of Recoleto territory on the island. The fourth mission period (ca. 1898-1946) corresponded to the American colonial period. See Paredes, Oona. *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*. New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2013.

35 de los Santos, "In Search of Salay in the Historical Sources," 5-17.

36 Paredes noted that "direct or indirect references to conversion in northeast Mindanao describe significant missionary contact in Lumad areas, intensive contact that would have had a cultural impact." See Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*, 34.

37 Arcilla, *Jesuit Missionary Letters from Mindanao*, Vol. 5, 354.

38 de los Santos, "In Search of Salay in the Historical Sources," 20.

39 Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*, 25.

40 Lao, *Bukidnon in Historical Perspective*, 17.

> We find the Lumad spread throughout the region in small communities, with an occasionally larger settlement concentrated around a particularly influential *datu*. Most of their settlements appear to have been in areas that today are regarded as thoroughly "lowland," in that they are occupied by Visayan Catholics who had settled there over the past two centuries as part of both the natural growth of Christianized populations and the resettlement efforts of the Recoleto missionaries in the course of optimizing their conversion efforts in north Mindanao.[41]



Fig. 4. The flowers and flower buds of the bansilay tree found at arangay Alipuaton, Salay. Photo taken by the researcher.

The Higaunon community, which remains present in Salay's interior, has also offered an interpretation of Salay as a toponym. Like the second version, which associates Salay with silay or necklace, Higaunon informants also defined salay as a necklace in their language, worn as an accessory for their traditional costume. They further explained that the beads used for these necklaces were sourced from a tree known to them as bansilay. Accordingly, they stated:

> *Kaniadto nakadungog na ako anang punoan nga bansilay, naa mana sa Alipuaton posibli nga gikan diha ang pangalan nga Salay* (I have already heard about bansilay tree, which can be found in Barangay Alipuaton, and that the name Salay may have been derived from from it).[42]
>
> *Adunay prinsesa dinhi sa Salay, tapos naa siyay kwentas nga ginasoot gihimo gikan sa buwak ug liso sa bansilay* (There was a princess in Salay, and she wore a necklace made from the flowers and flower buds of the bansilay tree).[43]
>
> *Ang kwentas gihimo gikan sa liso sa anang bansilay. Daghan na diri sa amo sa Alipuaton* (The necklace was made from the flower buds of bansilay. You can find many of them here in Alipuaton).[44]

According to Tarcisiu Gonzales, the flowers and flower buds of the bansilay tree make excellent beads for necklaces worn by native women of Salay. It is said that these women could easily be recognized by their salay necklaces,

41 Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao*, 167.

42 Interview with Rodrigo Balangiao, Higaunon, 71 years old, August 31, 2016.

43 Interview with Norma Remadavia, Higaunon, 54 years old, August 31 2016.

44 Interview with Leonardo Acosta, Higaunon, 83 years old, August 31, 2016.

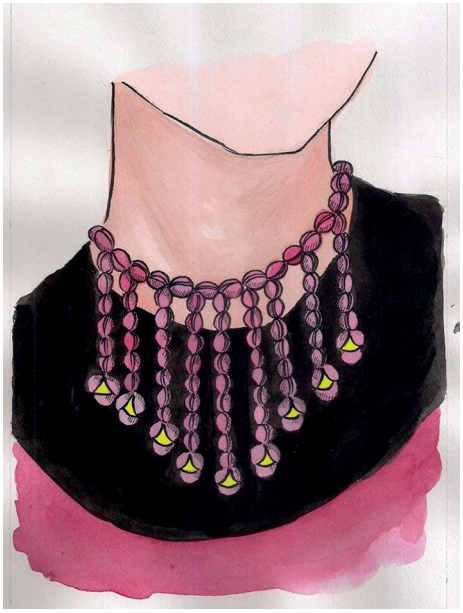


Fig. 5. An illustration of a necklace whose beads are made from the flowers of the bansilay tree. Illustrated by Mary Yvonne Alamban.

which were made from bansilay.[45] This interpretation is also supported by a local historian Bonifacio Cabasagan, who stated "*Ang ngalan nga Salay nahimugso gikan sa kahoy nga labing dagsang ning dapita. Ginganlan kining kahoya ug bansilay nga sa minubo mahimong silay nga gihinganlan usab dayon ning dapita*" (The name Salay was derived from a tree found in this area. This tree is called bansilay, also known as silay, and later became the name of the place).[46]

Bansilay (*Cratoxylum sumatranum*) is a flowering plant in the Hypericaceae family. In the Philippines, it is locally known as kansilay, lakansilay, and guyong-guyong. This tree is endemic to several locations, including the Babuyan Islands, Catanduanes, Palawan, Masbate, Panay, Negros, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, Basilan, and Mindanao.[47] Stuart describes this tree as follows:

> It is a smooth, branched, small- to medium-sized tree, up to 20 meters high. Leaves are opposite, ovate, oblong or oblong-elliptic, 5 to 15 centimeters long, 3 to 7 centimeters wide, smaller at the apex, entire, pointed at the apex, blunt or rounded at the base. Petioles are very short. Flowers are red and small, borne on terminal or axillary panicles, 5 to 7 centimeters long. Fruit is smooth, dark reddish-brown, ellipsoid, about 1 centimeter long, subtended at the base by a persistent calyx, dehiscing apically into 3 parts, containing numerous small, thin, brown, winged seeds, each 5 millimeters long.[48]

Bansilay has medicinal uses in the Philippines. Scientific research indicates that a decoction made from its roots, leaves, and bark is used as an anticonvulsant, a remedy for coughs, and a protective medicine for women after

45 Interview with Tarcisiu Gonzales, Higaunon, 89 years old, August 30, 2016. Tarcisiu Gonzales is the grandson of Datu Talata, known in Salay as the last of the Higaunon chieftains to be baptized into Christianity by a Jesuit priest, Father Gregorio Parache, during the Spanish colonial period. After his conversion, he adopted the name Rufino Gonzales.

46 Cabasagan, "Ang Kasaysayan sa Salay," 1.

47 "Kansilay (Cratoxylum sumatranum)," *The Indi Journal*, accessed March 18, 2017.

48 Godofredo Stuart, "Philippine Medical Plants - Guyong-Guyong," accessed September 13, 2018.

childbirth. Its timber is also suitable for light construction, furniture, carving, firewood, charcoal production, and implements.[49]



Fig. 6. Bansilay trees located at Barangay Alipuaton, Salay. Photo taken by the researcher.

3. Perspectives and Convergences: Salay is a Necklace

Examining toponymic narratives of Salay in the preceding section reveals the necklace as a common thread among them. The necklace repeatedly appears in the second and third versions, further reinforced by the Higaunon informants, who shared their traditional practice of using bansilay tree flowers as beads for their salays or necklaces. The first version, however, is more popular among the Dumagats—a term many Higaunon used to refer to the coastal dwellers or migrant settlers of Salay. This group associates Salay with cowrie shells (sigay), which are abundant along the shores.

Barber and Berdan stressed that "there are different typologies of toponyms based on their naming process, and these are manufactured names, incident names, descriptive names, possessive names, mistake names, shift names, and associative names."[50] The two versions of a Native-Spaniard encounter in Salay, narrated from a folkloric perspective, classify Salay as an associative name—a toponym linked to *sigay* (cowrie shells), which were abundant in the coastal area according to the Dumagats.

Similarly, based on oral histories from the Higaunon community, Salay is also an associative name, as they connect it to salays (necklaces), whose beads are made from the flowers of the Bansilay tree. However, it should be pointed out that the sigay or cowrie shells mentioned by the Dumagats were also commonly used in making necklaces, as stated below:

49 Godofredo Stuart, "Philippine Medical Plants - Guyong-Guyong," accessed September 13, 2018.

50 Barber and Berdan, *Emperor's Mirror*, 117-119.

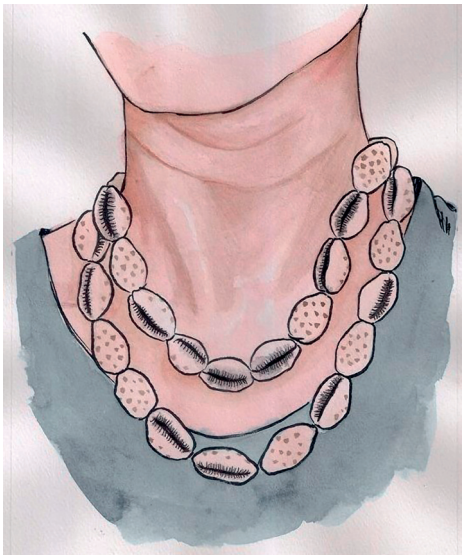


Fig. 7. An illustration of a necklace made of sigay. Illustrated by Mary Yvonne Alamban in 2017.

Cowries have served as ornaments and jewelry in countless societies, past and present. They have been valued by many civilizations since prehistoric times. They were given by rulers as prestige items to individuals or donated to religious institutions. In addition to all this, the money cowrie and the ring cowrie have circulated as currencies in a number of economies, either alone or in combination with precious and base metals, coined and uncoined.[51]

Ancient people utilized the shell as food and for making tools and ornaments. In the Philippines for example, shells were used as personal adornments among early Filipino settlers, especially among tribal communities. They used shells as personal ornaments and for ceremonial gatherings, for example, shell necklaces and bracelets were worn.[52]

A toponym can only be typified as an associative name if derived from a specific locale's distinct cultural characteristics or historical activities.[53] This applies to Salay, as indigenous and non-indigenous people associate its toponym with elements of their lifeways and traditional activities.

Sometimes, a place name can be mistranscribed, especially when writers from different languages attempt to spell it. When such an error becomes embedded into the name, it is classified as a mistake name.[54] Is Salay a mistaken transcription of sigay, silay, or bansilay? In the oral accounts presented, the Spaniards asked for the place's name and recorded it as Salay. This suggests that, in their attempt to write down an existing place name, they may have misspelled it. But is Salay even a foreign term? Is Salay Spanish?

Analyzing Salay from a linguistic perspective suggests that it is not a mistake name because the term already exists in Binukid, a dialect spoken by many Higaunon communities in Northern Mindanao, belonging to the Manobo family

51 Peter Boomgaard, "Early globalization: Cowries as currency, 600 BCE-1900," *Linking Destinies*, 13, accessed January 16, 2024.

52 Adones Floren, *The Philippine Shell Industry with special focus on Mactan, Cebu* (Philippines: DENR, 2003), 7.

53 Barber and Berdan, *Emperor's Mirror*, 117.

54 Barber and Berdan, *Emperor's Mirror*, 118.

of languages.[55] According to a Binukid dictionary produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1992, the term salay is defined as: "n. necklace; anything worn around the neck. v. to wear a necklace; to put, hang, wrap [something] around the necklace." In Binukid conversations, they also used salay as a base word, as seen in the following manner, "*Kabaya a tagsalay basta duun a hu kaamulan*" (I like to wear a necklace when I go to a wedding) or "*Nasalay taena ha bata sa pused din*" (the umbilical cord was wrapped around that child's neck).[56]

The Higaunon, the indigenous people who speak Binukid, donned a salay as part of their traditional attire, and accordingly:

> "the salay, or a necklace of the same beads and color combinations as those of the 'lumbong,' though perhaps in different designs or styles. It is thinner than the 'salay' for the male Higaonon (sic). The "balading" or a big white pair of circular earrings made originally of 'Tipay' or shell, or a pair of earrings made of the same the 'lumbong' and 'salay' beads."[57]

Similarly, in the traditional attire of the Higaunons in the neighboring province of Lanao del Norte, salay is a necklace that is part of their accessories. According to the description, "*...nakasaya hanggang tuhod (saya ha pinanguntingan), may blusang hanggang puson (pinagsuy ha sinulawan), may suklay sa ulo (panika), mga kwentas (salay), pulsera (bukala) sa ulo at paa...*(they wear knee-length skirts, with blouses reaching the navel, hair combs, necklaces [salay], and bracelets as accessories for their hair and ankles).[58] From a linguistic and cultural perspective, among the Higaunon, salay refers to a necklace—both in the Binukid dialect and in their traditional attire. These perspectives align with folklore, consistently highlighting the Salilang and the Higaunon necklaces.

Confirming these research findings with other Higaunon communities, a Higaunon council in Opol, Misamis Oriental, shared their understanding of salay as a necklace. Similar verbal testimonies were gathered from Higaunon settlers in the municipality of Talakag in Bukidnon Province and Barangay

55 Darwisa Baguio, Lorna Flores and Rosario Dizon, "TriLingual Cultural Dictionary," (MSU-IIT: OVCRE, 2010); F. Landa Jocano, *Problems and Methods in the Study of Philippine Indigenous Ethnic Culture* (Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines-Diliman, 1994), 46.

56 Binukid Dictionary in Sudies in Philippine Linguistics Fe Otanes and Hazel Wrigglesworth, ed. (Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics,1992), 127.

57 Edilberta Goce, "The Higaonon Cultural Identity through Dances," accessed September 22, 2016. http://pnupres.tripod.com/prof.goce_vol5.htm.

58 Estrella Navidad, "Diyandi: Alaala ng Kahapon, Panaad sa Kasalukuyan at Larawan ng Tunggalian" (Master Thesis, University of the Philippines-Diliman, 1995), 18.

Rogongon in Iligan City. Even the Mëranaws, the Islamized people of the lake near Misamis Oriental, recognize salay as a necklace in their language. According to native speakers, "the word salay for us Mëranaw means necklace;"[59] "*Ang salay pasabot kay kwentas or necklace. Kay kung imu e-trace ang history sa Higaunon ug Mëranáw pareha biya na sila og ancestry*" (Salay means necklace. In tracing the history of Higaunon and Mëranaw, you will find common ancestry).[60] This perceived close relationship between the Higaunon and Mëranaws is reflected in the orature of Mamalu and Tabunaway, the recognized ancestors of the Higaunon.[61] In fact, in Iligan City, a Higaunon *bae* (woman leader) can naturally speak both Higaunon and Mëranaw because of their linguistic affinity.

Besides orality and memory, which describe salay as a necklace and establish its existence in the Binukid and Mëranaw languages, salay also appears in various lexicographic texts from the 19th to 20th centuries, with definitions that extend beyond its common association with a necklace. These texts offer additional interpretations of salay, linking it to human actions and flora. For instance, in an 1885 Español-Bisayan dictionary, the entry for salay is defined as:

> *Quedar árbol, palo, caña, etc., que se cortó, al caer, sobre otro árbol, etc. * Poner, colocar tinajas, fardos, amarrados de bejuco, cuerdas, ropa, etc., sobre las vigas, tirantes ó llaves de los edificios, en desvanes ó lugares altos. * Caer cualquiera cosa de alto y quedar sobre viga, árbol, palo, etc. * Castigar alguno á otro dándole palos, latigazos, etc., por todo ó en todo el cuerpo. * Pasar, traspasar alguno á algún cuerpo de parte á parte, con espada, puñal, daga, etc.* (Remaining a tree, stick, cane, etc., that was cut, when falling, on another tree, etc. * Put, place jars, bundles, vine ties, ropes, clothes, etc., on the beams, braces or keys of buildings, in attics or high places. * Falling anything from a height and landing on a beam, tree, stick, etc. * Punish someone else by hitting them, lashing them, etc., all over or all over their body. * Pass, transfer someone to somebody from part to part, with a sword, dagger, dagger, etc.9.[62]

This definition is also similar to Wolff's *A Dictionary of Cebuano Bisayan*, published in 1972, which specifically defines salay in the context of human action.

59 Interview with Dr. Rohane Derogongan, Mëranaws, September 21, 2016.

60 Interview with Norjannah Bao, Mëranaw, September 21, 2016.

61 Almario-Magdadaro, "Diyandi: Kultural na Peformans," 306-310.

62 Juan Felix Encarnacion, *Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol* (Manila: Tipografia de Amigos del Pais, 1885), 324.

> salay *v* 1 [A; c6] lay s.t. over s.t. else so that part of it hangs over. *Isalay lang ang tualya sa kurdísu,* Just hang the towel over the window sill. 2 [a3b8] for s.t. that fell to be caught atop s.t., not reaching the ground. *Ang gilábay nákung sinílas didtu masáy sa atup,* The slipper that I threw landed on the roof. -an(→).[63]

On the other hand, Kaufmann's Visayan-English Dictionary defines salay as "a kind of tree."[64] While Kaufmann's observation is insightful, he does not specify or provide the botanical details necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the term. Therefore, it remains unclear whether Kaufmann refers to the same tree, bansilay, mentioned in the previous discussion or if he is indicating a different tree species.

However, the word salay is not limited to entries in Bisayan dictionaries. Botanical texts such as Manuel Blanco's *Flora de Filipinas* and Pardo de Tavera's *Plantas Medicinales de Filipinas* from the 19th century identify Salay as the indigenous name for a specific plant (see Table 1). This entry is not associated with the Bansilay tree but refers to a distinct tree species. These botanical references highlight the importance of botanical knowledge and its role in traditional medicinal practices in the Philippines.

63 John Wolff, *A Dictionary of Cebuano Bisayan* (New York City: Cornell University, 1972), 854.

64 John Kaufmann, *Visayan-English dictionary; kapulungan binisaya-ininglis* (Iloilo: La Editorial, 1900).

TABLE 1. Salay as an indigenous name for plants

Family	Rutaceae
Scientific Name	*Fagara Piperita* *Fagara Pterola* Source: Blanco *Xanthoxylum oxyphyllum* Source: Tavera *Zanthoxylum avicennae* Source: Cordero & Alejandro
Indigenous/Local Name	*Cayutana, Salay Marbar, Bagatambal, Salay Cangay* Source: Blanco Nom. Vulg.—*Kayutana*, Tag.; *Salay*, *Saladay*, Vis. Source: Tavera *Salay* Source: Cordero & Alejandro
Uses	The trunk bark is a stimulant and is used as a sudorific in the treatment of fevers. The fresh bark is quite irritating, for which reason it is best to use bark taken from the more mature parts of the trunk, powdered and desiccated. The dose is 1/2–2 grams 2–3 times a day. Its stimulating properties render it useful in colic and in India it is used as a stomachic and digestive. Is seems also to possess diuretic properties. Source: Tavera
Botanical Description	A tree 30–35° high, with a trunk thickly set with large spines. Leaves odd-pinnate. Leaflets ovate, acute, obtusely serrate, small transparent vesicles on the surface, spines on the midrib and common petiole. Calyx is very small, monophyllous. Corolla is twice as large as the calyx, 4 petals. Stamens 4, inserted on the receptacle, the same length as the petals. Ovary superior, 4-angled. No style. Stigmas 2. Source: Tavera

Source: Blanco, Tavera, and Cordero & Alejandro[65]

The toponymic narratives of salay, gathered from various sources—textual and oral memory—and analyzed from multiple perspectives—historical, folkloric, linguistic, and cultural—revealed a convergence of interpretations. The table below, designed by the researchers, summarizes these research data.

65 Manuel Blanco, *Flora de Filipinas* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipografico, 1877), 50, 87-88; Pardo de Tavera, Trinidad H., *Plantas medicinales de Filipinas [Medicinal plants of the Philippines]* (Travesia del Arsenal, 1892), 63, 240; Cecilia Cordero & Grecebio Alejandro, "Medical Plants used by the indigenous Ati tribe in Tobias Fornier, Antique, Philippines," *Biodiversitas*, Vol.2, Number 2 (February 2021), 530-531.

TABLE 2. Toponymic Interpretations of Salay

TOPONYM	PERSPECTIVE	NARRATIVE	CONVERGENCE POINT/S
SALAY	Historical	In the government and religious reports, salay is both a *pueblo* and a *visita*. The name first appeared in the account of Montero y Vidal in the late 18th century. The name also appeared in various 19th-century Spanish maps, 1826 being the earliest.	NECKLACE salay with sigay as necklace beads salay with silay as a lost necklace salay with bansilay flowers and buds as necklace beads salay as a necklace that is part of the traditional costume salay which literally means necklace salay as in the act of hanging or draping something just like a necklace
		In the 19th-20th centuries lexicographic texts, Encarnacion and Wolff dictionaries relate salay to human action while Kaufmann to a tree. In the botanical references of Blanco and Tavera, salay refers to a tree.	
	Folkloric	Dumagat associated salay with *sigay* which are cowrie shells. Natives were found by Spaniards along the seacoast, collecting *sigay* or cowrie shells which are also used in making necklaces.	
		Old folks recounted a native woman named Salilang whose prized necklace called silay was lost in the Casulog river and encountered Spaniards while looking for it.	
	Cultural	Higaunon people link salay to the bansilay tree whose fruit seeds are used in making necklaces. In their traditional costume, their necklaces are also called salay.	
	Linguistic	In the Higaunon and Mëranaw languages, salay means necklace. In the Cebuano language, salay refers to the act of hanging something over.	

From official documents in the archives, Salay is recorded in history as a Spanish pueblo and visita in Northern Mindanao and, in botany, a kind of tree. However, the history preserved in collective memory, corroborated by available texts, tells a different story—one that centers on a necklace, a significant indigenous object. The interpretation of Salay as a necklace is particularly strong, supported by linguistic evidence, with folkloric and cultural perspectives further reinforcing it as the main point of convergence. Salay, a term deeply embedded in culture and language and preserved in people's memories, further proves its native origin.

The popular Native-Spaniard encounter stories may have contributed to the impression that Spanish colonizers were responsible for creating settlements and naming places—just as they christened people, they were believed to have created place names. However, analyses of historical and oral accounts reveal that Salay is a native term, not a foreign one, and certainly not a mistake name. It is possible that the colonizers adopted an existing term—one that had long been used by the local people—as the name for a place they claimed, a name that eventually appeared in Spanish documents and historical maps.

While lexicographic texts from northern Mindanao do not explicitly define salay as a necklace, Cebuano's interpretations suggest subtle connections. In Cebuano, it is understood as an action related to hanging or suspending something, which closely aligns with how a necklace is worn by hanging it around the neck. Meanwhile, in Tagalog, this action is translated as *sablay*.

4. Salay reflects Images of Indigenous Culture

Salay, as a toponym, provides glimpses of indigenous culture in earlier times. By examining its place name, hints of its "past geographical conditions, cultural values, ethnicity, sociopolitical conditions, and historical relations in the past"[66] are reflected, aspects that are not always explicit in official documents.

For one, Salay's toponym suggests the ethnicity of its earliest settlers. The story of Salilang and the presence of salay as a term in the Binukid dialect indicate that the Higaunons are the indigenous people of the area. This is further supported by the fact that a Higaunon community still exists today, specifically in the interior barangays of Salay. They remain organized around the council of a chieftain called a *datu* and continue to preserve indigenous knowledge systems and practices. However, unlike in the past, they no longer live along the shores but are now concentrated in the highlands.

As a toponym, salay also reflects a cultural object significant to its indigenous people. Since most oral accounts trace its origin to a necklace, its cultural weight within indigenous society can't be overlooked. It reflects a material culture common among the natives, showing that language and culture are interrelated. A native term for an object signifies its presence and importance within the culture. Necklaces have native equivalents across

66 Barber and Berdan, *Emperor's Mirror*, 123.

nearly every ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines, serving aesthetic and symbolic purposes. In earlier times, natives did not only orate and perform their history and culture—they also wore them on their bodies through their tattoos, costumes, jewelry, and accessories. For some lumad groups, necklaces represent cultural identities within their geographic region.[67] However, for the Higaunons in Salay, necklaces also reflect their environment's natural attributes and worldview.

The association of Salay with sigay and bansilay trees provides clues about what was naturally abundant in its physical environment. The continued presence of these elements in collective memory, despite the passage of time, can only mean that they were once integral to the lived experiences of the people. Dumagats and Higaunons strongly support these associations, having directly experienced the sigays and bansilays in their environment. This further underscores the interconnection between nature and culture—how cultural practices deeply depend on nature. For example, the bansilay tree provided beads for necklaces and had household and medical uses. Similarly, natives like Salilang frequented rivers and coastal areas for cultural and economic activities.

Toponymic narratives on Salay also reflect the *ilaya-ilawud* (upland-lowland) orientation of the natives. *Ilaya* refers to the interior, upstream, or upland areas, while *ilawud* denotes the lowland, coastal, or downstream areas. The stories of Salilang going down the river and the old folks descending to the shores for activities such as fishing, hunting, and food gathering point to the natural inclination of early inhabitants towards bodies of water, which were essential for community life. Indigenous peoples in the Philippines lived by the principle that "...the earth is our flesh, the water is our blood, the trees are our bones, the vines are our veins, the sun is our torch and sight, the air is our breath and strength, the sound is our language, the cosmic energy, and the spirits are our soul."[68] Examining Salay as a toponym brings forth these elements of indigenous culture, which historical texts have not extensively discussed.

The present-day Kasilay Festival in Salay signifies the community's and local government's conscious effort to revive this portion of the past and its indigenous identity in its annual celebrations. Through this festival, an unwritten

67 "Crafting Identity," Development Communications Xavier University, accessed March 4, 2024.

68 Norma Gonos, *Intra- and Inter-Ethnic Relations. Checkpoints and Chokepoints:Learning from Peace and Development Paradigms and Practices in Mindanao* (Davao: Capitol University Press, 2004), 204.

history is reconstructed, and a younger generation that may have been unaware of its roots is educated. As Tiatco asserted, a festival is a continuum of the past and present before the public.[69] The Kasilay festival, therefore, can be an opportunity to perform an undocumented past in the present for increased historical and cultural awareness, as Schneider believed:

> ...the past performed and made explicit as performance can function as the kind of bodily transmission conventional archivist dread, a counter-memory – almost in the sense of an echo...it is not presence that appears in performance but precisely the missed encounter, the reverberations of the overlooked, the missed, the repressed, the seemingly forgotten...[70]

5. Conclusion

Salay's toponym, or place name, has elicited verbal testimonies that provide images of its indigenous culture. While the lack of textual evidence may challenge writing pre-colonial history, its non-textual traces, such as its toponym, have left an indelible mark, offering insights into the town's cultural identity.

Ethnohistorical research on Salay has gathered stories of sigay, silay, and bansilay, which may confuse the present generation regarding the origins of the town's toponym. However, a deeper analysis of where these narratives converge reveals a unifying theme—all revolve around necklaces and the materials used to create them, such as flower buds (bansilay) and cowrie shells (sigay). Lexicographic texts further support salay as a tree and a verb meaning to hang or drape something, like how a necklace is worn. Today, the municipality of Salay continues to celebrate the annual Kasilay Festival, which remains centered on sigay and the tradition of wearing necklaces adorned with sigay or bansilay beads. Among these, Sigay remains the most commonly used, as they remain naturally abundant along the shores of Salay throughout the years.

One implication of the present study is that Salay, as a toponym, is not only a text offering glimpses into its past but also a historical remnant that remains in the present. It is, therefore, an intangible heritage. With the expanded heritage code 2023 (Republic Act 11961) now including place names in the list of

69 Tiatco, "Panata, Pagtitipon, Pagdiriwang: A Preliminary Contextualization of Cultural Performances in the Philippines," 65.

70 Rebecca Schneider, "Archives Performance Remains," *Performance Research*, 6, Blg. 2 (2001):103-104.

heritage assets that must be protected, Salay, which embodies a fragment of its past, must be recognized. The growing trend of rebranding old place names to honor prominent figures (i.e., possessive names) threatens toponymic heritage like Salay. If changed, the history embedded in this name risks being lost to oblivion, depriving future generations of this knowledge. This underscores the importance of studying place names as a conscious attempt to complete a written history and to preserve remnants of the past—such as the toponym Salay, an intangible heritage.

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

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Parte II. Visualizing Power, Constructing Identity

At gayon ma'y gumagalaw
Modernong kaalaman, pulitikang kolonyal, at ang *Trial of Galileo* ni Juan Luna

Y, sin embargo, se mueve: Conocimiento moderno, política colonial y *El juicio a Galileo* de Juan Luna

Emmanuel Jayson V. Bolata
University of the Philippines Diliman

Abstract

The *Trial of Galileo* (n.d., 58.5 x 105 cm, oil on canvas) is one of the works of Filipino painter Juan Luna (1857-1899), currently housed in the Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center at the University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines. It depicts the last part of the trial of the Italian scientist Galileo Galilei (1564-1642): on his knees, he reads the statement of abjuration, which renounced heliocentrism before the Roman Inquisition at the Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, Italy, in 1633.

Using *Trial of Galileo*, this article aims to settle "the relation between what we see and what we know" (Berger). Such attempt to clarify, in this case, is through "locating art in the context of time and space"—therefore, through art history, which "investigates the changes in the language of art, the structures of the art world, the ways of making and appreciating art" (Flores & De la Paz). Due to the lack of clear provenance of the painting, *Trial of Galileo* can be situated in (1) how the *ilustrados* (Filipino intelligentsia) received modern science developed in Europe and (2) how this history of science could be used by the Propaganda Movement in advancing political reforms. By linking *Trial of Galileo* to the scientific knowledge and political movement of the *ilustrado* propagandists, we can identify the "emancipative effects of scientific knowledge" in the so-called "Filipino Enlightenment" (Mojares).

Keywords

Juan Luna; Trial of Galileo; Galileo; Propaganda Movement; Filipino Enlightenment

Resumen

El *Juicio a Galileo* (s.f., 58,5 x 105 cm, óleo sobre lienzo) es una de las obras del pintor filipino Juan Luna (1857-1899), actualmente conservada en el Museo Jorge B. Vargas y en el Centro de Investigación Filipiniana de la Universidad de Filipinas Diliman, Ciudad Quezón, Filipinas. Representa la última parte del juicio del científico italiano Galileo Galilei (1564-1642): de rodillas, lee la declaración de abjuración por la que renunciaba al heliocentrismo ante la Inquisición romana en el Convento de Santa Maria sopra Minerva de Roma, Italia, en 1633.

Utilizando *el Juicio a Galileo*, este artículo pretende zanjar "la relación entre lo que vemos y lo que sabemos" (Berger). Dicho intento de aclaración, en este caso, pasa por "situar el arte en el contexto del tiempo y el espacio," es decir, por la historia del arte, que "investiga los cambios en el lenguaje del arte, las estructuras del mundo del arte, las formas de hacer y apreciar el arte" (Flores y De la Paz). Debido a la falta de una procedencia clara del cuadro, Juicio a *Galileo* puede situarse en (1) cómo los *ilustrados* (la intelligentsia filipina) recibieron la ciencia moderna desarrollada en Europa y (2) cómo esta historia de la ciencia pudo ser utilizada por el Movimiento de Propaganda para impulsar reformas políticas. Al vincular *el Juicio a Galileo* con el conocimiento científico y el movimiento político de los propagandistas *ilustrados*, podemos identificar los "efectos emancipadores del conocimiento científico" en la llamada "Ilustración filipina" (Mojares).

Palabras clave

Juan Luna; Juicio a Galileo; Galileo; Movimiento de Propaganda; Ilustración filipina

1. Galileo

Ang Galileo ni Juan Luna ay hindi ang Galileong nakagisnan ng Europa.

Iba ang Galileo ng kaniyang sariling panahon. Naging biktima si Galileo—at higit pa, ang Simbahang Katoliko sa Europa—ng maituturing na "kasaysayang Whiggish." Tumutukoy ito sa "muling pagsusulat ng kasaysayan sang-ayon lamang sa kasalukuyang kalagayan at interes."[1] Ayon kay Phil Dowe sa kaniyang aklat na *Galileo, Darwin, and Hawking: The Interplay of Science, Reason, and Religion* (2005),

> Isa sa mga pinakamakapangyarihang imahen ng tunggalian sa pagitan ng agham at relihiyon sa kasaysayan ng Kanluran ay ang paglilitis kay Galileo. Natutukso tayo mula sa ating sariling pananaw na isiping ito ay isang labanan sa pagitan ng pagtatangka ng nag-iisang siyentista na palitan ang lipas nang relihiyosong paliwanag at ng desperadong gawain ng simbahan na panatilihin ang pamamayani nito sa intelektuwal na buhay.[2]

Ang paglilitis kay Galileo noong 1633 sa Roma, Italya ay maipopook natin sa mga pangyayari sa kaniyang buhay at sa Europa. Ipinanganak at lumaki sa Pisa, noo'y sakop ng Dukado ng Firenze (Florence), nagkaroon ng interes si Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) sa matematika, pilosopiyang natural, at sining noong siya'y mag-aaral ng medisina sa Unibersidad ng Pisa mula 1581. Nagturo siya sa Siena at Firenze, at kalauna'y sa Unibersidad ng Pisa at ng Padua. Noong 1609, ang mga obserbasyon niya gamit ang teleskopyong astronomiko ay kaniyang inilathala sa maagang akdang *Sidereus Nuncius* (Mabituing Sugo, 1610).[3] Noong 1615, sumulat si Galileo ng liham kay Grandukesa Christina ng Toscana, na naglalaman ng pagtingin ni Galileo sa kalikasan ng kosmos at sa Banal na Kasulatan. Ipinapanukala rito ni Galileo ang pagsasanib ng Copernicanong teorya at ng doktrinang Katoliko.[4]

Kontrobersyal ang liham na ito sapagkat bilang Katoliko, nagbibigay ng pananaw si Galileo sa pag-unawa ng Kasulatan na taliwas sa pinagtibay ng mga haligi ng Simbahan. Katulad ng Carmelitong pari at siyentistang si Paolo Antonio Foscarini (c. 1565 – 1616), pumapanig si Galileo sa heliosentrikong

1 Phil Dowe, *Galileo, Darwin, and Hawking: The Interplay of Science, Reason, and Religion* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 9.

2 Dowe, *Galileo, Darwin, and Hawking*, 9.

3 Galileo Galilei, *Sidereus Nuncius or The Sidereal Messenger*, tsln. Albert van Helden (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989).

4 Tingnan ang "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina (1615)" sa Galileo Galilei, *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, tsln., anot. Stillman Drake (New York: Anchor Books, 1957), 173-216.

kaayusan ng kosmos na pinasimulan ni Nicolaus Copernicus (1473 – 1543), isang Polakong astronomo, matematiko, at Katolikong kanon. Taliwas ito sa heosentrikong kaayusan na noo'y kinakatigan ng Simbahan. Ang paniniwalang ito ay nakalinya sa kosmolohiyang Aristoteliano-Ptolemiko, na siyang kinamulatan ng mga haligi ng Simbahan tulad ni San Agustin (354 – 430 AD). Nauna nang nakapagsulat si San Agustin ng pag-uugnay sa Kasulatan at sa Aristotelianong kosmolohiya. Sa *De Literram* (Hinggil sa Literal na Interpretasyon ng Henesis, 415 AD), ipinakita ni San Agustin na kung napatutunayan ng siyensiya ang isang bagay na taliwas sa sinasabi ng Kasulatan, maaaring basahin ang bahaging iyon ng Kasulatan nang "metaporikal" sa halip na "literal."[5] Sa kaso ni Galileo, tinatangka niya noon na pag-isahin ang kosmolohiyang Copernicano at ang Kasulatan. Gayumpaman, hindi pa sapat ang mga siyentipikong patunay, at nararapat lamang itong ituring na haka o hipotetikal.

Noong 1616, idineklarang eretiko ng Inkwisisyong Romano ang heliosentrismo. Inabisuhan si Galileo ng Santo Papa at Inkwisisyon, sa pamamagitan ni Kardinal Robert Bellarmine, na "lubusang abandonahin ang naturang opinyon na pirming nakatindig ang araw sa gitna ng kalawakan at gumagalaw ang daigdig."[6] Nasa ganitong hugis din ang mas maagang tugon ni Kardinal Bellarmine kay Padre Foscarini—na "tingnan ang teoryang Copernicano bilang hipotetikal lamang, sa halip na absolutong totoo."[7] Sa parehong taon, napabilang sa *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Listahan ng mga Pinagbabawal na Aklat) ang mga akda nina Copernicus, Foscarini, at Diego de Zúñiga ukol sa heliosentrismo.[8] Sa sumunod na mga taon, tumalima si Galileo sa atas ni Kardinal Bellarmine na ituring lamang ang Copernicanong paliwanag bilang astronomikong hipotesis. Gayumpaman, mula sa kaniyang nasimulan sa *Sidereus Nuncius*, patuloy na pinag-aralan ni Galileo ang mga mukha (*phases*) ng planetang Venus, mga batik-araw (*sunspots*), ang taib at hibas (*high and low tides*), at mga kometa,

5 Dowe, *Galileo, Darwin and Hawking,* 22-26. Tingnan din ang kaibhan ng hermeneutika ni San Agustin sa hermeneutika ng Protestanteng lider na si John Calvin, 26-29.

6 "Inquisition Minutes (25 February 1616)" at "Special Injunction (26 February 1616)" sa Maurice A. Finocchiaro (pat.), *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 1989), 147-148.

7 Dowe, *Galileo, Darwin, and Hawking,* 33.

8 "Inquisition Minutes (3 March 1616)" at "Decree of the Index (5 March 1616)," sa Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair*, 148-150. Ang mga tinutukoy na aklat ay *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (Hinggil sa pag-inog ng mga globong pangkalawakan, 1543) ni Nicolaus Copernicus (1473 – 1543), isang Polakong astronomo, matematiko, at pari; *In Job commentaria* (Hinggil kay Job) ni Diego de Zuñiga, isang Agustinong Espanyol mula sa Salamanca; at *Letter of the Reverend Father Paolo Antonio Foscarini, on the Pythagorean and Copernican Opinion of the Earth's Motion and Sun's Rest and on the New Pythagorean World System* (1615) ni Paolo Antonio Foscarini (c. 1565 – 1616), isang Italyanong Carmelitang pari at siyentista.

kung saan nakaaway pa niya ang mga Heswita.[9] Noong 1632, inilathala niya ang *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico, e copernicano* (Diyalogo hinggil sa dalawang pangunahing sistema ng mundo—Ptolemiko at Copernicano).[10] Pinayagan itong mailathala kung sisiguruhin ni Galileo na ang sistemang Copernicano ay haka lamang. Gayumpaman, malinaw sa teksto ang kinikilingan ni Galileo, at binasa ang aklat bilang pagtataguyod ng ipinagbabawal na heliosentrismo.

Dahil dito, nilitis si Galileo mula Pebrero 1633. Hindi man itinuring na eresiya ang kaniyang sala, kinailangan niyang talikdan ang pananaw hinggil sa heliosentrismo. Nakatakda rin siyang mabilanggo, at ang lahat ng kaniyang mga sulatin, lalo na ang *Dialogo,* ay ipinagbawal. Noong ika-22 ng Hunyo 1633 sa Kumbento ng Santa Maria sopra Minerva, kaharap ang mga inkwisidor, nakaluhod na ipinahayag ni Galileo ang pagtatakwil ng kaniyang kosmolohikong pananaw. Pagkaraan, noong Disyembre, isinailalim siya sa house arrest sa Arcetri, isang bayang malapit sa Firenze, hanggang 1642, ang taon ng kaniyang pagyao.

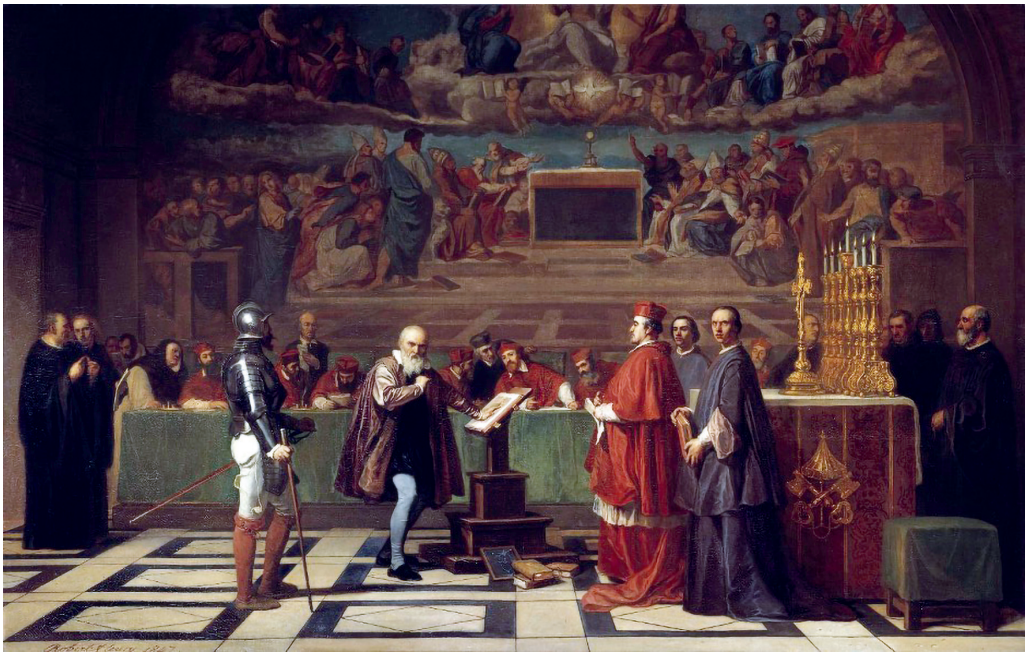
Bagaman ang sinapit ni Galileo ay dulot ng sapin-saping pulitikal at panlipunang salik,[11] tiningnan ito bilang pangyayaring sumasagisag sa tunggalian ng siyensya at relihiyon. Sa pagmumuni ni Karl Popper, "Nagdulot [ang mga pangyayaring] ito ng malaking gulo; at sa loob ng mahigit dalawandaan at limampung taon, patuloy na humimok ng galit at bagabag ang usapin—lampas pa sa panahong nagtagumpay na ang pampublikong opinyon at naging bukas na ang Simbahan sa agham."[12] Sa pamamayani ng Kaliwanagan at Siyentipikong Rebolusyon, inilagay si Galileo sa bukana ng Pagsulong at Modernidad. Inilarawan bilang bayani at martir para sa pagsilang ng makabagong agham, kinasangkapan ng iba't ibang pangkat sa malayong panahon ang pigura ni Galileo sa kani-kanilang Whiggish na interpretasyon.

9 Tingnan ang *Il Saggiatore* o "The Assayer (1623)," sa Galilei, *Discoveries and Opinions of Galileo*, 231-280.

10 Ang buong pamagat ng akda ni Galileo ay *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei linceo Matematico sopraordinario dello stvdio di Pisa e filosofo, e matematico primario del serenissimo Gr. Dvca di Toscana doue ne i congressi di quattro giornate si discorre sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo tolemaico, e copernicano*. Tingnan ang Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue on the Great World Systems,* tsln., T. Salusbury, pat., anot., Giorgio de Santillana (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955); Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems—Ptolemaic & Copernican,* tsln. Stillman Drake (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

11 Mahalaga ring tingnan ang ibinunga ng Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) sa Europa, na nagpaigting ng tunggalian hindi lamang ng mga Europeong estado kundi maging ng mga Katoliko at Protestante (tulad ng mga Luterano at Calvinista).

12 Karl R. Popper, "Three Views Concerning Human Knowledge," *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), 97.



Pig. 1. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury, *Galileo before the Holy Office*, 1847. Makikita sa Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6b/Galileo_before_ the_Holy_Office_-_Joseph-Nicolas_Robert-Fleury%2C_1847.png

Lumaganap maging sa mga manlilikha ang "gunita" ng pangyayaring ito. Naging paksa ng mga pinta nina Cristiano Banti, Friedrich Karl Hausmann, Niccolò Barabino, at Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury ang naturang paglilitis. Tulad ng makikita sa likhang-sining nina Robert-Fleury (Pig. 1) at Banti (Pig. 2), tampok sa mga ito ang Galileong nagtataglay ng matikas na tindig at matatalas na tingin, matapang na hinaharap ang paniniil ng mga taong simbahan.[13]

Ngunit sa kuwadro ni Juan Luna, ibang Galileo ang ating makikita.

Sa *Trial of Galileo* (Pig. 3), isang walang-petsang pinta ng Pilipinong pintor na si Juan Luna (1857-1899), masisilayan ang nangunguyupapang Galileo, lugmok sa pinaghalong lamlam at kulimlim, napalilibutan ng mga inkwisidor na nakikinig sa kaniyang pahayag ng pagtatakwil sa heliosentrismo. Sa kaniyang kinaluluhuran, makikita ang mga linya sa sahig na nagmumungkahi ng

13 Tingnan ang John Lewis, "Truth and Propaganda in Images of the Trial of Galileo," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 38, bahagi 1, blg. 130 (2007): 15-29.



Pig. 2. Cristiano Banti, *Galileo facing the Roman Inquisition,* 1857. Pribadong koleksyon. Makikita sa Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Galileo_facing_the_Roman_Inquisition .jpg.

lawak at lalim, at sa kaniyang harap, isang nakabuklat na aklat na naglalaman ng pahayag. Panimulang guhit man ito, maihahambing ang *Trial of Galileo* sa ginawa ni Juan Luna sa *El spoliarium* (1884), kung saan "ang anino, ang tambisan, ang mapapanglaw na liwanag, ang kababalaghan, at ang kalunos-lunos," sa mga salita mismo ni José Rizal, ay hindi nalalayo sa "alingawngaw ng mga sigwa sa tropiko, ng kidlat, at ng umuungol na pagsabog ng mga bulkan" sa pinanggalingang bayan.[14]

14 José Rizal, "Rizal's speech delivered at the banquet in Madrid in honor of the Filipino painters Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo," *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2011), 19.



Pig. 3. Juan Luna, *Trial of Galileo*, walang petsa. Oil on canvas, 58.5 x 105 cm. Ang imahen ay dulot ng kagandahang-loob ng UP Vargas Museum at mula sa Koleksyon ng Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas.

Gamit ang *Trial of Galileo,* nilalayon ng artikulo na ito na linawin "ang ugnayan ng ating *nakikita* at ating *nalalaman*."[15] Ang nasabing paglilinaw, sa kasong ito, ay nakatuntong sa "paglulugar sa sining sa konteksto ng panahon at espasyo"—samakatuwid, sa pamamagitan ng *kasaysayang pansining*, na "sinisiyasat ang mga pagbabago ng wika ng sining, ang mga estruktura ng mundo ng sining, ang mga paraan ng paglikha at pagtanggap ng sining."[16] Dulot ng kawalan ng malinaw na probenansya ng pinta, maipopook ang *Trial of Galileo* sa (1) kung paano nasagap ng mga ilustrado ang modernong agham na pinalago sa Europa, at (2) kung paano magagamit ang kasaysayang ito ng agham sa mga isinusulong na pagbabagong pampulitika ng kilusang propaganda. Sa pagdudugtong sa *Trial of Galileo* sa karunungang agham at pulitikal na pagkilos ng mga ilustradong propagandista, matutukoy natin ang "mga mapagpalayang bunga ng siyentipikong kaalaman" sa matatawag na "Pilipinong Pagkamulat"

15 Hango ito sa ihinapag ni John Berger: "The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled." John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation at Penguin Books Ltd, 1972), 7.

16 Patrick D. Flores at Cecilia Sta. Maria De la Paz, *Sining at Lipunan* (Quezon City: Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, Sistemang Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 2000), 5.

(*ilustración filipino*).[17] Katulad ng pagturing nina Albert Einstein at Giorgio de Santillana sa *Dialogo* ni Galileo bilang isang "pilosopikal at kultural na dokumento" at "mina ng kaalaman" hindi lamang para sa "kasaysayang kultural ng Kanluran" kundi maging sa "kasaysayang pandaigdig,"[18] maipapakita natin sa *Trial of Galileo* ni Juan Luna—bilang batis at tekstong historikal—ang pagtatagni ng kultura, sining, at agham sa lipunang Pilipino.

2. Juan Luna

Kilala si Juan Luna bilang isa sa mga pinakamahuhusay na Pilipinong pintor, lalo na sa yugtong iginigiit ng mga Pilipino ang sariling dunong, galing, at husay sa harap ng Inang España at Europa.[19]

Nagmula si Luna sa isang pamilyang *mestizo de sangley* (Tsinong mestiso) na umangat sa kalagayang *clase media* (gitnang-uri) dulot ng paglilingkod sa burukrasyang kolonyal. Tubong Zambales ang kaniyang ama na si Joaquin Luna de San Pedro y Posadas, na kalauna'y ikinasal kay Laureana Novicio y Ancheta mula sa Namacpacan, Ilocos (ngayo'y kabilang sa La Union). Napaiksi ang kanilang apelyido bilang "Luna" na lamang, bagaman gagamitin ng anak ni Juan, si Andres, ang buong apelyidong "Luna de San Pedro." Nagtatrabaho noon si Don Joaquin bilang *fiel de rentas,* isang kawani ng gobyerno na namamahala sa distribusyon ng mga selyadong papeles para sa mga dokumento ng pagbili, deklarasyon, at pagbubuwis. Pinamamahalaan din niya ang distribusyon ng mga produktong pangmonopolyo tulad ng alak at tabako. Noong 1850, tumungo ang pamilyang Luna sa Badoc, Ilocos Norte.

Sa taong ito, maraming sosyo-ekonomikong pagbabago ang nagaganap sa kapuluan. Magdadalawang dekada nang bukas ang Maynila sa pandaigdigang kalakalan, at pagdating ng 1855, magbubukas na rin ang daungan ng Sual,

17 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, 2008), 428.

18 Albert Einstein, "Vorwort" [Foreword], tsln. Sonja Bargmann, nasa Galileo Galilei, *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems—Ptolemaic & Copernican,* tsln. Stillman Drake (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), vi; Giorgio de Santillana, "Introduction," nasa Galilei, *Dialogue on the Great World Systems,* ix.

19 Para sa talambuhay ni Juan Luna at pamilyang Luna, nagbatay ako sa mga sumusunod na sanggunian: Santiago Albano Pilar, *Juan Luna: The Filipino as Painter* (Pasig: Eugenio López Foundation, Inc., 1980); Carlos Quirino, *Juan Luna* (Makati City: Tahanan Books for Young Readers, 1992); Saul Hofileña Jr., *Lvna, Arquitecto* (W.I.: Baybayin Publishing, 2021); at entry para kay Juan Luna sa *Cultural Center of the Philippines Encyclopedia of Philippine Art,* Volume IV: Philippine Visual Arts (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994), 365-366, na sinulat ni Santiago Albano Pilar.

Pangasinan. Namamayani sa produksyon at kalakalang lokal ang tabako, bulak, indigo, mga pampalasa, kape, cocoa, at alak, na malimit ding isinasailalim sa monopolyo. Noong 1807, mag-aapat na dekada bago ang paglipat ng mga Luna sa Badoc, nagkaroon ng paghihimagsik sa Piddig (ngayo'y bahagi ng Ilocos Norte) kaugnay ng monopolyo sa basi. Natalo ang mga nag-alsa ng magkasamang puwersang Espanyol at loyalistang Ilokano mula Vigan at Bantay (ngayo'y nasa Ilocos Sur).[20] Nasundan pa ito ng pag-aalsa sa Sarrat, mula norte pa rin, noong 1815, kaugnay ng tunggalian ng mga *principalía* (katutubong elit) at *cailianes* (karaniwang katutubo) hinggil sa maraming bagay, isa na rito ang industriya ng hibla at telang bulak at seda. Matapos ang tatlong taon, nahati ang Provincia de Ilocos sa dalawa, sa Ilocos Norte at Ilocos Sur. Sa kalagitnaan ng ikalabingsiyam na siglo, nagsagawa ng reorganisasyong panlalawigan ang gobernador heneral na si Narciso Clavería y Zaldúa (nanungkulan noong 1844-1849). Noong 1846, humiwalay ang Abra mula sa Ilocos Sur, at noong 1849-1854, bilang pagpapatuloy sa nasimulan ni Claveria, binuo ang La Union na kinabibilangan ng mga bayan mula sa Ilocos Sur at Pangasinan.[21]

Ang mga materyal na kondisyong ito ang kinamulatan ni Juan Luna noong siya'y isinilang noong 25 Oktubre 1857 sa Badoc, Ilocos Norte. Pagsapit niya ng lima o anim na taon, nawalan ng trabaho ang kaniyang ama, at sila'y tumungo sa Maynila. Ang pamilyang Luna ay binubuo ng pitong magkakapatid: Numeriana, Manuel Andres, Juan, Remedios, Jose Joaquin, Joaquin Damaso, at Antonio. Nag-aral si Juan Luna sa Ateneo Municipal de Manila ng Batsilyer sa Sining, at noong 1869, pumasok siya sa Escuela Náutica de Manila para mag-aral ng paglalayag.

Bagaman may mga aralin sa pagmamapa at pagguhit sa Escuela Náutica, maiuugat ang kaniyang interes sa sining ng pagdidibuho at pagpipinta sa panahong tinuturuan siya ni Lorenzo Guerrero, isang batikang pintor sa Maynila. Nagkaroon siya ng maikling panahon sa Academia de Dibujo y Pintura, at kalaunan, hinikayat siya ni Guerrero na magtungo sa Espanya upang mag-aral ng sining. Noong 1875, tumungo siya sa Espanya, at nag-aral sa Escuela de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Dito niya nakilala ang pintor na si Alejo Vera, na

20 Isabelo de los Reyes, *History of Ilocos*, tsln. Maria Elinora Peralta-Imson (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2014), 286-296.

21 De los Reyes, *History of Ilocos*, 297-301; Maria Luisa T. Camagay, "Cádiz Constitution and its Repercussions in the Philippines," nasa *Reframing the Cádiz Constitution in Philippine History* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2013), 95; Orlino A. Ochosa, *The Tinio Brigade: Anti-American Resistance in the Ilocos Provinces 1899-1901* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1988), 1-6.

naging guro niya. Iniwan niya ang eskuwela at sumama kay Vera. Pumunta sila sa Roma at dito nakita ni Luna ang mga obra maestra ng yugtong Renaissance.

Mula 1878, sa pagbubukas ng Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes sa Madrid, unti-unting binuo ni Luna ang kaniyang karera bilang pintor. Noong 1881, nagwagi ang kaniyang *La muerte de Cleopatra* (Ang Pagpanaw ni Cleopatra, 1881) ng ikalawang karangalan. Tatlong taon matapos nito, nagwagi ang kaniyang *El Spoliarium* (1884) ng gintong medalya sa eksposisyon sa Madrid. Kahanay nito ang *Las virgenes cristianas expuestas al populacho* (Ang Mga Birheng Kristiyanang Nakalantad sa Madla, 1884) ni Félix Resurrección Hidalgo, na nagwagi naman ng medalyang pilak. Bilang pinakatanyag niyang obra, masisilayan ang pagpapahalaga sa *El Spoliarium* ni Luna mula sa mga kapwa ilustrado hanggang sa mga kontemporanyong kritiko ng sining.[22]

Sa parehong taon din nilikha ni Luna ang serye ng anim na pinta na pinamagatang *España y Filipinas* (Espanya at Pilipinas, 1884). Noong 1885, lumipat si Luna sa Paris, Pransya, kung saan ipinagpatuloy niya ang pagpipinta sa itinayo niyang estudio. Sa yugtong ito nilikha ni Luna ang ilan sa kaniyang mga obra maestra: *El pacto de sangre* (Ang Sanduguan, 1886), para sa Ayuntamiento ng Maynila; *La batalla de Lepanto* (Ang Digmaan sa Lepanto, 1887), na kinomisyon ni Haring Alfonso XII; at *The Parisian Life* (Buhay-Paris, 1892).

Paglipas ng isang taong pamamalagi sa Paris, pinakasalan niya si María de la Paz Pardo de Tavera y Gorricho, mula sa angkan ng mga Pardo de Tavera. Nagkaroon sila ng dalawang anak, sina Andres (Luling) at Maria de la Paz (Bibi), bagaman maagang pumanaw itong huli. Noong 1892, nangyari ang isang trahedya: dulot ng matinding selos, pinagbabaril ni Luna ang kaniyang asawa na si Paz, ang biyenan na si Doña Juliana, at ang bayaw na si Felix. Patay sina Paz at Juliana, samantalang sugatan naman si Felix. Sinampahan siya ng kasong pagpaslang at tangkang pagpaslang, ngunit pinawalang-bisa ito ng korteng Pranses noong 1893.[23]

22 John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement 1880-1895: The Creation of a Filipino Consciousness, The Making of the Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997), 49-52; Alice Guillermo, *Social Realism in the Philippines* (Manila: ASPHODEL Books, 1987), 1.

23 Muni ni Nick Joaquin sa *A Question of Heroes* (Mandaluyong City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2005), 167: "A Pardo de Tavera was painter Juan Luna's wife, the wife he caught in adultery and slew, of which crime he was absolved by a French court, not so much because of the unwritten law that justified it as because the French judges regarded him as coming from a semi-barbaric country." Para sa kuwento ng krimen at paglilitis, tingnan ang Alfredo Roces, *Rage! Juan Luna/ Antonio Luna/ Trinidad Pardo de Tavera* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 2008); Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*,134-136; at Hofileña, *Lvna, Arquitecto*, 14-67.

Matapos maabswelto, bumalik si Luna sa Madrid kasama ang bunsong kapatid na si Antonio at ang anak niyang si Luling. Noong 1894, umuwi sila sa Pilipinas. Dalawang taon makalipas, tumungo naman siya sa Japan. Sa yugtong ito, nilikha niya ang ilang mga pinta na mas nagtatampok ng "kaniyang kaluluwang Pilipino at Oriental," tulad ng *Tampuhan* (1895) at *La Bulaqueña* (1895).[24] Dulot ng Himagsikang 1896, dinakip siya at ang kaniyang kapatid na si Antonio dahil sa bintang na kasapi sila sa Katipunan. Matapos siyang palayain, nagpabalik-balik siya sa Espanya at Pilipinas sa panahon na nagtatagisan ang mga Espanyol at mga Pilipino—at kalauna'y mga Amerikano—sa kapangyarihang pulitikal sa kapuluan. Bumalik siya noong 1899 dulot ng pagpaslang sa kapatid niyang si Antonio, at matapos ang ilang araw, habang nasa Hong Kong, binawian siya ng buhay noong 7 Disyembre 1899.

3. Trial of Galileo

Palaisipan pa rin hanggang ngayon ang kasaysayan ng *Trial of Galileo* ni Luna.

Maaari nating ilagay ang panahon ng paglikha sa yugtong 1875-1899, mula sa pagtungo ni Luna sa Espanya upang mag-aral ng sining hanggang sa kaniyang pagpanaw.

Sa ibabang-kaliwang bahagi ng pinta, mababasa ang malabong sulat na "pue ii mvo (Galileo)". Maaaring hango ito sa pahayag na "Eppur si muove" o "E pur si muove" (At gayon ma'y gumagalaw) na diumano'y binanggit ni Galileo. Hindi lumitaw ang pahayag na ito sa anumang sulatin ni Galileo, o maging sa mga dokumento ng paglilitis. Ang pinakamatandang banggit nito ay sa *The Italian Library* (London, 1757) ng Italyanong manunulat na si Giuseppe Baretti.[25] Maituturing na romantisadong katha ang sinulat ni Baretti tungkol kay Galileo. Kaugnay nito, may dalawa ring magkamukhang pinta ang nagtatampok kay Galileo at sa katagang "E pur si move." Parehong may pamagat na *Galileo in*

24 Jorge B. Vargas, *Paintings by Filipino Artists in the Art Collection of Jorge B. Vargas, Kawilihan, Manila* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1943), 37.

25 Baretti: "Ito ang kilalang si Galileo, na nasa inkwisisyon nang anim na taon, at tinortyur, dahil sa pagsasabing gumagalaw ang daigdig. Nang palayain siya, tumingin siya sa langit at sa lupa, at, sa padyak ng paa at mapagmuning kalagayan, sinabing, Eppur si move; iyon ay, gumagalaw pa rin, ibig sabihin, ang daigdig." Mario Livio, "Did Galileo Truly Say, 'And Yet It Moves'? A Modern Detective Story," *Scientific American,* 6 Mayo 2020, https://www.scientificamerican.com/blog/observations/did-galileo-truly-say-and-yet-it-moves-a-modern-detective-story/.

Prison, ito ay ang mga pintang Van Belle/Van Maldeghem na (tinatayang) nilikha noong ikalabingsiyam na siglo.[26]

Saan, kailan, o kanino kaya nakuha ni Luna ang "pue ii mvo (Galileo)"? Maaaring nasagap na niya ang kuwento ni Galileo noong nag-aaral pa lamang sa Escuela Náutica, o 'di kaya'y sa paglilibot-libot sa Europa, lalo na't nasa sirkulasyon ang aklat ni Baretti at umiikot din ang tema ng paglilitis at pagkakabilanggo kay Galileo sa mga Europeong pintor ng ikalabingsiyam na siglo (e.g. mga pintang Van Belle/Van Maldeghem).

Maaari ring nakuha ni Luna ang kataga mula kay Rizal. Sa isang tagpo sa *Noli me tángere* kung saan kausap ni Pilosopo Tasio si Don Filipo, sinabi ng nauna: "At gayon ma'y gumagalaw, ang sinasabi ni Galileo nang pinipilit siya ng mga Dominikong kaniyang sabihing ang lupa'y hindi gumagalaw" (*E pur si muove decía Galileo cuando los dominicos le obligaban á declarar que la tierra no se movía*).[27] Lumabas ang *Noli me tángere* noong 1887 sa Berlin, Alemanya, at noong 1888, isang sulat mula kay Luna ang naglalaman ng pangungulit kay Rizal kung kailan lalabas ang kasunod ng kaniyang "mahusay na tudyo" (*hermosa sátira*).[28] Noong 1891, nagpadala rin si Luna ng mga guhit para sa ikalawang edisyon ng *Noli me tángere*, at nang lumabas ang *El filibusterismo* sa parehong taon, pinuri niya ang nobela na nagsusulong ng "kalayaan sa pag-iisip" (*independencia de pensar*).[29] Kung susundan natin ang hakang ito, mapaiiksi natin ang posibleng panahon ng paglikha sa yugtong 1887-1899.

26 Bagaman ipinapalagay ni Jules Van Belle, ang nakatuklas ng obra noong 1911, na ito'y nilikha noong 1643 o 1645, malaki ang posibilidad na ipininta ito noong ikalabingsiyam na siglo lamang. Sa pagsisiyasat ni Mario Livio, natuklasan niya ang isa pang kamukhang obra sa Stedelijk Museum Sint-Niklaas, Belgium, na nilikha ni Romaan-Eugeen Van Maldeghem noong 1835. Livio, "Did Galileo Truly Say."

27 José Rizal, *Noli me tángere* (Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Aktiengesellschaft, 1887), 291.

28 "Me han dicho también que vas á escribir la segun[da] parte [de] tu hermosa sátira: ¿[pa]ra cuándo me vas á dar á leer?" Liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Paris, 5 Hulyo 1888, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikalawang tomo, 1887-1890 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 28. Mauulit ito noong 1890: "¿Y la segunda parte de tu tan celebrado Noli? Yo supongo que la imprimirás en Madrid: ya sabes que sí quieres un ilustrador, puedes contar conmigo como hago por lo de Antonio, un ilustrador incógnito." Liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Houlgate, 13 Agosto 1890, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 1890-1892 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1933), 214-215.

29 23 Setyembre 1891: "Te felicito por tu obra maestra, pues á mí poco entender continúas tocando las llagas filipinas de tu primera novela, que expresa el estado de nuestra pobre Filipinas y en tus ideas se asimilan miles y miles de desgraciados. En fin, eres el creador de nuestra novela y el que levantará con sus escritos la independencia de pensar, que es la primera de las libertades, sí no la única, que el hombre tiene." Liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Paris, 21 Agosto 1891, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 92; liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Paris, 23 Setyembre 1891, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 231-232.

Ang *Trial of Galileo* ay isa sa anim na pinta ni Luna na napasakamay ni Jorge B. Vargas. Kilala si Vargas sa kaniyang paglilingkod sa iba't ibang sangay ng pamahalaan. Siya ay naging executive secretary ng Pamahalaang Komonwelt (1936), alkalde ng Kalakhang Maynila (1941-1944) at tagapangulo ng Executive Commission at Council of State (1942-1943) sa ilalim ng pamamahalang Hapon, at rehente ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (1940-1947). Nagsilbi rin siyang pangulo ng Boys Scouts of the Philippines (1949-1959), Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation (1935-1955), at Asian Games Federation (1950-1954).[30] Bahagi ng kaniyang koleksyon ang mga likhang-sining nina Felix Resurrección Hidalgo, Fernando Amorsolo, Guillermo Tolentino, Dominador Castañeda, Cesar Legazpi, Nena Saguil, at iba pa, gayundin ang kalipunan ng mga aklat, barya, selyo, larawan, at dokumento.[31] Noong 1978, ipinagkaloob ni Vargas ang kaniyang aklatan, museo, at galeria sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas sa Diliman, Quezon City. Upang bigyang-tahanan ang mga ito, itinayo ang Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, na pormal na nagbukas noong 1987, pitong taon matapos pumanaw si Vargas.[32]

Ipinapakita sa Talahanayan 1 ang mga pinta ni Luna na kasalukuyang nakalagak sa Vargas Museum. Maliban sa *Los voluntarios,* lahat ng mga obrang ito ay walang petsa. Maaari tayong magbigay ng ilang haka. Dahil sa apat na pintang nagtatampok ng Normandy, Pransiya na nilikha sa parehong taon (*Normandy; Sunset in Normandy; Stormy Sky in Normandy; Coast of Normandy*), posibleng 1886 din pininta ni Luna ang *Picnic in Normandy.*[33] Maipapalagay na 1896 ipininta ni Luna ang *Kamakura en 1896;* maliban sa mismong pamagat, ito rin ang taon na nasa Japan si Luna, at maihahanay rin sa mga pintang *Kamakura Landscape* (1896) at *Playa de Kamakura* (1896).[34] Hinggil sa *Trial of Galileo,* binabanggit ni Patrick D. Flores, kritiko ng sining at dating curator ng Vargas

30 Rieyen D. Clemente, "Timeline: Jorge Bartolome Vargas," *The Vargas Collection: Art and Filipiniana* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, 2020), 199-215.

31 Tingnan ang "The Vargas Collection," *The Vargas Collection: Art and Filipiniana* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, 2020), 266-354.

32 Clemente, "Timeline," 214-215.

33 Pilar, *Juan Luna,* 251.

34 Pilar, *Juan Luna,* 249. Matagal nang nahumaling si Luna sa sining ng mga Hapones, gaya ng sinasabi niya sa liham kay Rizal noong 30 Mayo 1888: "Cuéntame también tus impresiones de viaje, sobre todo de tu estancia en el Japón, que me es [tan] simpático el pueblo: [soy] admirador entusiasta de su pintura y creo que han llegado á mucha altura; tan alto co[mo] Grecia é Italia: nosotros debíam[os estudi]ar más aquel país á q.e tant[o n]os parecemos." Liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Paris, 30 Mayo 1888, *Epistolario Rizalino,* ikalawang tomo, 9-10.

Museum, na ito ay isang "study."[35] Sa tala ni Santiago Pilar Albano, lumitaw sa brochure ng Art Association of the Philippines noong 1957 ang isa pang *Trial of Galileo,* na kinategorya bilang "première pensée."[36] Kabilang sa walumpu't pitong obra, ipinapalagay na nasira o nasunog ang première pensée na ito, dulot man ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig o ng pagkawala sa koleksyong naipamana kay Andres Luna de San Pedro (1887-1952).[37] Maaaring si Andres ang nagbenta o nagbigay ng mga obrang napunta kay Vargas.

Tal. 1. Mga Pinta ni Juan Luna sa Vargas Museum

Pamagat	Taon	Medium	Sukat
Trial of Galileo	Walang petsa	Oil on canvas	58.5 x 105 cm
Picnic in Normandy	Walang petsa	Oil on canvas	86.5 x 127.5 cm
Después del baile	Walang petsa	Oil on wood panel	47.5 x 61 cm
Idilio	Walang petsa	Oil on canvas	72.7 x 38 cm
Los voluntarios	1896	Watercolor on paper	8.7 13.4 cm
Kamakura en 1896	Walang petsa	Oil on wood panel	18.5 x 44.7 cm

Sanggunian: "The Vargas Collection," *The Vargas Collection: Art and Filipiniana* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Jorge B. Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, 2020), 272, 278, 281-282.

Napasakamay na ni Vargas ang *Trial of Galileo* bago ang ika-24 ng Agosto 1943, kung kailan lumabas ang *Paintings by Filipino Artists in the Art Collection of Jorge B. Vargas, Kawilihan, Manila.* Maliban sa *Trial of Galileo,* nakalista rin sa katalogong ito ang *Kamakura en 1896* at *Después del baile.*[38] Kung gayon, posibleng dagdag na lamang sa koleksyon ni Vargas pagkatapos ng nasabing

35 Patrick D. Flores, "Hysteric, Gypsy, Heretic," *Harun Farocki Institut*, 13 Mayo 2022, https://www.harun-farocki-institut.org/en/2022/05/13/hysteric-gypsy-heretic/.

36 Pilar, *Juan Luna,* 255. Bilang isang mabilisang sketch, ang première pensée na *Trial of Galileo* ay posibleng ginawa sa isang mas maliit na guhitan gamit ang parehong medium.

37 Tinaguriang Luling, nakilala si Andres bilang arkitekto na nagdisenyo ng mga gusaling neoklasikal at art deco, tulad ng Regina Building (1915), First United Building (1928), at Crystal Arcade Building (1932). Si Andres ang naging tagapagmana at tagapamahala ng mga likhang-sining ng kaniyang ama matapos itong pumanaw noong 1899. Para sa talambuhay ni Andres Luna de San Pedro, tingnan ang Kab. 2 at Kab. 9-21 sa Hofileña Jr., *Luna, Arquitecto,* 6-13, 73-195. Para sa sinapit ng mga likha ni Juan Luna matapos ang pagpanaw ni Luling noong 1952, tingnan ang Ambeth R. Ocampo, "Luna's papers and memorabilia go up in smoke," *Two Lunas, Two Mabinis: Looking Back 10* (Mandaluyong: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2015), 34-39; Edgar Allan M. Sembrano, "The Lunas lived here," *Inquirer,* 10 Hulyo 2017, https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/267703/the-lunas-lived-here/.

38 Vargas, *Paintings by Filipino Artists*, 37-39.

petsa ang tatlo pang obra ni Luna (i.e. *Picnic in Normandy, Idilio, Los voluntarios*). Ganito inilarawan ni Vargas ang *Trial of Galileo:*

> Isa ito sa pinakamahuhusay na likha ni Luna. Makulimlim na abo at nakapangingilabot na kapaligiran ang namamayani sa buong komposisyon. Isang guhit ng mahinang liwanag ang dumadapo sa abuhi't kahel na baro ni Galileo, na naglalagay sa kaniya sa sentro ng komposisyon. Ito at kaunting parehong kulay sa kasuotan ng isa sa mga pari ang nagpapaliwanag sa buong pinta na siyang magagawa lamang ng kamay ng isang batikan.[39]

Sapagkat mahirap matukoy ang pangkalahatang konteksto ng paglikha ni Luna sa *Trial of Galileo,* maipopook natin ang naturang obra sa dalawang kaligiran: una, sa modernong agham na tinanggap ng mga ilustrado, at ikalawa, sa pulitikal na gamit ng kaalaman at siyensya sa isinusulong na reporma ng mga propagandista.

4. Modernong agham at ang mga ilustrado

Malay ang mga Pilipinong propagandista sa pagpapanibagong-hugis ng kaalaman at siyensiya sa Europa noong ikalabingsiyam na siglo. Para kay Rizal, sa pamamagitan ni Pilosopo Tasio, "ang mga dunong na katutubo ng daigdig (*ciencias naturales*) [ang] siyang kaluluwa ng siglo 19," kung paanong eskolastisismo naman ang maituturing na kaluluwa ng Edad Media.[40] Kaugnay nito, itinuran naman ni Pedro Paterno sa kaniyang *La antigua civilización tagálog* (1887) na

> Ngayon, matatawa tayo sa doktor na natuto ng mga lihim ng kaniyang sining mula kina Hippocrates o Galen; sa heograpo na sumusubok ugatin ang kaniyang mga teorya kina Strabo o Ptolemy; sa astronomong itinuring na modelo si Hipparchus o kung sino mang paham sa paaralan ng Alexandria at sa historyador na sumasangguni sa datos ni Herodotus o sa mga doktrina ni Polybius.[41]

39 "This is one of the most profound works of Luna. Cool gray and eerie atmosphere pervade the entire composition. A streak of faint light falls on Galileo's grayish-orange coat, making him the center of the composition. This and a bit of the same color in the garments of one of the monks lights up the whole painting as can be done only by the hand of a master." Vargas, *Paintings by Filipino Artists*, 39.

40 Ibinatay ang sipi sa José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere,* tsln. Pascual H. Poblete (Manila: Limbagan ni M. Fernandez, 1909), 433.

41 "Nos reiríamos hoy del médico que fuese á aprender los secretos de su arte en Hipócrates ó en Galeno; del geógrafo que pretendiese calcar sus teorías sobre aquellas de Strabon ó de Ptolomeo; del astrónomo que tomase por modelo á Hiparco ó á cualquier otro sabio de la escuela de Alejandría; del historiador que se atuviera á los datos de Herodoto ó á las doctrinas de Polibio." Pedro Paterno, *La antigua civilización tagálog* (Madrid: Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1887), 75.

Ang ganitong pagbabanyuhay ng kaalaman at siyensiya mula sinauna patungong moderno ay mababasa rin sa *El folk-lore filipino* (1889) ni Isabelo de los Reyes.

> Kalaunan, ang sakop ng folk-lore ay pinalawig hindi lamang upang paglingkuran ang pananaliksik antropolohiko at etnograpiko, kundi upang pagyamanin ang iba pang umiiral na siyensiya tulad ng medisina, at marahil, upang lumikha ng mga bago, tulad ng astronomiya mula astrolohiya, kimika mula alkemiya, gaya ng masasabi ng folkloristang si Dr. Machado y Alvarez. Sa madaling sabi, naglalaan ang folklore ng isang pangkalahatang sinupan para sa pagkasangkapan ng lahat ng siyensiya.[42]

Maiuugat ang mga saloobing epistemolohikong ito hindi lamang sa paglipat at paninirahan ng mga ilustrado sa Europa. Sa kabila ng mga hamon, nagsilbing salalayan ang edukasyong kolonyal ng mga ilustrado para sa pagpapaunlad ng kanilang kolektibong pag-iisip at paggamit ng kaalaman.

Noong 1863, isang decreto real mula kay Reyna Isabella II ang kinikilalang nagpasimula ng modernisasyon ng pampublikong edukasyon sa kolonya. Isa sa mga asignaturang itinuturo sa *escuela primaria* (mababang paaralan) ay "Nociones de geografía general é historia de España" (Mga dalumat ng pangkalahatang heograpiya at kasaysayan ng Espanya).[43] Bilang kolonya, kasama sa "heograpiya at kasaysayan ng Espanya" ang heograpiya at kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Kalaunan, palalawakin ang asignaturang ito at tatawaging "Principios de Geografía é Historia de España y de Filipinas" (Mga prinsipyo ng heograpiya at kasaysayan ng Espanya at Pilipinas).[44] May tatlong bahagi ang aralin sa heograpiya: (1) *geografía astronómica*, na ukol sa langit, bituin, planeta, at mga penomenang unibersal; (2) *geografía física*, na ukol sa lupa o daigdig at mga likas na penomena rito; at (3) *geografía política*, na ukol sa

42 "Después se ensanchó la esfera de su acción para que pudiera servir no solo á las investigaciones antropológicas y etnográficas, sino también para enriquecer las demás ciencias existentes, como la Medicina; y acaso para crear otras nuevas, como nacieran p. ej. las de la Astrología, la Astronomía, y la Química de la Alquímia, que diría el folk-lorista Dr. Machado y Alvarez. En una palabra, archivo general al servicio de las ciencias todas." Isabelo de los Reyes, *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, tsln. Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora Peralta-Imson (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 6.

43 *Real decreto estableciendo un plan de instrucción primaria en Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1864), 14.

44 Daniel Grifol y Aliaga, *La instrucción primaria en Filipinas* (Manila: Tipo-Litografia de Chofre y Comp., 1894), 390-391. May mga aklat din na nakalaan din sa heograpiya ng Pilipinas, tulad ng *Lecciones de geografía descriptiva de Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1878) ni Felipe Maria de Govántes, na mas maaga nang 18 taon kaysa sa *Lecciones de geografía universal y particular de España y Filipinas* (1896) ni Padre José Noval.

mga lipi, kalinangan, pamayanan at bansa.[45] Kung kaya, kawing-kawing na paksain ang "heograpiya, pagpapaliwanag sa daigdig, mga mapang pisikal ng Europa, Espanya, at Pulo ng Luzon, at sistemang planetaryo."[46] Sa batayang aklat ni Padre José Noval y Gutierrez, O.P., *Lecciones de geografía universal y particular de España y Filipinas* (Mga aralin sa heograpiyang pandaigdigan at partikular sa Espanya at Pilipinas, 1896), binabanggit ang mga sistemang astronomiko nina Ptolemy, Nicolaus Copernicus, at Tycho Brahe, gayundin ang mga pantas at siyentistang sina Aristotle, Pythagoras, Johannes Kepler, at Isaac Newton.[47]

Sa kaso ni Luna, pinag-aral siya sa Ateneo Municipal (dating Escuela Pia). Matatandaang nasa pamamahala ng mga nagbalik na Heswita ang paaralang ito mula 1859, at ang mga Heswita rin, sapagkat marami sa kanila ay mga siyentista, ang magtatayo ng Observatorio del Ateneo Municipal (1865) na kalauna'y magiging Observatorio Meteorológico de Manila (1884).[48] Sa simula ng kanilang pamamahala sa Ateneo Municipal, idinagdag ng mga Heswita ang mga asignaturang heograpiya at pisika, kasama ng kasaysayan, matematikang elementarya, kimika, at kasaysayang natural; nang magsimula ang paaralang sekundarya noong 1862, paulit-ulit ang pagtuturo ng heograpiya sa unang limang taon, taglay ang magkakaibang lalim at lawak ng paksa.[49] Noong 1869, pumasok si Luna at ang kaniyang kapatid na si Manuel Andrés sa Escuela Náutica de Manila. Matapos ang limang taon ng pag-aaral at paglalayag sa mga daungan sa Hong Kong, Amoy, Singapore, at Batavia, nakuha niya ang kaniyang lisensya bilang *piloto de altos mares tercer clase* (ikatlong klaseng piloto ng karagatan).[50] Batay sa kurikulum ng nasabing paaralan,

45 Para kay Ricardo Diaz de Rueda, may-akda ng pangunahing batayang aklat para sa escuela primaria, itinuturing ng "cosmografía ó geografía astronómica ó matemática" ang daigdig (*globo terrestre*) bilang isang bituin (i.e. bituing naglalagalag o planeta); binibigyang-diin ng "geografía física" ang likas na pagkakahati-hati ng daigdig; at tinitingnan ng "geografía civil, política ó historica" ang daigdig bilang produkto ng "paglalarawan ng mga tao." Ricardo Diaz de Rueda, *La escuela de instrucción primaria o colección de todas las materias que comprende la primera enseñanza conforme al plan vigente* (Valladolid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Roldan, 1845), 253-282.

46 De los Reyes, *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, 310.

47 Bagaman tinanggap na sa akdang ito ang Copernicanong pananaw, nakapagtatakang walang pagbanggit kay Galileo. José Noval, *Lecciones de geografía universal y particular de España y Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1896), 6-8.

48 Horacio de la Costa, "The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1959," *Philippine Studies* 7, blg. 1 (1959): 82-89.

49 Jose S. Arcilla, "Ateneo de Manila: Problems and Policies, 1859-1939," *Philippine Studies* 32 (1984): 381-382.

50 Philip Vergel Ay-ad at Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., "Escuela Náutica de Manila: Scientific Education in Spanish Philippines," *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 69, blg. 1 (2021): 123.

inaral ni Luna ang iba't ibang uri ng matematika (tulad ng aritmetika, alhebra, at heometriya), heograpiko at hidrograpikong pagguhit, kosmograpiya, astronomiyang nautiko, nabegasyon, meteorolohiya, at heograpiyang pisikal at pulitikal.[51] Mula 1863, ginagamit din ng mga guro at mag-aaral ang mga astronomikong kasangkapan tulad ng planetaryo mekaniko (orrery o solar system machine), teleskopyo, astrolabe, sextante, at mapang pangkalawakan.[52] Kung kaya, hindi imposibleng sa paaralang ito unang narinig ni Luna ang tungkol kay Galileo.[53]

Sapagkat manipis ang mga batis hinggil kay Luna—ang tipid ng kaniyang salita ay maitatapat sa "galaw, sigla, at joie de vivre"[54] ng kaniyang mga obra—ating sasangguniin ang ilang piling sulatin ng kaibigan niyang si Jose Rizal bilang aproksimasyon ng kung gaano kalawak ang alam ng mga propagandista ukol sa makabagong agham.

Maraming pagbanggit hinggil sa siyensiya at siyentista sa dalawang nobela ni Rizal, na siyang nagpapatunay ng kaalaman ni Rizal at ng mga ilustrado sa Kanluraning kaalaman, gayundin ng tangkang makipag-usap at makiangkop sa mga mambabasang Europeo.[55] Patunay din ito ng pagkasangkapan ng agham at kaalaman bilang anyo ng kritika. Sa *Noli me tángere,* sa tagpo kung saan ipinapasunog ang mga gamit ni Kapitan Tinong sa takot na madawit sa pagtugis sa mga kasamahan ni Ibarra, binanggit ni Don Primo Primitivo si Copernicus.

> At ipinagpatuloy niya ang kaniyang *auto de fé.* Nakakita siya ng isang librong may pabalat na pergamino at binasa ang pangalan. "*Revoluciones de los globos celestes* ni Copernico. Pfui! *Ite maledicti, in ignem kalanis*!" ang biglang sinabi at saka inihagis sa ningas. "Mga rebolusyon at saka si Copernicus pa! Patong-patong na kasalanan!"[56]

51 Ay-ad at Aguilar, "Escuela Náutica de Manila," 119.

52 Ay-ad at Aguilar, "Escuela Náutica de Manila," 125.

53 Dagdag na haka: Si Kardinal Robert Bellarmine, na isa sa mga sentral na pigura sa paglilitis kay Galileo, ay naglathala ng aklat ng katekismo noong 1597-1598. Sinasabing ang unang nalimbag na aklat sa Ilokano ay ang Katekismong Bellarmine noong 1621. Isinalin ito nina Padre Francisco Lopez, O.S.A., at Pedro Bukaneg, ang tanyag na ladinong Ilokano. Tingnan ang De los Reyes, *History of Ilocos*, 36-41, 188.

54 Vargas, *Paintings by Filipino Artists*, 37.

55 Tingnan ang panunuri ni Ramon Guillermo sa usapin ng agham at lahi ayon kay Rizal sa "The Problem of 'Indio' Inferiority in Science: Rizal's Two Views," *Philippine Studies* 59, blg. 4 (2011): 471-493.

56 Ibinatay ang sipi sa Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, tsln. Poblete, 483.

Tapat sa kaniyang pangalan, si Don Primitivo, na maalam ng Latin de kusina (pansinin ang katawa-tawang *kalan* sa "Ite maledicti, in ignem kalanis")[57] at mangmang sa agham, ay ipinagkamaling paghihimagsik ang "rebolusyon" na tinutukoy sa pabalat ng aklat ni Copernicus. Sa tagpong ito na katawa-tawa ngunit kakila-kilabot din, gumaganap si Don Primitivo bilang isang inkwisidor kontra erehe y filibustero, mapa-aklat man ang sinisigaan o tao.

Sa *El filibusterismo* matutunghayan ang tahasang pagtalakay ni Rizal sa kalagayan ng agham at edukasyon sa kolonya. Sa pagbanggit sa mga siyentistang sina Antoine Lavoisier (1743 – 1794), Angelo Secchi, S.J. (1818 – 1878), John Tyndall (1820 – 1893), Jöns Jacob Berzelius (1779 – 1848), Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac (1778 – 1850), at Robert Bunsen (1811 – 1899), pinatitingkad ni Rizal ang kawalan ng laganap na siyentipiko at rasyonal na pag-iisip sa kolonya. Ang pangunahing dahilan ng kawalang ito ay ang namamayaning kontrol ng kaparian sa edukasyon at pulitika. Makikita ito sa pamosong "gabinete ng pisika" sa Pamantasan ng Santo Tomas, na mistulang museo ng mga kakatwang bagay na pagmamasdan lamang at hindi gagamitin sa klase. Maging ang mga propesor ng agham, sa katauhan ni Padre Millon, ay nasadlak sa Edad Media, na

> Datapwa't kahit na naging propesor sa Geografía ay mayroon siyang mga ilang pag-aalinlanggan tungkol sa kabilugan ng mundo at gumagamit ng may makakahulugang ngiti pagsasalita ng pag-ikit at pagligid sa araw, at binabanggit yaong:
> "Ang sa bituing pagbubulaa'y
> Isang pagbubulaang mainam..."[58]

Mahihinuha natin mula sa pagbanggit ni Rizal kay Galileo at ang kaniyang "E por si muove" na hindi lamang "pilosopikal" ang ibinunga ng paglilitis kay Galileo.[59] Tulad ng mga liberal na palaisip sa Europa, gaano pa man ka-"Whiggish," tiningnan din ng mga propagandistang Pilipino ang kasaysayan ni Galileo bilang isang modelo ng "tunggaliang panlipunan" na hindi naiiba sa mga suliranin sa kolonya. Hindi lamang ito debate ukol sa "katotohanang

57 Hango ito sa "Ite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum," mula sa bersyong Vulgate ng Mateo 25:41, "Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum" (Magsilayo kayo sa akin, kayong mga sinumpa, at pasaapoy na walang hanggan). Kung gayon, ang sinabi ni Don Primitivo ay nangangahulugang "Paroon ka, sinumpa, sa apoy ng kalan!"

58 Ibinatay ang sipi sa José Rizal, *Ang "Filibusterismo*," tsln. Patricio Mariano (Manila: Limbagan at Aklatan ni I.R. Morales, 1911), 115.

59 Narito ang buong sipi: "'E por si muove (At gayon ma'y gumagalaw)', ang sinasabi ni Galileo ng pinipilit siya ng mga Dominikong kaniyang sabihing ang lupa'y hindi gumagalaw; ang gayong salita'y ini uukol sa pagsulong ng dunong ng tao. Mapipilit ang ilang mga kalooban, mapapatay ang ilang mga tao, nguni't ito'y walang kabuluhan: magpapatuloy ng paglakad sa kaniyang landas ang Pagsulong, at sa dugo ng mga mabulagta'y bubukal ang mga bago't malalakas na mga suwi." Ibinatay ang sipi sa Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere,* tsln. Poblete, 432. Sinipi din ito sa Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 451.

kosmolohiko," sinasalamin din nito ang namamayaning kapangyarihan ng mga alagad ng simbahan sa ekonomiya, daloy ng kaalaman at paniniwala, karapatan sa pamamahayag, at iba pang usaping pulitikal.

5. Mga mapagpalayang bunga ng siyentipikong kaalaman

Maraming iskolar na ang naggiit na ang kaso ni Galileo ay hindi maitutumbas sa "siyensiya versus relihiyon."[60] Ngunit, mula ikalabing-anim hanggang ikalabingsiyam na siglo sa Europa, nagbunsod ang pag-unlad at paglaganap ng logos at ethos ng modernidad sa pag-alpas sa kapangyarihan ng relihiyon at tradisyon. Binalikan at muling binasa ng mga sekular na palaisip ang mga tagpo sa kasaysayan ng Kanluran, tulad ng kuwento ng kawawang Galileo, at ang mga ganitong akto ng reinterpretasyon, na parehong ideolohikal at propagandistiko, ay ginawa rin ng mga ilustradong propagandista taglay ang kani-kanilang sariling pook at paninindigan.[61]

Dalawa ang anyo ng pagkasangkapan ng mga propagandista sa mga bagong ideya. Una, upang patunayan ang kakayahan ng mga Pilipino, pumapaloob sila sa talastasang Europeo sa pamamagitan ng pagtalakay at pakikipag-usap ukol sa mga kaisipan at karanasang ito. Pangalawa, upang isulong ang mga reporma sa kolonya, inilalapat nila ang mga ideya at pangyayari sa kalagayan ng mga kolonisadong Pilipino.

Bahagya na nating natalakay ang unang anyo. Ang mga ilustrado, bilang akulturadong elit, ay pinalaki sa edukasyon at kostumbreng Kristiyano at Europeo, at napagyaman pa ito ng kanilang paninirahan sa Europa. Pinatunayan ng mga ilustrado ang kanilang kakayahan na makipagsabayan at maungusan ang mga Espanyol sa sining, gaya ng ipinakita sa pagwawagi nina Luna at Hidalgo sa eksposisyon noong 1884. Nagawa rin nilang makipag-ugnayan sa mga Europeong siyentista, historyador, linguista, etnologo, folklorista, at iba pang pantas at iskolar, at upang magawa ito alam at malay rin sila sa kasaysayan at kasalukuyang kalagayan ng mga naturang disiplina. Upang patunayan ang kakayahan ng katutubo at iwaksi ang inferioridad na ibinabato rito ng mga Espanyol, titingnan ng mga ilustrado ang kanilang mga sarili bilang "taong

60 Tingnan ang Dowe, *Galileo, Darwin, and Hawking*, 9-39.

61 Tingnan ang Kab. 4, "Filipino Enlightenment" sa Mojares, *Brains of the Nation*, 383-505.

unibersal" (*uomo universale*) at "mamamayan ng daigdig" (*citizen of the world*), o sa pagwiwika mismo ni Rizal, mga "henyo na walang kinikilalang bayan."[62]

Maririnig naman sa panig ng mga kontra-Pilipinong Espanyol ang katapat na pangmamaliit, panlilibak, at pang-aapi. Halimbawa, para kay Wenceslao Retana, "walang kalalagyan sa hanay ng mga Kastilang pintor" si Luna; sa katunayan, "panlima o pang-anim na klaseng pintor" pa nga. Tinuring ito ni Luna na panghahamak hindi lamang sa kaniya kundi sa kabuuan ng lahing Pilipino. "Lahat ng ito ay isinulat [ni Retana]," sabi niya kay Rizal matapos mabasa ang artikulo ni Retana sa *La Voz de España*, "upang ipaunawa sa ating mga kababayan na tayo ay... palaging kabilang sa mababang lahi at palaging nasa buntot."[63] Sa isa pang liham mababasa ang himutok ni Luna: "Napakasama at napakakitid na pamantayan! Totoo ngang naniniwala ang mga mangmang na ang pinakamahuhusay na pintor sa mundo ay galing sa kanilang lahi."[64]

Pundasyon ang unang anyo para buksan ng Kanluran ang diyalogo at maisulong ng mga propagandista ang mga mungkahing reporma. Mangilan-ngilang batis ang nagpapakita ng pagkasangkapan ng mga propagandista at kanilang mga Europeong kakampi sa kasaysayan ng Kanluraning agham. Isang halimbawa, na malapit sa karanasan ni Galileo, ang mababasa sa liham paanyaya ni Miguel Morayta kay Rizal.

> Sa katapusan ng Pebrero, ipagdiriwang ng mga kasamahan ang anibersaryo ni Gíordano Bruno sa pamamagitan ng isang pagtitipon. Mga mag-aaral lamang ang magbabasa ng mga akda. At dahil alam ko kung gaano ka kahalaga, nakikiusap ako na ipadala mo sa akin ang ilan sa iyong mga sulatin, na tuluyan man o patula, na babasahin sa pagtitipong iyon. Pagpapahiwatig ito ng pagsang-ayon sa kalayaan sa pag-iisip at naglalaman ito ng maraming usaping higit pa kay Gíordano Bruno. At sigurado akong papayag ka sa aking kahilingan [...][65]

62 Rizal, "Rizal's speech," 18.

63 "[Me] han [man]dado un recorte de 'La Voz de España': es[tá] escrito el artículito por Retana también, diciendo que yo no soy conocido en España, y que él ha visto todos mís cuadros, menos uno, y que á decir de los conocedores, yo no ocupo ningún puesto notable entre los pintores españoles, sino que al contrarío, ¡soy un pintor de quinto ó sexto orden! Dime tú ahora qué sandeces dice éste de mí, y qué criterio el suyo para que me considere ofendido. Todo esto está escrito para hacer comprender á nuestros paisanos que nosotros somos... lo de siempre, de raza inferior y que vamos siempre á la cola." Liham ni Juan Luna kay Jose Rizal, Paris, 21 Disyembre 1890, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 130-132.

64 "¡Qué criterio más mezquino y tan estrecho! Es cierto, propio de la gente ignorante que se cree [como en todas las cosas] *los mejores pintores del mundo*." Liham ni Juan Luna kay Jose Rizal, Paris, 12 Oktubre 1890, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 114-115.

65 "A últimos de Febrero, los [compañeros] celebrarán con una velada [el aniversario] de Gíordano Bruno. [Se] leerán trabajos exclusí[vamente] de estudiantes. Y como yo sé lo mucho [que usted vale,] le suplico me envíe [algo de sus escritos,] algo en prosa ó en verso, [que se] leerá en esta velada. Se

Si Morayta ay isang propesor sa Universidad Central de Madrid, na kapanalig ng mga Pilipinong propagandista. Sa isang talumpati ni Graciano Lopez Jaena noong 1888, nagbigay-pugay siya kay Morayta, na noo'y nagsisilbing pangulo ng Asociación Hispano–Filipina, gayundin kay Rafael Labra, isa sa mga bumuo ng asosasyon. Ikinumpara pa ni Jaena si Labra kina "[Robert] Fulton, James Watt, Galileo [Galilei] at [Isaac] Newton."

> Natutuwa akong makita kina Morayta at Labra ang pagiging tunay na instrumento ng makabagong España, ng isang malaya at espiritwal na España. Si Morayta na kumakatawan sa malayang pag-iisip at katwiran ay siya ring kumakatawan sa kalayaan ng bayan at ang kaligtasan nito. Si Labra naman, gaya nina Fulton, James Watt, Galileo, at Newton, ay kumakatawan sa diwa ng malakihang mga pagbabago sa larang ng agham, sining, at panitikan. Ito ay buhay o mas mainam na sabihin na lantarang pagtuligsa at paghihiganti (patawarin ninyo ako sa sinabi ko) sa pamamagitan ng mga letra, sining at agham, at sa kabuoan ng kalayaang akademiko.[66]

Ang binabanggit ni Morayta na si Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) ay isang Italyanong pantas ng matematika, teolohiya, at pilosopiyang natural. Kakontemporanyo ni Galileo, isa siya noon sa kandidato sa pagkapropesor sa Padua, bagaman si Galileo ang inalukan ng nasabing posisyon noong 1592. Kalaunan, nilitis siya ng Inkwisisyon sa salang eresiya at hinatulan ng kamatayan sa pamamagitan ng pagsunog noong 1600. Mula ikalabingsiyam na siglo, itinuring si Bruno bilang "martir ng agham at malayang pag-iisip," at ang kaniyang pagkamartir ay "nagbunsod sa unang siglo ng modernong agham sa pinakaistriktong pakahulugan ng salita."[67] Bagaman wala tayong batis kung tumugon ba si Rizal o hindi, kung anong akda ang ipinadala niya, o kung ano ang tingin niya rito, ipinapahiwatig ni Morayta ang rekontekstuwalisasyon kay Bruno sa pakikibaka ng mga propagandista nang sabihin niyang "naglalaman [ang pagtitipong] ito ng maraming usaping higit pa kay Gíordano Bruno." Bilang isa sa mga biktima ng mga alagad ng Simbahang Katoliko, madaling maihambing ang karanasan ni Bruno (at gayon din ni Galileo) sa kalagayan ng mga erehe at pilibusterong Pilipino, sa kolonya man o sa Europa.

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trata de una maní[festación] en favor de la libertad del [pensamí]ento y caben en ella muchos asuntos más que Gíordano Bruno. Y seguro que usted accederá á mí súplica [...]." Liham ni Miguel Morayta kay Jose Rizal, Madrid, 23 Enero [1883?], *Epistolario Rizalino*, unang tomo, 1877-1887 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1930), 79-80; tingnan din ang Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 56.

66 Graciano Lopez Jaena, "Pagpupugay kay Propesor Morayta, Pangulo ng Asociación Hispano-Filipina," *Discursos y Artículos Varios*, tsln. Francis S. Juen (Manila: Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino, 2022), 41.

67 Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: The Free Press, 1925), 1.

Pamilyar man o hindi ang mga propagandista kay Bruno, kakikitaan ang kaniyang kuwento ng mga tagpong nahahawig sa karanasan ng mga tagakolonya: ang martir na nagsusulong ng kalayaan sa pag-iisip at pamamahayag, ang makapangyarihang prayle o inkwisidor, ang pagparatang, pagdakip, at pagbilanggo, ang paglilitis, at ang parusang kamatayan. Sa tulang *Sagot nang España sa Hibik nang Pilipinas* (1889) ni Marcelo H. del Pilar, tila may iisang mukha ang martir na si Bruno at "ang balang magsabi, ang balang mag-isip/ na magpapaaninaw ng santong matwid" na "ipahuhuli at pararatangan/ ng salang dakila't madlang kataksilan," ibibilanggo at paaaminin sa sala, hahatulan at ang "parusa'y ilalagda/ sa martir ng prayle," at matapos samsamin ang yaman ng martir,

> Sa gitna ng plasa ay may nakahanda
> na naglalagablab na malaking siga,
> diyan igagatong sa harap ng madla
> ang sa kanyang baya'y ibig kumalinga.
>
> Taghoy ng sinigan at madlang kaharap
> luha ng magulang, hinlog, kamag-anak,
> pagtangis ng madla ay walang katapat,
> kundi ang sa prayleng tawa at halakhak.[68]

Kung nabuo ang *Trial of Galileo* sa kasagsagan ng kilusang propaganda, maituturing itong piyesang retorikal na sumasagisag sa panunupil sa "kalayaan sa pamamahayag, pag-iisip, at paniniwala."[69] Ang kahihiyang sinapit ng nakaluhod na Galileo sa Romanong Inkwisisyon na pinamamayanihan ng mga Dominikano ay nagpapahiwatig ng sukdulang kasamaan ng *frailocracia* at *soberanía monacal,* na naganap na noon sa Europa at nagaganap pa rin sa kolonyang atrasado sa panahon. Binubuod sa obrang ito ang unibersal na karanasan ng iba't ibang bayan at bansa—i.e., ang unibersal na karanasan ng

68 Gayumpaman, maaaring ginamit lang din ni Del Pilar ang pagsusunog (hoguera, o burning at stake) na karaniwang parusa ng Inkwisisyong Romano sa Europa upang magdulot ng panibagong tipo ng sindak at kilabot sa kaniyang tula. Ang kadalasang parusang kamatayan sa kolonya ay sa pamamagitan ng pagbigti, pagpugot, paghahati-hati ng katawan, at kalaunan, paggarote. Sa isang saknong, may pahiwatig sa garote si Del Pilar nang banggitin ang "tatlong sacerdote ang ipinabitay" (i.e. Gomburza). Marcelo H. Del Pilar, "Sagot nang España sa Hibik nang Pilipinas," nasa Bienvenido L. Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry 1570-1898: Tradition and Influences in its Development* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1986), 229; para sa buong tula na may salin sa Ingles, 216-235.

69 Sa sulat ni Rizal kay Blumentritt noong 2 Pebrero 1890, binabanggit niya na ito (i.e. *die Freiheit der Presse, die Freiheit der Gedanken, die Freiheit der Religion*) ang mga sangkap ng progreso, na hindi maibibigay kahit ng mga Heswita. Liham ni José Rizal kay Ferdinand Blumentritt, Brussels, 2 Pebrero 1890, sa José Rizal, *Correspondence with Blumentritt*, ikalawang tomo (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines 2011), 327-328. Tingnan din ang puna ni Tasio sa mga Heswita, na karugtong ng sa mga Dominikano, sa Rizal, *Noli me tángere,* 291-292.

pang-aabusong klerikal. Sa ganitong paraan natin makikita sa *Trial of Galileo* ang "pagwawakas ng lokal, pagsisimula ng unibersal."[70]

Taglay ng mga obra ni Luna ang natatanging teknika ng satira, na hindi nalalayo sa mga kinasangkapan ng mga propagandista. Sa kaniyang papel na "Humor, Satire, and the Philippine Revolution: Isabelo de los Reyes and M.H. del Pilar" (2022), binigyang-pansin ni Anna Melinda Testa-De Ocampo ang dalawang uri ng teknika.[71] Ang unang uri ay apropriyasyon at subersyon ng kolonyal na teksto, na taglay ng *Dasalan at Tocsohan* (1888) ni Marcelo H. Del Pilar. Makikita rito ang panunuligsa sa kaparian sa pamamagitan ng pagbabago ng salita mula sa mga dasal sa *Doctrina cristiana en lengua tagala* (1593). Para sa *Aba Ginoong Maria,* ginawa niya itong, "Aba guinoong Baria, nacapupuno ca nang alcancia, ang Fraile'i sumasainyo…" Naging *Ang Amain namin* ang *Ama namin,* na nagsisimula sa "Amain namin sumasaconvento ka, sumpain ang ngalan mo…" At ang ilan sa "Ang manga utos nang Fraile ay sampo," na ibinatay sa Sampung Utos, ay ganire ang turan: "Sambahin mo ang Prayle na lalo sa lahat," "Huwag kang makinakaw," at "Huwag mong itangi ang iyong ari."[72]

Ang ikalawang teknika naman ay kinakatawan ng *Ang Diablo sa Filipinas ayon sa nasasabi sa mga casulatan luma sa Kastila* (1887) ni Isabelo de los Reyes. Katulad ng *Dialogo* ni Galileo, naglalaman ito ng usapan ng isang rasyonalistang sekular (ang "Ako") at isang mapamahiin (si Gatmaitan). Sa kontekstong ito ng kuwento, verbatim na sumipi si De los Reyes mula sa mga kronika ng mga prayleng Kastila (Aduarte, Colin, San Agustin, at San Antonio) upang ipakita ang pagrereklamo ng mga medyebal at mapamahiing prayle sa pananatili ng paganismo, animismo, at pamahiin sa mga indio. Kaiba kay Del Pilar, wala nang kailangang baguhin o palitan sa kolonyal na teksto sapagkat likas na itong balintuna, absurdo, at katawa-tawa—na ang mga prayle mismo, sa halip na ang mga indio, ang tunay na mapamahiin.[73] Halos ganito rin ang mababasa sa "¿Folk-Lore Administrativo?" sa *El folk-lore filipino* (1889) ni De los Reyes, na

70 Hango sa "the end of the colonial and the commencement of the universal" ni Flores sa "Hysteric, Gypsy, Heretic."

71 Anna Melinda Testa-De Ocampo, "Humor, Satire, and the Philippine Revolution: Isabelo de los Reyes and M.H. del Pilar," Papel na binasa sa 20th Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day Conference, UP Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 20 Oktubre 2022, Zoom.

72 Testa-De Ocampo, "Humor, Satire, and the Philippine Revolution." Paminsan-minsang gumagamit din si Rizal, na kapwa niya Tagalog, ng ganitong teknika. Halimbawa, ang kontra-Pilipinong kritiko na si Salvador Font ay ginawa niyang Salvador Tont, sa pakiwaring *tonto* (mangmang), sa kaniyang akdang *Por Telefono*. Tingnan din ang paggamit ni Rizal ng Español de cocina (sa kaso ni Don Primitivo, Latin de kusina) sa Megan C. Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados: Filipino Scholarship and the End of Spanish Colonialism* (Mandaluyong: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2016), 165-169.

73 Testa-De Ocampo, "Humor, Satire, and the Philippine Revolution."

naglalahad ng kasawian ng taga-La Union na si Isio (Dionisio) bilang cabeza de barangay na nauwing remontado. Para kay Megan C. Thomas, isa itong mahusay na paggamit ng folk-lore bilang kontemporanyong kritika: oo, pinupuna nito ang kolonyalismo, ngunit pwedeng depensahan ni De los Reyes ang sarili na siya ay nagtatala lamang at nagtitipon ng mga kuwentong bayan.[74]

Nakapaloob si Luna sa dualidad ng posisyon na siyang naglalagay sa kaniya sa sitwasyon na gamitin ang ikalawang teknika. Sa isang banda, kasapi siya ng kilusang propaganda, ngunit sa kabilang banda, kailangan din niyang mapanatili ang mabuting relasyon sa mga Espanyol at Europeong nagbibigay sa kaniya ng balidasyon at patronahe. Masyadong tahasan at mapanganib ang teknika ni Del Pilar. Sa ganitong konteksto natin mauunawaan ang pamomroblema ni Luna sa paglikha niya ng *Death of Magellan* (1890)*:*

> Kung papamagatan ko itong 'Kamatayan ni Magellan', ito ay pagpupugay sa dakilang taong ito, isang Portuges, hanggang bota, ang masasabi ni Blumentritt; ngunit kung ginawa ko ito, na nararapat lang din, na 'Ang Tagumpay ni Lapu-Lapu at Pagtakas ng mga Espanyol', pupunahin ito ng bawat mangmang, tapos na ang karera ng pintor, at matatagpuan ng kawawang mamamayan ang kaniyang sariling nakaharap sa dingding.[75]

Mapalad si Luna sa masiglang resepsyon sa *El Spoliarium,* sapagkat pinuri ito ng mga Espanyol at ipinagmalaki ng mga kapwa Pilipino sa Espanya. Gayundin, para sa mga sawimpalad na *indio,* taglay nito ang "isang makapangyarihang alegorya ng kolonyal na pambubusabos."[76] Hindi na nila kinakailangang mabasa ang *Rome au siècle d'Auguste* (Roma sa siglo ni Augustus, 1835) ni Charles Dezobry, dahil ang pagkaladkad sa bangkay ng mga biktimang gladiator upang itapon at iwanan sa Spoliarium, ang silong ng Romanong Koliseo, ay halos kaparis ng paglalarawan ni Andres Bonifacio sa sinapit ng mga Tagalog: "Makinahi't ibiting parang isang hayop;/ hinain sa sikad, kulata at suntok/ [...] kaya kung ihulog sa mga libingan/ linsad na ang buto't lamuray ang laman."[77]

Ngunit sa kaso ng mga komisyonadong pinta, alanganin nang magawa ni Luna ang ganitong propagandistikong gamit ng pananagisag (balikan, halimbawa, ang nangyari sa *Death of Magellan*). Nasa pinta ng mga makasaysayang

74 Thomas, *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados*, 129-138.

75 Patrick D. Flores, "Luna, Rizal, Revolution," *Perspectives on the Vargas Museum Collection* (Quezon City: Department of Art Studies and Jorge Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, 1999), 9.

76 Guillermo, *Social Realism*, 1.

77 Andres Bonifacio, "Katapusang Hibik ng Pilipinas," nasa Bienvenido L. Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry 1570-1898: Tradition and Influences in its Development* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1986), 237.

tagpo ang masining niyang reinterpretasyon na nagtataglay ng magkahalong realismo at satira. Halimbawa, sa obrang *El pacto de sangre* (1885), na kapalit ng iskolarsyip na iginawad sa kaniya ng Ayuntamiento ng Maynila, makikita si Miguel Lopez de Legazpi na nakikipagsanduguan sa nakatalikod na Rajah Sikatuna. Sa sari-saring reaksyon,[78] nais kong tingnan ito bilang paggamit ni Luna ng ikalawang uri ng teknikang satirikal. Sa isang tagpo na nagpapakita dapat ng pagkakasundo at pagkakapantay-pantay (i.e. sanduguan o *pacto*), nakasiksik sa gilid ang walang mukhang haring katutubo, mahigpit na gagap ang kris, habang nakapaikot ang mga sundalong Kastila, nagmamatyag hindi lamang ang kanilang mga mata kundi pati ang mga sandata.

Kung kaya, hindi nakagugulat na umani ito ng mga bansag na "kataka-taka" at "tambal-salungat."[79] Ang kritiko ni Luna, si Retana, ay itinuring itong "un disparate," isang kahangalan.[80] Maaaring isa rin ito sa mga pinta, katulad ng *España y Filipinas* (1884) at, kalaunan, *Peuple et rois* (1892), na nagpapatunay sa obserbasyon ni Rizal na ang kaniyang kaibigan ay "maibigin sa Espanya," isang "Hispanofilo." Sabi niya sa liham kay Blumentritt noong 1887: "Si Luna ay isang Hispanofilo, kung kaya wala sa loob niya ang magpinta ng anumang laban sa mga Espanyol" (*Luna war ein Hispanófhilo so dass er wollte nie etwas gegen die Spanier malen*).[81] Kung si Andres Bonifacio naman ang nakakita nito—empleyado siya sa Alemang kumpanyang Fressel & Co. sa Maynila noong 1885 kung kailan inilantad ang pinta—baka propagandistiko ang bisa nito sa kaniya.[82]

78 May buod ng iba't ibang pagbasa sa *Pacto de Sangre* sa Filomeno V. Aguilar, Jr., "The *Pacto de Sangre* in the Late Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Emplotment of Philippine History," *Philippine Studies* 58, blg. 1-2 (2010): 79-109. Gayumpaman, higit akong kumikiling (at nakinabang) sa pahapyaw na pagbasa ni John D. Blanco sa *Frontier Constitutions: Christianity and Colonial Empire in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2009), 229-231.

79 Aguilar, "The *Pacto de Sangre*," 95-98; Blanco, *Frontier Constitutions*, 230.

80 Blanco, *Frontier Constitutions*, 231.

81 Liham ni José Rizal kay Ferdinand Blumentritt, Paris, 10 Abril 1889, sa José Rizal, *Correspondence with Blumentritt*, unang tomo (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2011), 245-247; Flores, "Luna, Rizal, Revolution," 9.

82 Nakita man o hindi ni Bonifacio ang obrang ito, malay siya sa kahangalan ng kuwento ng "'Pacto de Sangre' ng haring Sikatuna at ni Legaspi na pinaka katawan ng hari sa España." Tila pagtatanghal ng satira ang naturang sanduguan (na pinatingkad pa ng komposisyon ni Luna), na humimok ng poot sa mga Katipunero: "Ano ang nakikita nating pagtupad sa kanilang kapangakuan na siang naging dahil ng ating pag gugugol! Wala kung di pawang kataksilan ang ganti..." Andres Bonifacio, "Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog," nasa Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016), 189-192.

Kahanay ng *El pacto de sangre* at iba pang obrang naglalarawan ng historikal na pangyayari, maaari nating basahin ang *Trial of Galileo* bilang isang *hermosa sátira*. Kung babalikan ang pinta, nasa "sentro ng komposisyon" si Galileo, pirming nakaluhod at nagliliwanag, habang lumiligid sa kaniya sa semi-sirkulong arko ang mga paring inkwisidor. Tila ba walang kamalay-malay ang mga paring ito na sila ang lumilibot na mga planeta sa martir na Galileo, ang "araw ng kaliwanagan" sa gitna ng sistema planetario.[83] Kung ikukumpara sa iba pang paglalarawan ng "Eppur si muove," masasabing mas mapangahas ang kay Luna. Sa mga obrang Van Belle/Van Maldeghem, nakasulat ang "E pur si move" sa dingding ng silid ni Galileo kung saan nakaguhit din ang isang modelong heliosentriko.[84] Naganap ito sa panahon ng kaniyang house arrest sa Arcetri, 1633-1642. Ngunit kay Luna, nakatatak ang "pue ii mvo (Galileo)" sa tagpo mismo ng paglilitis, kung kailan binibigkas ni Galileo ang pahayag ng pagtatakwil sa heliosentrismo. Distorsyon man ito ng nakagisnang kuwentong-bayan (maiuugat sa kabulaanan ni Baretti), makikita rito ang husay ni Luna sa pagpili ng tagpong makapagsasagad sa propagandistikong bisa ng kaniyang likha.

Bagaman nahumaling din si Luna sa portraiture, impresionistang landscape, at historikong mural (kung saan masasabing pinakamaigting ang kaniyang satira), taglay ng iba pa niyang obra ang kaniyang pagbalik sa kinamulatang romantisismo at realismo. Tila pag-uwi sa pagbuo ng *El Spoliarium* ang binabanggit niya sa isang liham kay Rizal, kung saan napagtanto niya ang pagtatagpo ng mga ideya ni Karl Marx at ang karima-rimarim na kalagayan ng mga obrero. Sa ganitong "mga pag-uwi" mapahahalagahan ang sinasabi ng mga kritiko ng sining na si Luna ang nagpasimula ng panibagong moda ng ekspresyon, na naging tuntungan ng "panlipunang realismo" (*social realism*). Sinasabing buhat sa liham na ito, lumikha siya ng mga obrang nagpapakita ng kalagayan ng mga manggagawa (*Les Ignorés*) at nagbabakal-bote (*Les Chiffoniers*).[85]

> Nagbabasa ako ng *Le Socialisme Contemporain* ni E. de Laveleye, kung saan pinag-sama-sama niya ang mga teorya nina Karl Marx, Lasalle, atbp., sosyalismong Katoliko, konserbatibo, ebanghelikal, atbp. Talagang interesado ako rito, ngunit ang nais ko rin ay isang aklat na magbibigay-diin sa mga paghihirap ng ating

83 Laganap ang pananagisag sa "araw" (tulad ng "araw ng kaliwanagan") sa mga sulatin ng Katipunan.

84 Livio, "Did Galileo Truly Say."

85 Alice G. Guillermo, "'Social Realism' from Luna to Edades," *Perspectives on the Vargas Museum Collection* (Quezon City: Department of Art Studies and Jorge Vargas Museum and Filipiniana Research Center, 1999), 15; Flores, "Luna, Rizal, Revolution," 8-9.

> kasalukuyang lipunan; isang uri ng Divina Comedia, isang Dante na mapapadaan sa mga pagawaan kung saan hindi siya halos makahinga at kung saan makikita niya ang mga lalaki, bata, at babae sa pinakamiserableng kalagayan na maaaring maisip. Kaibigan, ako mismo ay tumungo sa isang pandayan ng bakal. Gumugol ako ng limang oras doon at maniwala ka sa akin, gaano man katigas ang puso ng isang tao, ang tagpong nasilayan ko roon ay talagang tumimo sa akin. Ang ating mga kababayan, sa kabila ng masasamang bagay na ginagawa ng mga prayle sa kanila roon, ay mas masaya kumpara sa kasawian at kamatayang ito. May isang pagawaan kung saan ginigiling ang buhangin at uling; ito, kapag ginawang napakapinong pulbos sa pamamagitan ng kilos ng mga gilingan, ay pumapailanlang bilang malalaking ulap, at ang buong silid ay tila nababalot ng usok. Doon, puno ng alikabok ang lahat, at mukhang bangkay ang sampu o labindalawang manggagawa na abala sa pagpupuno sa gilingan gamit ang kanilang mga pala. Ganyan ang kahabag-habag na anyo ng mga dukha! Nandoon ako nang tatlo o apat na minuto at pakiramdam ko, buong buhay akong lumunok ng buhangin at alikabok. Pumasok ito sa ilong ko, bibig, mata… at maiisip na ang mga sawimpalad na iyon ay humihinga ng uling at alikabok sa loob ng labingdalawang oras. Naniniwala akong walang dudang hinahatulan sila ng kamatayan at kasalanan ang pabayaan ang mga kawawang taong ito.[86]

Upang maunawaan nang lubos at maihambing nang wasto ang kalagayan ng mga manggagawa sa Pransiya at ng mga Pilipino sa kolonya, maliban sa mismong pagtungo sa pagawaan, ipinadaan ni Luna ang danas at damdamin sa kathang mundo ng kababayan ni Galileo—si Dante Aleghieri at ang kaniyang Inferno. Ang epekto ni Dante kay Galileo ay nasa paglalangkap ng Aristotelianong kosmos sa kaniyang Kristiyanong epiko; para kay Luna, ito ay nasa pag-aakyat ng impyerno sa lupa, sa isang pabrikang Pranses man ito o sa kwintas ng mga pulo sa malayong silangan.

86 "Estoy leyendo *Le Socialisme Contemporain* por E. de Laveleye, en donde ha recopilado las teorías de Carl Marx, Lasalle, etc., el socialismo católico, el conservador, el evangélico, etc. Me interesa muchísimo, pero yo lo que quisiera es un libro que pusiera en relieve las miserias de nuestra sociedad contemporánea; una especie de Divina Comedia, un Dante que se paseare por los talleres en donde apenas se respira y en donde vería á hombres, chiquillos y mujeres en el estado más miserable que imaginar se pueda. Chico, yo mismo he ido á ver una fundición de hierro: he pasado allí cinco horas y créeme que por más duro que tenga uno el corazón, el espectáculo que yo vi allí me ha impresionado muchísimo. Nuestros compatriotas con todo lo malo que hacen allí los frailes, son felices comparados con esta miseria y muerte. Había un taller en donde se molía arena y carbón, éste al convertirse en polvo finísimo por la acción de los molinos se levantaba en grandes nubarrones, y toda la pieza parecía envuelta en humo: allí todo estaba lleno de polvo, y los diez ó doce trabajadores que se ocupaban en rellenar con sus palas el molino tenían el aspecto de cádaveres; ¡tal era la facha miserable de los pobres! Yo estuve 3 ó 4 minutos y me parecía que había tragado arena y polvo toda mi vida: se me metía por las narices, [por] la boca, por los ojos… y pensar [que] aquellos infelices respiraban 12 horas carbón y polvo: yo creo que infaliblemente están condenados á la muerte y que es un crimen el abandonar así á tan pobre gente." Liham ni Juan Luna kay José Rizal, Paris, 13 Mayo 1891, *Epistolario Rizalino*, ikatlong tomo, 192-193.

6. Pananalamin

Sinubukan ng artikulo na ito na pagdugtungin ang kuwento ng dalawang dalubhasa—isa sa agham, isa sa sining—sa pamamagitan ng isang obra na bagaman naglalaman ng mga potensyal na diskusyon hinggil sa relihiyon, siyensiya, at pulitika, ay walang malinaw at matatag na kasaysayan. Mailap man ang *Trial of Galileo* sa mga tangka ng pagsasakasaysayan, nagbibigay ito ng puwang sa mga ispekulasyon, kislap-diwa, at pagmumuni. Pinili kong tingnan ang obra bilang teksto na (1) nagpapatunay ng masiglang resepsyon ng mga ilustrado sa modernong agham, at (2) nagpapamalas ng pagkasangkapan sa mga kaalamang ito sa ipinaglalabang reporma ng mga propagandista.

Sa paglilibot-libot ko sa Vargas Museum, napaisip ako nang tingnan ko ang isang kontemporanyong obra. Katapat ng *The Penitent* (w.p.), isang pintang chiaroscuro ni Hidalgo, ang obra ay isang puti-at-itim, nasasalaminang larawan ng isang kumukuha ng litrato. Nakatabon ang kamera sa kaniyang mukha at pumuslit mula sa lente nito ang sumasabog na Liwanag.[87] Nilalabusaw nito ang konsepto ng paksa: sino ang tumitingin, at sino ang tinitingnan? Sino ang kumukuha, at sino ang kinukunan?

Dahil sa mga tanong na pinalaot ng pagtitig sa tila kakambal na obra, binalikan ko ang *Trial of Galileo* na para bang tangkang pag-areglo sa guwang, ika nga ng kritikong si John Berger, sa pagitan ng nakikita at nalalaman. Sa muling pagtingin sa pinta, umaalingawngaw ang pagwiwika ng kritikong si Patrick D. Flores (ating panatilihin ang kaniyang magandang Ingles):

> It must be mentioned, however, that viewing the works in the Vargas Museum and finding them in Philippine art history, we strain to see them: Luna's piece is a study, its details imprecise under glass; Hidalgo's portrait is unprepossessing, being only 22 x 14 centimeters; and the corpus of Enriquez, unlike Luna's and Hidalgo's magisterial stature, is not well explored, its examples very scarce.[88]

Bilang pagtatangka sa kasaysayang pansining, saksi ang artikulong ito sa hamon ng pagpipirmi ng obra sa isang partikular na posisyon sa nakaraan. Pero paano kung ang mas mabungang pagpapahalaga sa obrang ito ay wala sa pagtatakda ng mga kontekstwal na hangganan, kundi sa masigasig na paglikha ng mga panibagong kahulugang angkop sa galaw ng panahon? Ang *Trial of Galileo,* kagaya ng *El Spoliarium, El pacto de sangre,* at iba pang obra ni Juan Luna, ay isang "bukas na espasyo," bukas sa nagsasalimbayan, kundi

87 "The Vargas Collection," 280.

88 Flores, "Hysteric, Gypsy, Heretic."

man nagbabanggaang, pagbasa't muling pagbasa, at dulot pai ng katipiran ng pagsasalita ng pintor, sapagkat biswal nga naman ang kaniyang pinagpundarang midyum ng artikulasyon, ang pagiging bukas nito ay halos walang hanggan. Nasangkot din si Galileo, ang siyentista, sa parehong eskandalosong akto ng pagbubukas:

> Ang tunay na eskandalo sa ambag ni Galileo ay nakasalalay hindi gaano sa kaniyang pagtuklas, o muling pagtuklas, na ang daigdig ay umiikot sa araw, kundi sa kaniyang pagbuo ng walang hanggan, at walang hanggang bukas na espasyo… [A]ng pook ng isang bagay ay hindi na lamang kung anuman kundi isang punto sa kaniyang paggalaw… Sa ibang salita, mula kay Galileo at sa ikalabimpitong siglo, pinalitan ng ekstensyon ang lokalisasyon.[89]

Tila masamang biro, na patunay ng isang *hermosa sátira*, ang "ekstensyon ng ekstensyon" na ginawa ni Luna (o ni Luling, Vargas, o ng mga tagapamahala ng museo?) sa *Trial of Galileo*. Ang ekstensyong ito, na humihikayat ng "walang hanggang diyalogo" ng tumitingin at tinitingnan, ay nasa salamin.[90] Ang pagwawakas ng lokal at pagsisimula ng unibersal ay usaping kosmolohiko at siyentipiko para kay Galileo; kay Luna, usapin ito ng isang bayan na nagagawang makipagtagisan at makipagtalastasan (at kalauna'y lumaban) sa imperyong mananakop. At ano naman sa atin, mga postkolonyal na Pilipino na napadaan sa isang museo sa unibersidad? Hindi lamang mga museo, miminsan din, ang mga obra mismo, ang nagsisilid ng magkakaibang punto ng panahon sa limitadong espasyo, ng mga presensya ng lumipas na o ng paparating pa lamang. Oo, wala tayo sa obra sa paraang wala rin si Luna sa Kumbento ng Santa Maria sopra Minerva noong 1633, ngunit salamat sa salamin, habang pinipilit nating sipatin ("[as] we strain to see them," sa wika ni Flores) ang nagliliwanag na Galileo at mala-multong anyo ng mga paring tagapaglitis, tinitingnan din natin ang sarili nating anino at hugis.

89 Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," tsln. Jay Miskowiec, *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité* (Oktubre 1984), 1-2, https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf.

90 Hango ang "walang hanggang diyalogo" sa pahayag ni E.H. Carr hinggil sa kasaysayan. "My first answer therefore to the question 'What is history?' is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past." E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Penguin Books, 1961), 30.

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Images of Subjugation
The Imagined and Political Realities of Controlling the Cordillera

Imágenes de subyugación: Las realidades imaginadas y la política del control en la Cordillera

Caroline Tacata-Tardibone
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Abstract

The *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* was the first time Igorots traveled to Madrid. During this exposition, numerous images, texts, and objects connected to northern Luzon entered Madrid's visual field. While the exposition promoted a vision of a unified colony, the processes involved in producing these objects highlight the tension and anxiety relating to the new policies developed to control northern Luzon. Through a thick description of some of the images, objects, and display design of this exposition, this paper analyzes the way in which the image of the Igorot was utilized in order to reflect attempts and aspirations of expanding direct colonial control into the pericolonial zones of the Philippine colony.

Keywords

Cordilleras; Igorots; Colonial expositions; ethnohistory; 19th century; northern Luzon

Resumen

La *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* fue la primera vez que los Igorots viajaron a Madrid. Durante esta exposición, numerosas imágenes, textos y

objetos relacionados con el norte de Luzón entraron en el campo visual de Madrid. Aunque la exposición promovía la visión de una colonia unificada, los procesos de producción de estos objetos ponen de manifiesto la tensión y la ansiedad relacionadas con las nuevas políticas desarrolladas para controlar el norte de Luzón. A través de una descripción detallada de algunas de las imágenes, objetos y diseño expositivo de esta exposición, este artículo analiza el modo en que se utilizó la imagen de los igorot para reflejar los intentos y aspiraciones de expandir el control colonial directo a las zonas pericoloniales de la colonia filipina.

Palabras clave

Cordilleras; Igorots; Exposiciones coloniales; etnohistoria; siglo XIX; norte de Luzón

1. Introduction

On October 3, 1887, the *Ministerio de Ultramar* under Víctor Balaguer commissioned the artist Francisco Javier Amérigo y Aparici to create a painting commemorating the 1887 *Exposición general de las islas Filipinas*. The resulting painting, finished in 1889, is entitled *Treinta de junio de 1887. Vista de la reina María Cristina a los igorrotes en el acto de apertura de la exposición.*[1] The Spanish government commissioned this painting to be "at least the same dimensions as the painting *La rendición de Granada* by Don Francisco Pradilla."[2] In addition to mimicking the composition of Pradilla's 1882 painting, housed in *Palacio del Senado* in Madrid, Amérigo's painting consists of various forms of contrast as a means of visualizing notions of European civilization and colonial savagery that was imbedded into colonial visual culture throughout Europe and most embodied by the visual culture of the World's Fairs and Colonial Expositions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[3] Here, Queen Regent María Cristina represents civilization, bathed in light, seated within the Palacio Cristal, surrounded by her Spanish subjects, represented by men dressed in suits and Filipino women wearing piña *baro* and *saya*.[4] In the foreground are men, from the *Ranchería Igorrote,* in various stages of obeisance to the Queen Regent wearing *bahags*[5] and carrying weapons. This painting monumentalized the Queen Regent's opening of the 1887 exposition within the context of the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar*, which opened in 1888 and housed the visual material of the *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas*.

This exposition was organized by Víctor Balaguer i Cirera (1824-1901), a Catalan politician who held the ministerial position in the *Ministerio de Ultramar,* an office established in 1863 that centralized the management of Spanish colonial

1 Francisco Javier Amérigo y Aparici's painting was lost in a fire in 1977, for a black and white image of this painting. See: Ana Gutiérrez Márquez, *Pintura del siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado: catálogo general* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2015), 67-68.

2 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN). Ultramar, 5289, Exp. 15.

3 See: Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) and John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions 1851-1893* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2001) for a cultural history of World's Fairs and their connection to the colonial and imperial projects of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

4 See: Stephanie Coo, *Clothing the Colony: Nineteenth-Century Philippine Sartorial Culture, 1820-1896* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2019) for an analysis of *piña* textiles during the Spanish colonial period and their role in social hierarchies.

5 A loincloth, which sometimes appears in scholarship as a "G-string."

holdings into a single office.[6] As noted by scholar Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, forty-three individuals from the Philippines were brought to the metropolis as a means of displaying Filipino culture and industry, as represented by the Visayan and Tagalog men and women involved in the textile and cigar manufacturing exhibits, and displays of non-Christian culture by Igorots, Moros, an Aeta, and individuals from Guam and the Caroline Islands. The presence of these individuals, especially of the non-Christian persons, within the colonial metropole was a site of curiosity for the Spanish press, in which writers commented on their clothing, culture, language, and customs as physically and culturally distant from the center, and the perceived wonderment as they toured the urban centers of Spain.[7] The exhibition of non-Christian Filipinos would begin a history of displaying the physical bodies of the "uncivilized," "savage" Filipinos along with their material culture in the context of civilizational attainment as well as for colonial voyeurism and desires for physical proof of the colonized, primitive "Other" located outside the identity of the colonial metropolitan center. While colonial expositions and World's Fairs have been studied as a whole, looking specifically at their development, exhibition spaces, reception, and relationship to government, industry, and the masses that attend such spectacles, attention regarding the ephemera produced and collected for and in relation to these expositions receive little attention. They are seen and interpreted as parts of the expositional whole, ignoring the lives of these objects (such as illustrations, paintings, photographs, and ethnographic material) to understand these spaces' symbolic power.

The purpose of this paper is not to outline the history of the 1887 exposition but rather to utilize this exposition as a means of analyzing how Spain utilized the image of the Igorot in order to reformulate Spain into a new, modern empire. While simultaneously deploying visualizations that reflect European notices of race and empire, the usage and dissemination of the image of Spanish royalty interacting with colonial subjects highlight a hidden reality that will be explored within the context of this paper. That of Spanish colonial anxiety and the intertwining of modernity and empire elsewhere that

6 Javier Morillo-Alicea, "Uncharted Landscapes of "Latin America:" The Philippines in the Spanish Imperial Archipelago, in *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*, eds. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Philips (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 30-32.

7 Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, *Un Imperio en la Vitrina: El Colonialismo Español en el Pacífico y la Exposición de Filipinas de 1887* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto de Historia, 2003), 58. Sánchez's work on the 1887 exposition provides a detailed account of the life of the exposition, from its organization to its closure.

emerges in nineteenth-century Europe. This paper will utilize the lives and biographies of the images produced for or exhibited at the 1887 exposition as a means of exploring the complexities of the socio-political realities at the peripheries of the Spanish empire as represented by the *comandantes politico-militares* of northern Luzon.[8] This paper will use thick descriptions of these ephemera to focus on how these objects connect to the colony and deploy symbolic language that references the processes associated with the desire for colonial domination in northern Luzon.[9]

2. Illustrating Empire

The usage of Igorot performers from the exposition within the context of illustrating the narrative of the continuation of Spanish colonialism is highlighted in Amérigo's painting, which was housed in the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* following the closure of the exposition. This painting places the Igorot subjects directly in front of and interacting with the Queen Regent. Another image situating such figures associated with notions of non-Christian savagery in the same pictural place as the Queen Regent is part of a series of lithographs published during the duration of the 1887 exposition is the *Apertura del concurso bajo la presidencia de S.M. la Reina Regente y S.A. la infanta Da Isabel, el 30 de junio ultimo (dibujo del natural por coma)* (Fig. 1), for the illustrated journal *La Ilustración Española y Americana.* This image consists of several groupings of individuals standing within the *Palacio Cristal*, explicitly built for this exposition. The immediate foreground of the viewer's left consists of nine men dressed in loincloths carrying weaponry and one individual dressed in European-style clothing; in the middle ground are three men and three women dressed in non-Western style clothing. In the foreground and middle of the viewer's right are eleven men and women dressed in the clothing style associated with middle-class men and women from the Philippines. The men

8 The *commandant politico-militaries* were created as a means of excreting direct Spanish control over what was previously known as *País de Igorrotes*, the mountainous region of northern Luzon sandwiched by the Ilocos region to the west, and Cagayan and Isabel to the east. Historically, this region was difficult to control and required continuous Spanish military intervention. By 1895, there were ten *comandantes politico-militares*. For this paper, we will focus predominately on Bontoc, Lepanto, Benguet, and the province of Abra. See William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974) for an analysis of the development and evolution of the *comadantes politicio-militares*.

9 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 9-11.

wear black suits with *piña barongs* while the women wear a *baro't saya* combination known as the *Maria Clara* style. The center of the image is empty, allowing the viewer's eye to walk past these various individuals to the back of the image, where the Queen Regent is seated.

This image is a composition of contrasts that echoes the aesthetics of images that imagine civilizational attainment in the colonies that were produced specifically for European and American audiences, such as Juan Luna's various renditions of *España y Filipinas* and Félix Resurrección Hidalgo painting, *Per Pacem et Libertatem* commissioned for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition wherein symbols of Western civilization are placed at the farthest point of the pictorial plane. In the case of the *La Ilustración Española y Americana* lithograph and Amérigo's painting, the height of civilization is symbolized by the Queen Regent and her court. In the foreground for the illustration, garnering the immediate attention of the viewer, is the representation of visual and metaphorical darkness, as represented by the Igorots who were to be on display at the 1887 exposition. As the viewer moves through the illustration, from left to right there is a shift to representatives of Christian, Hispano-Philippine culture as visualized by the women wearing *baro't saya* and the men wearing *piña barong* with wool coats. These individuals are also surrounded by Spaniards, providing an immediate comparison for the viewer that visually signifies notions of civilization based on clothing and states of dress or undress. The composition recalls the narrative pattern established within the context of colonial expositions wherein "the story of mankind, the very same narrative that accompanied and legitimized colonial expansion. In this epic, staged by themselves, white, national, civilized European citizens cast themselves in the role of the hero."[10] In this process of staging and curating visually Spain's dominion over all of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago, the illustration emphasizes the need for continued Spanish presence in the Philippines as a means of culturally influencing non-Christian groups who lived at and beyond the peripheries of Spanish control in the Philippines. Furthermore, this illustration highlights a push to modernize the empire, placing a heavier emphasis on secular government in the administration of the Philippine colony, highlighting the anxiety of becoming a modern empire on par with England and France.

10 Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society of Cultural* Anthropology 8, no.3 (1993): 341.



Fig. 1. *Apertura del concurso bajo la presidencia de S.M. la Reina Regente y S.A. la infanta Da. Isabel, el 30 de Junio Ultimo. (Dibujo del natural, por combra.).* Lithograph. *La Ilustración Española y Americana.* July 8, 1887.

Before the inauguration of the Philippine Exposition on June 30, 1887, several significant events in the second half of the nineteenth century influenced the ideologies and processes of imagining the Philippines in this exposition. First and foremost, the exposition provided a space for visualizing colonial control during anxieties about looming threats of expansion by other European colonial powers into the Pacific and recent memories of the loss of colonies. These anxieties arose due to disputes regarding Germany's ownership of the Caroline Islands in 1885. This contestation required arbitration by Pope Leo XIII, who sided with the Spanish crown.[11] These anxieties related to the competing colonialisms in the Pacific as well as internal political strife related to the 1868 Revolutions of Madrid, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, the end of the Manila Galleon trade in 1821, as well as Spain's loss of its American colonies from 1811 to the 1830s due to several wars of independence created a sense of necessity in portraying Spain as a nation still in control of its remaining colonies. The desire to display the glory of Spanish colonial history through

11 Sánchez Gómez, *Un Imperio en la Vitrina*, 34-35.

a colonial exposition is evident in the prologue of the periodical *El Globo*'s printed material on the Philippine Exposition, which states that "Although the Philippine Exposition serves to remember how we discovered the Southern Hemisphere, how we entered into the Pacific Ocean through America; how we extended after our keels in the infinite waters the routes conducive for circumnavigating the world, clinging to a zodiac of national glories, this grand amalgamation of products and memories have an incalculable usefulness that will fix immortal names into the public spirit and popular memory."[12] As stated in this passage from *El Globo*, there is a sense of necessity in displaying the significance of Spain as an empire, in which their achievements should be memorialized, displayed, and known. The context of contemporary Spanish colonial history provides insight into the desires, goals, and anxieties, which in turn would influence the ideological structures of the exposition to display Spain as a global and modern empire through the deployment of discourses (racial and modern) associated with colonial expositions. In addition to mimicking the visual languages established within the spaces of expositions that exhorted the power of Euro-American empires, the images related to placing the Igorots within proximity of the Queen Regent can also reflect the colonial policy that developed within the Philippines as a means of establishing direct control over the *País de Igorrotes,* in what is now the Cordillera Administrative Region. Before the mid-nineteenth century, the Cordillera was a pericolonial zone. Stephen Acabado defines it as a space inhabited by a group or culture that was not formally colonized but reflected cultural and socio-economic changes parallel with neighboring groups that were colonized more directly.[13] Following the loss of Spain's South American colonies as well as conflict about the succession of the Spanish crown following King Ferdinand VII's death in 1833, Queen Regent María Cristina's government sought to make the Philippines more profitable and thereby ensure the loyalty of the Filipino Spaniards to the Queen Regent. In doing so, one primary emphasis was establishing the direct authority of the Spanish crown in northern Luzon, especially in this pericolonial zone.[14]

12 *Exposición de Filipinas: colección de artículos* in *El Globo, diario ilustrado político, científico y literario* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de El Globo, 1887), 12. All translations are the author's unless otherwise stated.

13 Stephen Acabado "The Archeology of Pericolonialism: Responses of the 'Unconquered' to Spanish Conquest and Colonialism in Ifugao, Philippines," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (March 2017): 3.

14 William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), 223-24.

This anxiety of exerting complete control over the Philippine Archipelago, especially in Luzon, as it was the most profitable of the Philippine islands for Spain, is also evident in the justification of implementing a policy of attraction during the 1880s. In shifting colonial policy concerning creating zones of mediate control, the Spanish colonial government began creating politico-military districts and provinces through the Cordillera, which would be under the direct control of a military governor. In November 1880, Governor-General Fernando Primo de Rivera visited northern Luzon, visiting the *comadantes politicio-militares* of the region. Following his return to Manila, Primo de Rivera published a *memoria* outlining his proposal for the northern Luzon region, the same colonial longing as evident in the *El Globo* during the 1887 exposition, stating that:

> It is undoubtedly humiliating for Spain and its Government overseas and here to know and see thousands of human beings, some at the gates of the capital of the Archipelago and many others within reach of Christian towns with civilian, military, and religious authorities, not only living in pre-Conquest backwardness but committing crimes and depredation, with the audacity of demanding and collecting taxes from Christian towns, without receiving punishment and without any authority imposed on them: others reside in the land that enjoys protection by the same authorities, enjoying even more significant than the country's natives; and this, as stated, is humiliating, is also more incomprehensible since there is absolute unanimity of opinion among the authorities and experts in the country, regarding the way to carry out the reduction.[15]

The usage of the word "humiliating" in conjunction with the processes of controlling a pericolonial zone is striking. It highlights a self-awareness in Spanish colonial administrations that emerged during the mid-to-late nineteenth century as new, modern colonial empires began solidifying power in Southeast Asia and Oceania. The policy of attraction proposed by Primo de Rivera provided them with land to cultivate, clothing and a stipend for one year, respect for their customs, security to families who voluntarily submit, and exemption from tribute and corvée labor for ten years, among other benefits.[16] In addition to the policy of attraction proposed by Primo de Rivera is also the use of military action; in his discussion of the *infieles monteses*, Primo de Rivera states that this class of race "carry shields or bucklers, spears, arrows

15 Fernando Primo de Rivera, *Documentos referentes a la reducción de infieles e inmigracion en las provincias de Cagayan y la Isabela dictados como primeras disposiciones adoptadas por el Exmo. Sr. Gobernador General D. Fernando Primo de* Rivera (Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1881), 12-13.

16 Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 268-69.

and *talibon* (a type of machete); they use these weapons for hunting... and consider themselves invincible and unassailable, and from this confidence, their courage to commit murder and theft, especially of livestock, is born..." and that "the subjugation of this class of infidels is the one to which the most attention must be directed to, being the one that would cause some expense, but this would be productive for the State, and moreover, highly honorable for the nation, as I already have expressed, uprooting the blemish that damages civilization and its good Spanish name," he proposes the burning and destruction of their crops and land as a means of forcing the subjugation.[17] The description of these mountainous infidels as holding spears and shields becomes central to the description of Igorots that emerges within the context of anthropological writing, photography, and museums. Returning to the *La Ilustración Española y Americana* lithograph, the figures meant to represent these Igorots, who become synonymous with the un-subjugated and wild peripheries of northern Luzon. The figures hold on to these weapons within the *Palacio Cristal*, a space built specifically for the 1887 exposition surrounded by Catholic Filipinos and Queen Regent's Spanish court. The use of juxtapositions in dress and objects provides a visual narrative of the processes of colonizing Spain's last colonial frontier.

By placing María Cristina and the Igorot performers within the same pictorial field, *La Ilustración Española y Americana* deploys a visualization of the desired relationship between the center (as represented by María Cristina) and periphery (portrayed by the Igorots) imagined by European colonial powers. Such relationships between the colonial center and colonized peripheries are also present in the anthropological language of written accounts of Spanish colonial officials traveling through northern Luzon. These officials wrote of their experiences traveling into non-Christian spaces in northern Luzon as they continued their subjugation typoproject.[18] Primo de Rivera's *memoria*, circulated through the Spanish court, contains descriptions of individuals deemed confrontational to the Spanish empire. This language is also evident in the language deployed in the published writings of *comandantes politico-militares*, such as Manuel Scheidnagel, who governed Benguet, and Maximino Lillo de Gracia of Lepanto district, who published ten years prior to the 1887 exposition. Both Lillo de Gracia and Scheidnagel combine notions of colonial policy with ethnographic observation of the cultures of this region.

17 Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 13-14.

18 Mary Louis Pratt, *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation*, second ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 6

While Scheidnagel states that the Igorots of Benguet are more peaceful than those of Bontoc and Lepanto, he observes that they still use weapons such as a spear, an axe or *ligua*, and a wooden shield.[19] Similarly in format, Lillo de Gracia's work also provides first an ethnographic description of the Igorots of Lepanto, focusing as well on the weaponry as a means of describing culture: "The usual weapons among the mountaineers of the territory are the spear and *ligua* for offensives, and the *calata*, a type of defensive wooden shield. The spear is used as a throwing weapon, and the precision of the blow at short distances is notable; the *ligua* is an extremely sharp and wide axe, with one side extended to form a sharp peak into which they stick the head and sever it with a single cut."[20] What is ignored in these narratives is the utilitarian nature of these weapons. While utilized in warfare, they were also used in ritual, hunting, and agriculture. For example, the lance was used to hunt large animals. The axe, a tool synonymous with headhunting, was also used for cutting and climbing steep terrain.[21] This focus on weaponry within the context of these politico-military zones within these narratives circulated in the Spanish government becomes part of the visual identifiers of belonging outside Christian Filipino culture. It becomes utilized in the illustrations and photographs associated with the 1887 exposition and the Igorot performers. Furthermore, the illustration and the painting that opens this paper provide a usual narrative of control, in which because these individuals were brought into Spain, the borders of the Spanish empire were under control and pacified.

3. Photographing Subjects

The racial classification of the Spanish empire and the Philippine exposition presented itself visually through photography and forms of display, which documented and classified visual markers of "civilized" and "uncivilized." In this corpus of mass-produced images, there are instances of the demarcation between Philippine groups that have assimilated into Spanish and Catholic notions of civilization and groups that were deemed as primitive due to a lack of assimilation. While this is also evident in the use of lithographs in

19 Manuel Scheidnagel, *Distrito de Benguet: memoria descriptive y económica, acompañada del primer plan-cróquis del* mismo, (Madrid: Imprenta de la direccion general de infantería, 1878), 31-32.

20 Maximino Lillo de Gracia, *Distrito de Lepanto. Descripción general acompañada de itinerario y croquis del* territorio (Manila: Imprento del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1877), 24.

21 Eric Moltzau Anderson, *In the Shape of Tradition: Indigenous Art of the Northern Philippine* (Leiden: C. Zwatenkot Art Books, 2010), 342-343.

periodicals and newspapers during the nineteenth century, photography as a medium of disseminating information regarding the colonization of the Philippines and its inhabitants conveyed a sense of authority also present in ethnographic discourse and expositions. Photography's authority comes from mirroring what the eye sees, yet there was a blatant misrepresentation of reality. Colonial photography removed the subjects from their contexts and placed them under the viewer's gaze, thus objectifying the subject.[22] Photography was introduced as a means of documenting the colonies. As noted by Juan Guardiola, the oldest photographs of the Philippines were dated to 1840 and were of views of Manila.[23] As the use of photography expanded, individuals and studios began taking photographs of peoples of various ethno-linguistic groups and scenes of daily life that were either reproduced or utilized as the basis for illustrations for periodicals and other print publications.

In the context of the 1887 exposition, the subject is removed twice from their context: first in the image and through the curation of meaning in the display, wherein the image is placed with other ephemera. This process of creating a display thereby changes the photograph's meaning and creates a network of signifiers wherein the image and objects surrounding it recall one another. Photography played a role in disseminating knowledge of the cultural differences between the Igorot and Spanish and Catholic Filipino cultures. Two photographic albums were produced based on the photographs. One was from the Jean Laurent y Cía firm, which provided photographs of expositional space and the Igorots within the *Ranchería Igorrote*; another was by Marquis of Bergel as a gift to Víctor Balaguer. In addition, photographs of individuals from the Philippines who participated in the exposition were taken.[24] These photographs were done in Fernando Debas's studio; several of these photographs are of the Igorot delegation, one of which is a group photograph (Fig. 2). This photograph is of six individuals, four of whom are standing, one is seated, and another lounging except for one man, identified as Ismael Alzate, who wears a *bahag*. The four standing figures carry lances and shields as well. The photograph is inscribed on the back: "Group of Igorots from Benguet-Tinguianes with the jefe Ismael Alzate, murdered by these Igorrots in the Philippines." This note was written by Manuel Antón Ferrándiz, who also took amateur

22 Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 23.

23 Juan Guardiola, *El imaginario colonial. Fotografía en Filipinas durante el period español 1860-1898* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior de España and Casa Asia, 2008), 11-12.

24 Guardiola, *El imaginario colonial*, 140-141.

photographs of the exposition and the Filipinos exhibited there and would later become the director of the *Museo Nacional de Antropología.*[25] The distinctive dress and weaponry allow each individual to be identified in the lithograph discussed above. Furthermore, each of these photographs is inscribed with notes on the back of the photograph, allowing for the identification of several individuals. The man dressed in a suit with a cross pinned to his chest is Ismael Alzate, from Abra, who is also present in the lithograph, and the man seated is most likely Purganan, a schoolteacher from Abra. On the right of the photograph is Laolao from Lepanto, Somadin, Oit-Tavit from Bontoc, and Gumad-ang from Lepanto, on the far left.[26]



Fig. 2. Fernando Debas Pujat. *Grupo de Igorrotes de Benguuet-Tinguianes con su jefe Ismael Alzate*. 1887. Photograph. 24.5 cm x 17 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid. Photographer: Javier Rodríguez Barrera. FD 1507.

The names of these individuals also appear in the payment order for the personnel exhibited and working at the 1887 exhibition. Except for Purganan and Somadin, the names appear in the payment order with the honorific "Don."[27] The use of this title within the payment order highlights the biographies of these individuals interested in controlling the peripheries of northern Luzon. In establishing these politico-military zones to officially control the country's precolonial spaces of the Cordillera, Spanish colonial officials required the assistance of locals who recognized Spanish dominion over this region.

Born in Bucay, Abra province, Ismael Alzate, his father, and his grandfather played a significant role in the military expeditions into the Cordillera. In his

25 *Imágenes de una exposición. Filipinas en el parque de el Retiro en 1887* (Madrid: Museo Nacional de Antropología, 2017), 8.

26 The author inferred this information by comparing various of Debas's photographs from the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid and their inscriptions with Figure 3. The photographs used to determine the identities are as follows: FD1567, FD1569, FD1570, FD1571, and FD 1572,

27 Ordenación de pago no. 164, AHN-Ultramar 5168 caja 1.

biographical notes, the Spanish Government provided pensions to his father Agatón Alzate and his grandfather. Ismael acted as an interpreter for the Spanish during military expeditions into "the territory of Guiaanes between Abra and Cagay in Central Luzon." His biographical notes further stated that he served as *Gobernadorcillo* and a soldier and assisted in the pacification of various *rancherías* in the Cordillera.[28] Between 1868 and 1877, Alzate was part of the military expeditions into the Cordillera. This military service for Spanish domination and the pacification of the Cordillera is noted in letters of support for Alzate to receive the *Cruz de Cabellero de Isabel de Católica* in 1880, wherein "various raids in the years 68, 69, 70, and 71, said *Gobernadorcillo* was awarded the medal of civil merit as a lieutenant of *Cuadrilleros* and for special services in the military expeditions from Abra to Cagayan… Don Ismael Alzate y Astudillo performed distinguished service in the *Comisaria de Guerra de la Expedición Militar a Igorrotes.*"[29] He was awarded this medal before the 1887 exposition when it became part of his uniform. The photograph and lithograph emphasize the cross of the order of *Isabel de Católica*.

The title of Don provided to Laolao, Oit-Tavet, and Guman-dang was also for their service to the Spanish government. One of them, Oit-Tavit, was a *Gobernadorcillos*, literally "little governor," and aide-de-camps of governors that is given a representative of the Spanish colonial government in towns and villages.[30] His position as a *gobernadoracillo* are evident in the article published by *El Globo*, which focuses on the Igorots, combining the physical measurements and observations of these people with their occupation or position with the Spanish colonial structures developing in northern Luzon:

> Oit-Tavit, Igorrote, *gobernadorcillo* of Bontoc, 34 years old, married to only one woman, who whom he has five children; he wears his hair long, falling over his forehead and cut above his eyebrows, as the children of elegant society wear now, it was later collected in a braid 72 centimeters long; large mouth, teeth vertical, equal and strong; large eyes, with a hard and provocative look; fierce and proud appearance; height 1.668 mm, seated height of torso 845mm; from his shoulder 1.362mm; circumference at shoulders 1080; around the chest, 910; at the waist, 870; maximum of leg, 370; of the arms, 3000; face length, 82; coloration of skin (Broca's chromatic scale), 21.30; of the eyes, 2. He resisted the measurements with awkward gestures and some kicks, despite the persuasions of the Museum student Mr. Luis Hoyos who was kind enough to help us with this work. However, his fierceness turned into a pleasant and even shy smile as soon as he was offered

28 "Apuntes biograficos de Ismael Alzate," 1887. Newberry Library, Ayer MS 1296.

29 AHN-Ultramar, 5250, Exp. 29.

30 Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 108

> a *petaca* of cigars decorated with eye-catching chrome. He boasts of having killed many enemies of Spain in personal combat, of whom he finds himself in service. He has blue tattoo lines on his chest and arms: the first ones mark the tribe he belongs to, which could be said like the mark of the cattle ranch; the second are decorations awarded for acts of war.[31]

This long description of Oit-Tavit highlights several things. First, the significance of observation in an anthropological text in finding and noting racial differences. In the case of the photographs of the Igorots during the 1887 exposition, how they were presented in prior literature, the processes of collecting and photography of their physical bodies in Madrid worked as a network of symbols that could transfer between one another, the information and narratives connected to the circulation of these images were due in part to the development of anthropology and notions of racial hierarchy famous in nineteenth-century Europe. The appearance of articulating race in the Philippines is well-known in Ferdinand Blumentritt's study of Philippine language and ethnology, in which he physically mapped racial and ethnic designations into cartographic space. Blumentritt's ethnological study corresponds directly to the development of anthropology as a site of institutional knowledge and its concern with knowing the "primitive." In his work *Versuch Einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, published in 1882, Blumentritt situates morality, religion, and geography as key indicators of racial designations in the Philippines. Through wave migration theory, Blumentritt's ethnographic study of the Philippines locates aspects of modern life with those of the coastal regions of Luzon and Visayas in contact with Hispanic culture through a comparative framework of racial and cultural divisions.[32] The colonial anthropological inquiry extended beyond the "armchair anthropology" practiced by Blumentritt.[33] Participants in the exhibition were measured and observed extensively, as is noted in the above text from *El Globo.* Secondly, the policies of attraction set in place by Primo de Rivera in 1881, in which there is a focus on respect for indigenous culture in addition to protection of subjects of the Spanish crown, highlight the complexity of policy in the peripheries of northern Luzon, where individuals, such as Oit-Tavit who are described as having tattoos that were probably

31 *Colección de artículos publicados en El Globo*, 101.

32 Ferdinand Blumentritt, *An Attempt at Writing a Philippine Ethnography*, trans. Marcelino N. Maceda (Marawi City: University Research Center, Mindanao State University, 1980), 33-58. Blumentritt's work deployed the concept of tribal fragmentation, which indicates the lack of modernity.

33 Although Blumentritt wrote extensively about Philippine ethnography, he had never visited the country. His work was based on other European observations of perceived ethnic differences.

markers of Oit-Tavit's participation in headhunting raids, are placed within the governmental structures of Spanish colonialism. As a Bontoc warrior described as having tattoo lines on his chest and arms, it is likely that Oit-Tavit had a *chak'lag*, a chest tattoo, which solidified his membership in the warrior class.[34]

While Spain recognized the authority of some Igorot individuals, this did not translate to their power and position being recognized within their home or neighboring communities. In some cases, there was still a requirement to utilize traditional customs to assert one's power and position predominately through the *cañao* or feasting. In Laolao's case, he died while ostracized from his community following his return to Banao, Lepanto. According to Angel Pérez, an Augustinian priest working in the Cordillera, the Igorots of Banao were under the assumption that due to Laolao's visit to Spain as well as his position as an *aide-de-camp* of the governor, they would receive favors from Spain as well as wealth. In addition, they expected Laolao to hold a month-long feast and also resented his implementation of government orders such as the collection of taxes. The individuals in Banao planned to kill him; however, Laolao was warned by his brother-in-law, so he shot one of the conspirators and took him to the *gobernadora* Illo's house. He was told to carry the injured man to Cervantes, where he died; due to this murder, Laolao was sent to prison in Vigan.[35] This story follows the expositions and highlights the tenuous relationship between Igorots within these politico-military zones. As noted in William Henry Scott's work, Igorots from various villages would align with Spain whenever necessary and later drop these allegiances. Power and authority, therefore, ended and flowed based on the needs and desires of the community.

The significance of photography in the exposition and the promulgation of various images of the Igorots highlights an absence that appears missing with other groups brought in for the 1887 exposition: the absence of Igorot women. This absence needs to be addressed in the available archival material or print. However, it is addressed in a German album *Album of Philippine Types, North Luzon: Negritos, Tinguians, Banaos, Guinaanes, Silipanes, Calingsas, Apoyaos, Kianganes, Igorrotes and Ilocanos* produced by A.B. Meyer and Alexander

34 Analyn V. Salvador-Amores, *Tapping Ink, Tattooing Identities: Tradition and Modernity in Contemporary Kalinga Society North Luzon, Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2013), 163

35 Angel Pérez, *Igorrotes: Estudio geográfico y etnográfico sobre algunos distritos del norte de Luzón* (Manila: Imp. de "El Mercantil," 1902),185-188.

Schadenberg which contains descriptions of some of the photograph. In this album, under a photograph of Igorot women from Bontoc, Meyer, and Schadenberg, note that these women were meant to go to Madrid for the 1887 exposition but refused to hold the lances they were photographed with and were forced to return.[36] Such notes highlight the artificiality of anthropological photographs and native performances for European audiences.

4. Encasing Empire

As mentioned above, the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* opened the year after the 1887 exposition and reflected the history of the Spanish empire through a massive collection process that utilized the various appendages of the empire. As noted in the first official biography of the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* by Antonio García Llansó in 1897, the basis of the collection at the museum was the *Exposición general de Filipinas* in addition to the private collections of colonial officials and religious orders from the various colonial outposts and religious missionaries in the Americas, Oceania, and Asia.[37] The museum included a library with a collection of works relating to the countries discovered by Columbus, the first printed materials from the Philippines, and the earliest maps of the region.[38] In addition to the collection of published materials from the various previous and current colonies of Spain, the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* acquired objects from the 1887 exposition, which corresponded to the various collections of the museum, including: "geology, forestry, mineralogy, weapons, industry, clothing, ethnography, anthropology, fauna, flora and everything that is known of the Oceanic and American races, from when they were subjected to Spanish domination."[39]

These sections and the objects collected for the museum's various collections were reminiscent of the Filipino exposition's organization, creating a permanent exposition that extols a narrative of the empire and the process of visually collecting objects that continue to assert the necessity and power of the Spanish empire. This connection is further exemplified in the fact that

36 Marissa H. Petrou, "Picturing Labor: German Ethnography, and the Anticolonial Reforms in the Philippines" in *Gendered Encounters between Germany and Asia: Transnational Perspectives since* 1800, eds. Joanne Miyang Cho and Douglas T. McGetchin (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 96–97.

37 Antonio García Llansó, *El Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* (Barcelona: Tipog. de Luis Tasso, 1897), 11–19.

38 García Llansó, *El Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar*, 21–29.

39 García Llansó, *El Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar*, 33.

the museum is housed in the *Palacio de Velázquez* in Retiro Park. The *Palacio de Velázquez* was divided into eight thematic sections during the exposition. The first gallery on the right displayed the nature of the Spanish territories in Oceania, including geology, mineralogy, anthropology, and meteorology; at the end of this section was a cabinet that displayed examples of products and activities from the colonies. In the central nave was an ethnographic display (section 2, population), filled with mannequins dressed in different costumes, weapons, and displays of different cultural ephemera. In the third nave to the right of the ethnographical display were the third and fourth sections (Army and Navy), which explained the history of Spanish conquest in the Pacific region. The fifth section, Botany and Zoology, was located on the other side of the central nave. In the right wing of the building were the sixth (agriculture, horticulture, and livestock wealth), seventh (commercial movement and traffic), and eighth (general culture, public education, sciences, and arts) sections.[40] This shift for an exposition within a specific time and space is not unique to Spain. Instead, it highlighted the role of temporal space in creating a permanent exhibition space for exhibiting empires and colonies in Europe and the United States.[41]

The creation of the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* acted as a repository of the objects collected throughout the Spanish empire. As noted by García Llansó, the ethnographic section of the museum contains the collection found in the eighth section of the exposition and includes the material culture of various ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, including that of the Igorots. The collection of northern Luzon objects, including clothing, adornments, weaponry, objects related to industry, models, and figures displaying day-to-day life, and religious artifacts, including anitos from northern Luzon.[42]

As noted earlier in this paper, photography was central to disseminating a perceived reality that worked with state narratives. This concept is also genuine in the practice of collecting objects from colonies. The issue of misidentifying objects due to lack of knowledge as well as the desire for mass collection of types of a specific object is indicative of the collecting practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As noted by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett,

40 María Teresa Sánchez Avendaño, "Análisis histórico y sociológico de la Exposición de Filipinas en la España finisecular," *Revista Española del Pacífico* 7, no. 8 (1998): 280.

41 Luis Ángel Sánchez Gómez, "Indigenous art at the Philippine Exposition of 1887: Arguments for an ideological and racial battle in a colonial context," *Journal of the History of Collections* 14, no. 2 (2002): 293-294.

42 García Llansó, *El Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar*, 53-77.

"Ethnographic artifacts are objects of ethnography. They are artifacts created by ethnographers. Objects become ethnographic by being defined, segmented, detached, and carried away by ethnographers."[43] The processes involved in collecting these objects for the exposition to define cultural differences visually reflect Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's definition of the ethnographic object. However, the ethnographer must be expanded to include government officials and the religious orders that inhabited the Cordillera or interacted with the individuals that inhabited northern Luzon. One of the significant contributors to the collections displayed at the 1887 exposition and later entered into the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultarmar* and the *Museo Oriental in Valladolid* was Manuel Scheidnagel. Scheidnagel's participation in the 1887 exposition highlights the military's role in the museological collecting process. From 1871 to 1887, he collected various minerals, fauna, flora, art, and ethnological objects from the Philippines, Marianas, the Caroline Islands, China, and Japan, a portion of the 1887 exposition. In 1889, Scheidnagel wrote a catalog of the material he collected along with his notes and observations relating to the region or culture from which he collected them.[44] One of the main objects displayed at the 1887 exposition and the *Museo-Biblioteca Oriental* from northern Luzon were the anito figures. These figures were grouped in Scheidnagel's catalog, in which he emphasizes the central role of religion and religiosity in every aspect of Igorot life.[45] However, several of these figures labeled as *anitos* or *bulol* are miniatures meant to act as representations of Igorots in their dress and with miniature versions of their cultural objects (Fig. 3). An individual made this figure from Ifugao province, Cordillera Administrative Region, Philippines. While the province is known, the collector or patron of the piece did not record the individual village or the creator. The figure is anthropomorphic and has human or animal hair; its ears are pierced and decorated with earrings made of metal; it wears a predominately red *bahag* (loincloth) and a necklace of teeth. The figure carries a backpack made of woven material and holds replicas of an axe or hatchet (ligua or liwa) in its right hand and a shield in its left. While the textiles and weaponry of the figure are highly detailed, the actual figure reflects the aesthetics associated with Ifugao's figural work.

43 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 387.

44 Blas Sierra de la Calle, OSA, *Exposición de Filipinas de 1887. Contribución de los Agustinos* (Valladolid: Museo Oriental, 2018), 67-71.

45 Manuel Scheidnagel, *Catálogo de una colección de objetos filipinos*, 1889-1890. Biblioteca Nacional de España. MSS/19600 V.1.



Fig. 3. Figure. Ifugao culture. Luzon (Philipines), 19th century. Wood, metal, dog teeth, glass, shells, textile, hair. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Madrid. Photographer: Miguel Ángel Otero. CE2095.

It is made of dark wood, possibly narra, and is more restrained: the eyes, nose, and mouth are indicated but not heavily carved. In addition, its masculinity is evoked through the items it holds and wears rather than through carved secondary sex characteristics.

As mentioned earlier, the figure reflects the aesthetics of the Ifugao figural work, as exemplified by the bulul. The bulul is a complex figure that is both the name of the group of ancestor spirits and the name of the object associated with the fecundity of a family's harvest. In addition, these figures do not hold weapons or miniature versions of the basketry utilized within these cultures. While this figure was carved to reflect the aesthetics associated with the bulul figure, possibly due to the growth of century anthropological and ethnographic interest, it was made specifically for a European audience. However, this figurine attains new meaning in the display process as it is displayed alongside actual *anito* and *bulul* (Fig. 4). This lithograph showcases how religious objects and figurines were displayed in the nineteenth-century museum and exposition space. Similar objects populate museums throughout Europe; for example, there is a series of clay sculptures of Igorots at the Museo del Ejército, while the Museu Etnològic in Barcelona has a collection of models relating to religious activities in the Cordillera, which deploys the aesthetics of the local culture. However, the actual objects are not as important as the process of mass collecting, especially by colonial officials. It is part of misleading or creating a sense of stability within the Metropol through a panoptic view of the peripheries of Spain's existing empire.

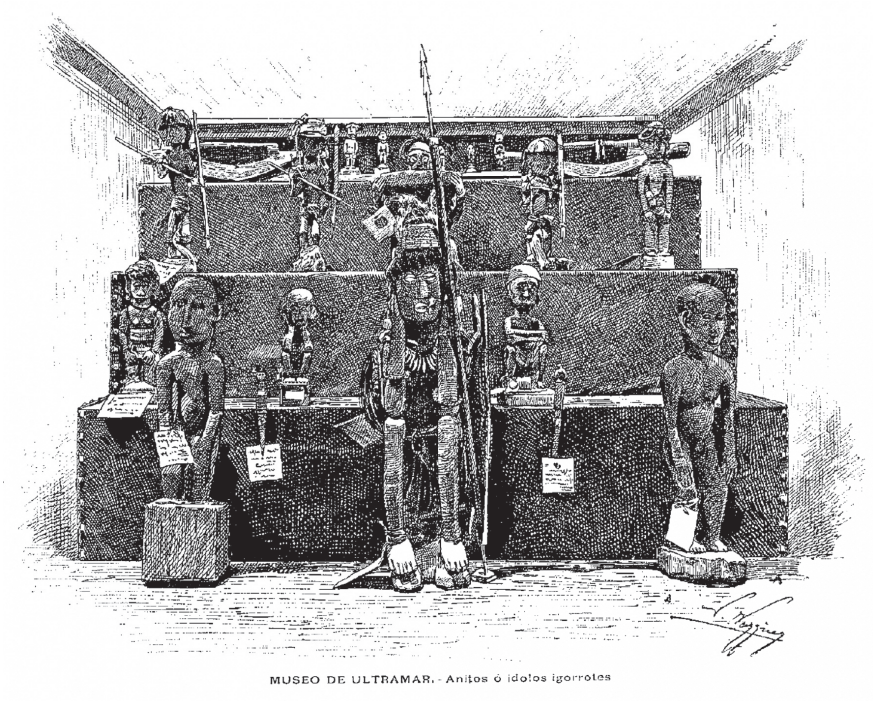


Fig. 4. *Museo de Ultramar – Anitos o idolos igorotes*. Lithograph. *El Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar*, 1897.

Furthermore, the figure anchors the ephemeral nature of the Igorot performances of the 1887 exposition into a permanent state, acting as a proxy for the physical body. Returning to Francisco Javier Amérigo y Aparici's *Exposición general de las islas Filipinas*. The resulting painting, finished in 1889, is entitled *Treinta de junio de 1887. Vista de la reina María Cristina a los igorrotes en el acto de apertura de la exposición*, as there are no reports in newspapers or books published on the 1887 exposition that emphasize or discuss the obeisance of the Igorot performers to the Queen Regent, we assume that this is a constructed scene utilized similarly to the figurines that populated the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, but through the aesthetics and visual language of Europe. Using the painting and the format of the historical painting popular during the nineteenth century, the painting, within the context of a museum dedicated to collecting from the Spanish colonies, emphasizes a narrative in which Spain controls its colonial borders and boundaries.

5. Conclusion

While expositions have been discussed concerning the structural power of the colonial state, the use of the thick description of the objects created specifically for the 1887 *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* highlights a tension and process of attaining control over the precolonial space of northern Luzon. By treating each object as invoking various symbols, we can see the unfolding of colonial policy that influenced the processes involved in the writing, photographing, and visualization of the desire to control northern Luzon. As discussed above, the people and objects displayed at the 1887 exposición were rooted within Spanish attempts at expanding control into the interior mountains of Luzon, as represented through the painting, *Treinta de junio de 1887. Vista de la reina María Cristina a los igorrotes en el acto de apertura de la exposición,* made for the *Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar* to commemorate the 1887 exposition. The objects displayed were also incorporated into these narratives of control and continued colonial presence through the process of collecting and commissioning sculptural representations of the people and cultures that existed outside the boundaries of the Spanish colonial Philippines. The photograph and illustration of Ismael Alzate, Laolao, Oit-Tavet, and Guman-dang provide visual cues into how Spain visually presented the cultural differences between Spain and its Asian colony to re-introduce Spanish citizens to their colonial holding.

However, the individuals who were presented as representatives of "incivility" and "savagery" to the Spanish public were also necessary for the expansion of Spanish control into the precolonial space of the Cordillera. These individuals played a central role in the campaigns of exerting power. The Igorots brought to Spain reflect the ongoing tensions with the Cordillera, while they performed and were visualized as "savage" to the public, they provided assistance to the Spanish colonial government in subduing portions of the Cordillera mountain range. The juxtaposition between their image during the *Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas* and their political roles within the Philippine archipelago highlight the porous nature of the image of the savage for political use. However, the lived realities of Spanish colonial policy is also reflected in the tragic end of Laolao. Caught between his duties to the Spanish empire and his responsibilities of his community as a man of means. In creating biographs of the objects and images produced for colonial exposition, the object and image move beyond a static representation of cultural artifact, and can reflect the historical processes involved in the collecting of culture.

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Inventing a People
Distorting the Images of Macabebe, 1899

Inventar la gente: Distorsionando las imágenes del Macabebe, 1899

Ian Christopher B. Alfonso
University of the Philippines Diliman

Abstract

This chapter reexamines the American photojournalistic documentation of the soldiers of Macabebe, Pampanga, in 1899 as an early form of disinformation about the Filipinos. These photos appeared in Jose de Olivares' book, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* (1899), whose outright agenda was introducing the "Macabebes" to his American readers. Alongside these images were fictitious claims about the history of Macabebe and the townspeople's motivation in supporting the Americans. At least four photographs of them in loincloths and with long hair were miscaptioned images of Tinguian warriors of the Cordillera. These Macabebe soldiers served the Spanish and American armies against the Philippine Revolutionary Forces from 1897 until the capture of First Philippine Republic President Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901. The townspeople of Macabebe were mistreated during the Aguinaldo administration, and this led the residents to ally themselves with the Americans. The photographs of the alleged Macabebes with garbled information were typical cases of distorting information by mislabeling photographs. The continuous proliferation of these images affects our understanding of Philippine history.

Keywords

Jose de Olivares, Aztecs, Macabebe Scouts, Tinguians, Emilio Aguinaldo

Resumen

Este capítulo reexamina la documentación fotoperiodística estadounidense de los soldados de Macabebe, Pampanga, en 1899, como una forma temprana de desinformación sobre los filipinos. Apareció en el libro de José de Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* (1899), cuyo objetivo manifiesto era presentar los "Macabebes" a sus lectores, especialmente a los estadounidenses, a los que se refería como "Nuestros" en el título del libro. Junto a estas imágenes había afirmaciones ficticias sobre la historia de Macabebe y la motivación de sus habitantes para apoyar a los estadounidenses. Al menos cuatro fotografías los mostraban en taparrabos y con el pelo largo, en realidad imágenes erróneas de los guerreros tinguianos de la Cordillera. Estos soldados sirvieron tanto al ejército español como al estadounidense contra las Fuerzas Revolucionarias Filipinas en 1897 hasta la captura del Presidente de la Primera República Filipina, Emilio Aguinaldo, en 1901. Aunque algunos filipinos apoyaron a los españoles contra la Revolución, los habitantes de Macabebe fueron maltratados durante el gobierno de Aguinaldo. Esto hizo que los residentes se aliaran con los estadounidenses. Las mencionadas fotografías de los supuestos macabebes con información tergiversada eran casos típicos de distorsión de la información mediante el etiquetado erróneo de fotografías de la época. La continua proliferación de estas imágenes tergiversadas afecta a nuestra comprensión de la historia filipina.

Palabras clave

José de Olivares, Aztecas, exploradores macabebe, tinguianos, Emilio Aguinaldo

1. Introduction

Lisa E. Farrington qualified colonial misrepresentation in terms of visual media as an "intent" of the Westerners to "demonize" a culture.[1] She applied this to her analyses of African people in European visual arts conditioned by "colonial presumptions" belying the "sensitive and dignified depictions of African men and women that appeared in European art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." "[Any] objective understanding of black culture after the 1700s became virtually impossible," she lamented.

Photography, a 19th-century technological breakthrough, continued this colonial misrepresentation by depicting colonized peoples like the Filipinos, especially in 1898, at the advent of the Spanish-American War. Vicente Rafael noted the "explosion of photographic images" of the time, which was "one of the more visible legacies of the wars of 1898."[2] Primarily used in printed media, these photographs "transformed native peoples into images," Rafael added. While the Spanish-American War was happening,[3] the American public (whom Rafael referred to as "metropolitan viewers") was engrossed with the so-called yellow journalism or "super sensationalism."[4] Coupled with garbled captions, photographs became potent, long-lasting weapons for misrepresenting the U.S.'s new possessions in Asia-Pacific and the Caribbean. According to Felix V. Matos Rodriguez, "The writings coming from Cuba were combined with the techniques of photojournalism, ensuring U.S. readers a glimpse of the exotic scenery and people that inhabited the crumbling remains of the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean and Pacific."

These derogatory images continued influencing American sentiment about their government's alleged benevolent campaign to save the "uncivilized people." For the Spaniards, these misrepresentations became part of the so-called *leyenda negra* (black legend).[5] For the Filipinos, it was part of American

1 Lisa E. Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African-American Women Artists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 15.

2 Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 76.

3 Felix V. Matos Rodriguez, "Their Islands and Our People: U.S. Writing About Puerto Rico, 1898-1920," *Centro Journal* 11, no. 1 (Fall 1999): 34/33-49.

4 Bennett Dante Pironti, *The Press, the Philippines and China, 1898-1899* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1980), 45.

5 A good analysis of the anti-Spanish propaganda in American media was written by Katherine D. Moran. See Katherine D. Moran, "Beyond the Black Legend: Catholicism and U.S. Empire-Building in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, 1898-1914," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 33, no. 4 (2015): 27-51.

propaganda to justify the U.S. annexation of the Philippines and to vilify the Filipino struggle for independence and self-determination. Undermining the Filipino sentiment of the time over imperialistic ambition, "photographs also served to familiarize, through the 'real' images of the camera, the U.S. public with their newly acquired territories," Matos Rodriguez further noted.[6]

Aside from Rafael, various scholars have criticized turn-of-the-20th-century American propaganda against Filipinos. It remains a favorite theme in criticizing American colonialism in the Philippines. However, some photos from this period are still in use, and their legitimacy has never been seriously questioned. In 1899, American journalist Jose de Olivares proliferated alleged images of Kapampangan soldiers from the coastal town of Macabebe, Pampanga, who became friendly with the Americans. These photos appeared in the second volume of his book, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*.[7] The Macabebe men constituted the native troops in the U.S. Forces called the Macabebe Scouts in 1899.[8] Together, they fought the army of the First Philippine Republic.[9] In his critique of Olivares' Macabebe images, Florentino Iniego, Jr. criticized the Americans for projecting the people of Macabebe as a separate culture from the Kapampangans while describing them as "wild or uncivilized."[10]

Despite the integration of other Filipinos, such as the Tagalogs and Ilocanos, as native scouts, the Americans utilized the Macabebe Scouts in capturing Philippine President Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901. This single event made Macabebe infamous in Philippine history as a town of traitors. Subsequent works about the fall of the First Philippine Republic authored by the Filipinos used Olivares' 1899 photos of the Macabebe soldiers. Such local usage, even

6 Matos Rodriguez, "Their Islands," 34/33-49.

7 José de Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencils*, vol. 2 (New York: Thompson Pub. Co., 1899).

8 "The Macabebe Scouts," *Army and Navy Register*, 6 June 1903, 27; Dennis Edward Flake, *Loyal Macabebes: How the Americans Used the Macabebe Scouts in the Annexation of the Philippines* (Angeles City: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, 2009), 105.

9 As early as 31 October 1896, Emilio Aguinaldo, in a manifesto, advocated a Philippine government patterned in form after the U.S., to wit, "The form of government shall be similar to that of the United States, in spirit, deriving its powers from the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." See Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Mandaluyong: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), 38.

10 Florentino A. Iniego, "Ang Imahe ng mga Macabebe sa mga Litrato ng American Mass Media (1899-1901)," *Philippine Social Sciences Review* 57, nos. 1-4 (January-December 2005): 150. See also Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 610.

by the agencies of Kapampangan historical and cultural studies, further cemented the authority of the images.[11]

2. Images of Deception

Olivares' *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil* is a treasure-trove of reports and photographs about the 1898 Spanish-American War. The author proudly described his work as:

> Embracing perfect photographic and descriptive representations of the people and the islands lately acquired from Spain, including Hawaii and the Philippines; also their material resources and productions, homes of the people, their customs and general appearance, with many hundred views of landscapes, rivers, valleys, hills and mountains, so complete as to practically transfer the islands and their people to the pictured page.

The book's publisher, N. D. Thompson Publishing Company, offered the book to "the most thoughtful inquiry on the part of every patriotic and public-spirited America."[12] They also said they "employed… noted artists, especially qualified and skilled in outdoor photography… to traverse these Islands, under contract to photograph everything therein, with a view to literally transferring our Islands and their People to the printed page."

In the introduction, General Joseph Wheeler described Olivares' book as a "veritable revelation of Wonderland" that was the Philippines.[13] He wanted to present the Philippines as "carefully guarded" by "Spain's jealous domination," making it "practically unknown to the world." Because of this, our ancestors, according to Wheeler, became "strange peoples" and did not evolve because they still have the "recesses" of the "strange inhabitants of Central Africa" living in a "wonderful scenery."

Filipino scholar Benito Vergara, Jr. was among the earliest to criticize Olivares' book. According to him, the work belonged to American travel guides of the time whose "attention to the photographs creates a reversal of sorts between the text and the images in the context of an entire book." For him, the text of Olivares' book "seemed inefficient, and impoverished, in visualizing

11 In 2023, the Center for Kapampangan Studies of Holy Angel University decommissioned the standees of the said long-haired Macabebe men from its museum.

12 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 1, publisher's preface.

13 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 1, 6-7.

'reality'" and "subsequent pictures, in mass circulation, would substantiate, and re-substantiate, existing notions" about our ancestors.[14]

Among such "existing notions" about Filipinos was that they lacked unity. Apolinario Mabini, the architect of the 1898-1899 Philippine Revolutionary Government,[15] warned the Filipinos that the "foreigners are studying us." He wanted the Filipino people to be conscious that the world was watching their character, decisions, and actions. This was true, especially in the U.S. where Congress weighed on ratifying the 1898 Treaty of Paris. Part of conditioning the American opinion was to generate ruinous images, even distorting their captions to paint the Filipinos as unprepared for self-rule. The Filipinos became easy victims of this sort of irresponsible journalism regardless of whether they were supporters of the First Philippine Republic or the Americans. Such apparent disunity was a vulnerability that favored American intentions. The divide-and-conquer tactic employed by the Americans succeeded when the Macabebe Scouts unit was formed in 1899 to fight fellow Filipinos and help dismantle the First Philippine Republic in 1901.

Olivares preyed on this disunity narrative by exploiting the Macabebe phenomenon. One of the images contained the following caption:

> REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTERS OF THE FILIPINO ARMY. The representative make-up of the Filipino army is strikingly illustrated in this photograph of a group of prisoners of war. It embraces individuals of nearly every tribe in the archipelago. The little, fierce-looking men with long hair are Macabebes, the mortal enemy of the Tagalogs, and one of the fiercest and most vindictive tribes on the island of Luzon. Their history, as it appears in the text matter [referring to Olivares' essay about the Macabebes] is interesting to an extraordinary degree.[16]

Olivares claimed that the image represented the diverse "Filipino army" held as prisoners of war but did not clarify if the Americans had them. Looking at the image, no one can distinguish who among them were Tagalogs, Kapampangans, and a hundred other Philippine ethnicities. Yet, he singled out the "Macabebes," whom he described as "the mortal enemy of the Tagalogs" and "one of the fiercest and most vindictive tribes on the island of Luzon." He also mentioned accompanying the image, a history of the Macabebe soldiers

14 Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), 80-2.

15 Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina*, vol. 2 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 109. Translated into English as *The Philippine Revolution*, vol. 2 (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1931/ca. 2002), 93.

16 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 561.

written by Levington Comfort, an American adventure novelist among war correspondents in the Philippines.[17]

Olivares did not disclose the provenance of the image. There is no information on who photographed it, when and where it was taken, or under what circumstances the image was produced. What is certain is that Olivares' book was published in 1899—the year the Macabebe Scouts was organized. By quoting Comfort, Olivares emphasized that Matthew S. Batson, a "staff officer" of Gen. Henry Lawton, conceived the "possibilities of the Macabebe as a scout and trailer."[18] However, as seen in Olivares' caption, the Macabebe narrative was "interesting to an extraordinary degree" primarily because it was written like a fairytale ending in disaster:

> The beginning of it all may be legendary. Anyway, the Macabebes say that once, long ago, their forefathers were invited by the Tagalogs to partake of a splendid feast. They went, so the story runs, with naught but peace in their hearts and gifts in their hands. By various and skillful methods they were murdered—so quickly and quietly was it done that the guests barely had time for realization. Now, no one pretends to stand for this statement in its ruthless entirety, but it is more than reasonable to believe that something of the kind happened. And it is a historical fact that the Tagalogs in very late years made a raid into the Macabebe country and created an ugly record for themselves in the lines of destruction and slaughter.

Olivares noted that the Macabebe Scouts—described as tribes rather than an authorized armed unit—wanted to exact vengeance for the sufferings they endured from the Tagalogs. He even claimed that Major Matthew Batson, the founder of the Macabebe Scouts, "found that it was wholly unnecessary for him to exert any influence toward the end of making the Macabebe hate the Tagalog." "This much had been accomplished ages ago," Olivares, referring to his unfounded claim of an age-old Tagalog massacre. He described "the hate of the Macabebe" as a "fearful, wonderful kind of hate. It knows no reason, no palliation. Nor is it without cause;" and the Macabebe retaliation was "riotously beautiful and lasting."[19] He further said that the coming of the Americans was an answered prayer:

> And he has clamored incessantly to his gods to send him a mode of vengeance. At last the gods heard and sent the white man from over the sea — sent the great wall of white troops, which made possible the vengeance of the few over the many, for in numbers the Macabebe is insignificant compared to the Tagalog.

17 Olivares mentioned Comfort in *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 617.

18 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 617.

19 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 618.



Fig. 1. An Olivares image of the Macabebe soldiers and its original caption: "Representative characters of the Filipino army. The representative make-up of the Filipino army is strikingly illustrated in this photograph of a group of prisoners of war. It embraces individuals of nearly every tribe in the archipelago. The little, fierce-looking men with long hair are Macabebes, the mortal enemy of the Tagalogs and one of the fiercest and most vindictive tribes on the island of Luzon. Their history, as it appears in the text matter (referring to Olivares' essay about the Macabebes), is interesting to an extraordinary degree."

It was an exaggeration to state that the Macabebe townspeople hated the Tagalogs as the latter were immediate neighbors found in the Tagalog towns of Calumpit and Hagonoy in the east, and Manila, Cavite, Batangas, and Bataan in the south via Manila Bay. Nonetheless, the question arises: was there really a point in history, especially during the Philippine Revolution, when Tagalogs wronged the people of Macabebe?

Although supporters of the Reform Movement both in the Philippines and Spain, brothers Agustin and Eugenio Blanco of Barangay Santa Rita, Macabebe, also became active in fighting during the Philippine Revolution.[20]

20 Agustin Blanco was a friend of the reformists Marcelo H. del Pilar, Mariano and Damaso Ponce, and Jose Ma. Panganiban in Barcelona, Spain. He even joined Masonry in Spain, along with Teodoro Sandiko. On Agustin Blanco's Reformist activities in Europe, see Oficina de Bibliotecas Públicas, *Epistolario de Marcelo H. del Pilar*, vol. 2 (Manila: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1958), 13-4; Guadalupe Forres Ganzon and Luis A. Mañeru, trans., *La Solidaridad*, vol. 1 (Manila: Fundación Santiago, 1996), 321 and vol. 2, 80; John N. Schumacher, *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth- Century Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 161; Encarnacion Alzona, *Galicano Apacible: Profile of a Filipino Patriot* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1971), 20. About Eugenio Blanco's liberal

Agustin Blanco, who was already a captain in the Spanish Army in Barcelona, went home in April 1896 and became a captain of the Spanish forces based in Talisay, Batangas.[21] The other brother, Eugenio Blanco, in his capacity as justice for the peace of Macabebe, became the head of a horse-mounted volunteer group that roamed the outskirts of the town to prevent lawlessness in the early days of September 1896.[22] Unfortunately, Agustin was killed in action when General Emilio Aguinaldo launched an assault in Talisay on 28 September 1896.[23] Because of this, Eugenio petitioned Governor-general Camilio de Polavieja to arm his men, which led to the rise of the *Voluntarios de Macabebe*.[24] Therefore, Macabebe's military history began only during the Philippine Revolution of 1896, contrary to popular belief that the town had produced mercenaries or paid soldiers even before 1896.

Because of his dependability, Eugenio Blanco earned the confidence of then-newly arrived Governor-general Basilio Augustin. In fact, the family of the governor-general evacuated to the house of Blanco in Santa Rita on 24 April 1898.[25] This move was followed by the friars from Pampanga, Bulacan, and Bataan who also sought refuge in the Macabebe Church on 3 June 1898,[26] and then by thousands of Spanish soldiers and officials on 16 June 1898 under General Ricardo Monet who served as commander of the greater Spanish command in Central and North Luzon based in San Fernando, Pampanga.[27]

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activities in the Philippines, see "Masoneria Pampanga," *Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila*, Manuscrito A-4, Información Secreta No. 19, National Archives of the Philippines; Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Philippine Masonry: Its Origin, Development, and Vicissitudes Up to Present Time (1920)*(Manila: McCullough, 1956), 56.

21 "Noticias Militares," *La Oceanía Española*, 11 April 1896, 3.

22 "Una Carta de Macabebe," *Diario de Manila*, 10 September 1896, 3.

23 "Don Augustin Blanco Leison," *Diario de Manila*, 27 September 1897, 3; "El Capitan Blanco," *Diario de Manila*, 3 October 1896, 3; Jose M. del Castillo y Jimenez, *El Katipunan o el Filibusterismo en Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de huerfanos del S. C. de Jesus, 1897), 224-225; Emilio Aguinaldo, *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan* (Manila: National Centennial Commission; Cavite: Cavite Historical Society, 1964/1998), 137; Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, trans., *French Consular Dispatches on the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), 2; Manuel Sastron, *La Insurrección en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el Archipiélago*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1919), 286.

24 Manuel Alham, "Viaje del General Polavieja.—Varias resoluciones," *El Imparcial*, 6 January 1897, 1; "El General Polavieja.—Una conjura.—Más prisiones.—Consejo de guerra.," *El Resumen*, 6 January 1897, 1.

25 Carlos Garcia Alonso, *Defensa del General Monet: Ex Comandante General del Centro de Luzón ante el Consejo de Guerra de Oficiales Generales celebrado del 10 de Febrero de 1900* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de T. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1900), 20, 22—26; Jose Roca de Togores y Saravia, *Blockade and Siege of Manila in 1898* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1908/2003), 52.

26 Rufino Santos, "The Philippine Revolution in Pampanga: A letter of Rufino Santos, OSA, 1899, translated from Spanish by Policarpio Hernandez, OSA," *Alaya* 3 (November 2004): 164.

27 Cristino F. Lagman, "Documentos Historicos de Minalin, 1911," *Luther Parker Collection*, Document No. 341, Folder No. 60, Box No. 3, 2-3, UP Diliman Main Library Special Collection; Manuel Garcia,

Because of the refuge offered by the town to the Spaniards, Filipino General Maximino Hizon, commander of the Revolutionary forces in Pampanga, declared the people of Macabebe enemies and ordered the destruction of their town if Blanco remained loyal to Spain.[28] Aguinaldo relieved Hizon from the Macabebe operations and appointed instead Isidoro Torres, a general from Bulacan who had fought Blanco and his volunteers several times in Bulacan.[29] He also sent Colonel Agapito Bonzon from Cavite to aid Torres. On 26 June 1898, Bonzon attacked Macabebe.[30] The town's defense was so formidable that Torres ordered a two-day suspension of assault. This became an opportunity for the governor-general's family and the Spaniards, including Blanco, his volunteers, and their families, to escape via Manila Bay. On 28 June 1898, Bonzon captured Macabebe, defenseless.

The family of the governor-general, General Monet, and Blanco's father, Juan, managed to escape from Macabebe on the evening of 25 June 1898.[31] Years later, Monet faced a court martial in Madrid because he deserted his forces in Macabebe.[32] On the other hand, Spanish soldiers and Blanco's *Voluntarios* were captured by the U.S. Asiatic Squadron in Manila Bay. In contrast, friars who joined the escape from Macabebe were arrested by the revolutionaries in Hagonoy, Bulacan, a town neighboring Macabebe along the Pampanga River.[33]

"Parte original interesantisimo por sus detalles, dado por el Inspector Manuel Garcia sobre la llegada del General Monet en Manila, 1898," *Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila*, Manuscrito A-1-(9), Legajo No. 9, Documento No. 308, 3, NAP.

28 Joaquin Cordero, "Circular to Various Town on the Destruction of Macabebe, San Fernando, 16 June 1898," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Reel No. 159, Folder No. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 1, NLP; Maximino Hizon, "Sr. D. Maximino Hizon, Coronel Jefe del Cuarto Militar de Bacoor - del Juzgado Especial de Ynstrucción, 1898," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Reel No. 159, Folder No. 97, Doc. No. 103, 1-2, NLP.

29 Isidoro Torres, "Letter to Maximino Hizon regarding the operation of Macabebe, 25 June 1898," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Reel no. 159, Folder nos. 50–53, Folio nos. 39–42, 1, NLP.

30 Agapito Bonzon, "Report to Isidoro Torres About the Capture of Macabebe, 28 June 1898," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Roll No. 159, Folder Nos. 93-94.

31 Ulpiano Herrero y Sampedro, *Nuestra Prison en Poder de los Revolucionarios Filipinos* (Manila: Imprenta del Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1900), 313.

32 Carlos Garcia Alonso's *Defensa del General Monet* is about this case.

33 Domingo Bernades, "Acta levantada por los oficiales de la columna del general Monet, después de caer prisioneros de las fuerzas insurrectas, pueblo de Hagonoy, á 1.0 de Julio del [18]98," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Reel No. 11, Folder No. 113, No. 6; Francisco Pí y Margall and Francisco Pí y Arsuaga, *Historia de España en el Siglo XIX: Sucesos Políticos, Económicos, Sociales y Artísicos*, vol. 7 (Barcelona: Miguel Seguí, 1902), 1111; Carlos Ria-Baja, *El Desastre Filipino: Memorias de un Prisionero* (Barcelona: Tipografia la Academica, de Serra Hermanos y Russell, 1899), 107-10; Lino L. Dizon, *An Epistle of a Friar-Prisoner, 1898-1900* (Angeles City: Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University, 2002).

On 1 May 1899, Major J. Franklin Bell entered Macabebe[34] following the American's capture of the defense line of the First Philippine Republic in Calumpit, Bulacan on 27 April 1899. The Americans were surprised by the reception accorded to them by the Macabebe townspeople. They rang the church bell to celebrate their arrival, and the able men of the town even offered their service to the Americans as laborers and servants at a cost cheaper than Chinese workers.[35]

Things became more apparent to the Americans, especially when a certain Captain Worm was sent to Macabebe at the end of May 1899, accompanied by Batson, whom Olivares mentioned.[36] Batson documented his encounters with the Macabebe people , which contradicted Olivares' claims.[37] According to the information he gathered from Macabebe, Aguinaldo's forces punished the town for harboring the Spaniards and allowing them to escape in June 1898. The people who chose to remain in Macebebe, especially the members of the *Voluntarios de Macabebe,* constantly refused to support independence and nationhood.[38] He also documented reports of beheadings and torture, on top of what Gen. Frederick Funston's information of the alleged murder of 300 locals burned alive inside the Macabebe Church on 27 April 1899.[39] Even before the burning of Macabebe, rumors had spread in the latter part of March 1899 that General Antonio Luna had wanted the entire Macabebe population annihilated through *sangre y fuego* (the ruthless sacking of a territory).[40] Nonetheless, the Macabebes identified a certain General Kalintog as the mastermind behind the

34 Marrion Wilcox, "Diary of the Revolt," *Harper's Weekly*, 13 May 1899, 473; Alden March, *The History and Conquest of the Philippines and Our Other Island Possessions* (s.l: Wm. E. Scull, 1899), 476.

35 Flake, *Loyal Macabebes*, 104; William Thaddeus Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun: An Adventure in Imperialism* (Harrisburg: The Military Service Pub. Co., 1939), 163; "Macabebe Taken," *Daily Public Ledger*, 2 May 1899, 3.

36 Flake, *Loyal Macabebes*, 104.

37 Batson's letters are archived in the U.S. Army Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Salient parts of the letters were reproduced and summarized by Dennis Edward Flake. See Flake, *Loyal Macabebes*, 103-107.

38 Albert Sonnichsen, *Ten Months a Captive Among Filipinos* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), 24; Frank G. Carpenter, "Macabebe Scouts are the Bloohdounds (sic) of the Philippine Islands," *Evening Star*, 8 September 1900, 15; Flake, *Loyal Macabebes*, 103.

39 For reports of beheading see Batson's report in Flake, *Loyal Macabebes*, 103. About the alleged 300 Macabebe locals burned alive inside the Macabebe Church, see Funston's speech after the Lotos Club in New York dated 8 March 1902 in John Elderkin, Chester S. Lord, and Charles W. Price, eds., *Speeches at the Lotos Club* (New York: Lotos Club, 1911), 78.

40 Jose Alejandrino, *La Senda del Sacrificio: Episodios y Anecdotas de Nuestras Luchas por la Libertad* (Manila: Jose Alejandrino, 1933), 109-110; Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom (La Senda del Sacrificio): Episodes and Anecdotes of Our Struggles for Freedom*, trans. Atty. Jose M. Alejandrino (Mandaluyong: Solar Publishing Corporation, 1989), 134.

town's burning.[41] This was not referring to General Kalentong (Vicente Leyba) of Mandaluyong because he had already been killed in action in San Rafael, Bulacan, in November 1897.[42] Instead, Kalintog was perhaps a Kapampangan contraction of "Kalunel Intong" or the Kapampangan pronunciation of Bonzon's title, Coronel Intong, whom Aguinaldo had sent to Macabebe in June 1898. Aguinaldo, Luna, and Mascardo were later blamed for the destruction and loss of lives by Engracio Alfonso, the temporary mayor of Macabebe in June 1899.[43]

The foregoing incidents contributed to Macabebe's counter-revolutionary stance. These contradict what Olivares popularized through *Our Islands and Their People*. Before Macabebe's entanglement in the Philippine Revolution, there was no evidence that the Tagalogs wronged the townspeople. This, apart from the fact that Macabebe, a Kapampangan town, is bordered by the Tagalogs to the east (i.e., the Bulacan towns of Calumpit and Hagonoy) and to the south via Manila Bay (i.e., fisherfolks of Bulacan and Bataan provinces). These apparent geographical and cultural facts were not considered by Olivares in understanding Macabebe.

3. Recycling Models

The second Olivares image of the Macabebe men described the Macabebe warriors and their ethnicity:

> MACABEBE WARRIORS. These people belong to a tribe on the island of Luzon but little was known previous to our war with Spain. They are very dark, small in stature, and exceedingly fierce in disposition. The men wear their hair in long, thick masses, hanging down frequently below the waist, as shown in the illustration.[44]

While Olivares marketed his book well to his readers, especially the Americans, as having documented Macabebe's history for the first time,[45] he neither researched the Macabebes nor corroborated Comfort's claims. Olivares thought little was known about the Macabebe people and that they were not mentioned in the Spaniards' official records. Additionally, Olivares wrote, "none of the

41 Viray, ed., "Historical," 6-7.

42 Domingo San Juan, "Service Record of Domingo San Juan," *Philippine Revolutionary Records*, Roll No. 58, Folder No. 974, NLP; Luis Camara Dery, *Alay sa Inang Bayan* (Manila: National Historical Institute, c. 2001), 141.

43 Dery, *Alay*, 77-78.

44 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 571.

45 Iniego, "Ang Imahe," 154. Iniego described Olivares' work on Macabebe as "selective."

travelers who visited the islands before the American war seem to have heard anything" about the Macabebes since they were seen to be like any other ordinary Filipino caught in the middle of a war and seeking protection from the Americans. He further underscored this idea by claiming that the Macabebe folk "has no literature save his unwritten traditions; he has no education save that which is in the swirl of tepid rivers, in the fastnesses of steaming jungles, or in the blue of torrid skies." Even the claim that Macabebe was a jungle was far from reality. It is a coastal town teeming with rivers and creeks and where the great Pampanga River empties into Manila Bay.



Fig. 2. Another Olivares Macabebe photo captioned with the following: "Macabebe Warriors. These people belong to a tribe on the island of Luzon but little was known previous to our war with Spain. They are very dark, small in stature, and exceedingly fierce in disposition. The men wear their hair in long, thick masses, hanging down frequently below the waist, as shown in the illustration."

Macabebe already existed when the Spaniards conquered Luzon in 1571. Its warriors, described as brave "Moros" resisted the Spaniards in the Battle of Bangkusay on 3 June 1571.[46] In 1575, the Spaniards transformed the place

46 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Carta de Miguel Lopez de Legazpi al virrey de Nueva España," *Patronato*, L. 24, R. 23, 2a–2b, Archivo General de Indias; Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Copia de carta que el general miguel lópez de legazpi scrive al virrey de la nueva spaña, fecha en la çiudad de manila a XI de agosto

into a *pueblo* (town).[47] The strategic location of Macabebe at the mouth of the Pampanga River, which served as the main thoroughfare of Central Luzon, made it among the progressive towns of the Pampanga province especially in the 19th century.[48] For instance, the notable Ayala y Compania established a sprawling winery in the town named Hacienda de San Esteban in 1834.[49] However, Macabebe's creeks and rivers were infested by bandits, and as a result, the elite families in the area provided widespread support against banditry, which later evolved into an anti-Revolution campaign in 1896.[50]



Fig. 3. Olivares' caption stated: "Macabebe Warriors. The people belonging to this tribe are very industrious, but they are bitter enemies of the Tagalogs, who they conceive greatly wronged them in some former period of their history."

de 1572," in *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesus de Filipinas*, ed. Fr. Isacio Rodriguez, O.S.A., vol. 14 (Manila: Convento de San Agustin, 1978), 120.

47 *Libro de Gobierno,* vol. 1 (transcription), fol-1-165 (1572-1608), Archives of the Provinces of the Most Holy Name of Jesus of the Philippines; "Anteguedad de los pueblos fundados en Filipinas por los Agustinos, 1849," 300/1-b, p. 1, Archivo de los Padres Agustinos Filipinos.

48 Manuel Scheidnagel, *Las Colonias Españolas de Asia* (Madrid: Imprenta de los Sres. Pacheco y Pinto, 1880), 25

49 H. D. Gibbs, "The Alcohol Industry of the Philippine Islands, Part I: A Study of Some Palms of Commercial Importance with Special Reference to the Saps and Their Uses," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 6, no. 2 (April 1911): 116.

50 "De la Pampanga," *El Comercio*, 25 September 1896, 3; "Los Sucesos de estos Dias," *La Oceanía Española*, 26 September 1896, 3.

The Olivares-Comfort claim that the "[Macabebe] men wear their hair in long, thick masses, hanging down frequently below the waist" has no basis in history. Even Olivares' claim that "[t]hey are very dark, small in stature, and exceedingly fierce in disposition" was based on a photograph that Olivares wanted his readers to believe depicted "Macabebe warriors."



Fig. 4. Olivares' caption: "Enlisting Macabebes for the American Service. A battalion of these long-haired natives were enlisted in General Lawton's brigade, and they proved to be fierce fighters – their diminutive size is shown by comparison with the handsome officer at the right of the group."

4. Mislabeling as Disinformation

Olivares' images of the "Macabebe soldiers" are scattered inside his book. Iniego observed that this may have been a form of "creative" conditioning to familiarize American readers with their newfound friends.[51] In this strategy, Olivares repeated and reiterated information previously established about the

51 Iniego, "Ang Imahe," 154.

Macabebe people. For example, his third image of the Macabebe men again contains the caption, "Macabebe Warriors. The people of this tribe are very industrious, but they are bitter enemies of the Tagalogs, who they conceive greatly wronged them in some former period of their history."

In addition to recycling captions, Olivares was guilty, too, of reusing and mislabeling his long-haired Macabebe warrior inside the book. In one instance, he identified them as "Negritos" (Fig. 8), while on another page, they were labeled simply as "Filipino Prisoners of War" (Fig. 9).[52] These two photos occupy meager space compared to the Macabebe warrior images, but the models remain the same. At any rate, these inconsistencies in identifying the models raise questions about whether these individuals were even natives of Macabebe in the first place. Frank Tennyson Neely, a contemporary of Olivares, even used the same models and identified them as Igorot warriors in 1899 (Fig. 7).[53]

Serendipitously, the late Filipno director Floy Quintos observed striking similarities between Olivares' alleged long-haired Macabebe warriors with the Tinguians photographed in another book *Album de Tipos Filipinos, Luzon Norte* published in 1891 by A.B. Meyer and Alexander Schadenberg (Fig. 6).[54] Quintos' observation opened the possibility that perhaps the long-haired Macabebe warriors were instead Tinguians:

> The long hair worn loose is indeed very strange, reminding us more of the turn-of-the-century Macabebes than the Tingguian. Who are those youngsters? And why are they so disheveled in the company of their very correct kin? The answer is to be found in Fay Cooper-Cole's text on the Tingguian, where a note is made on their mourning customs. Cole notes, that for a period of mourning, widows wore their hair loose, as did the kin of the deceased.[55]

Phelps Whitmarsh reported that in 1899, a "Regimento Igorrote" went to Malolos, Bulacan via Ferrocarril de Manila a Dagupan.[56] Albert Ernest Jenks further noted in 1905 that "Igorot" warriors participated in the Battle of Caloocan on 5 February 1899:

52 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 558, 658.

53 Frank Tennyson Neely, *Fighting in the Philippines; Authentic Original Photographs* (London; Chicago; New York: Frank Tennyson Neely, 1899), n72.

54 A. B. Meyer and Alexader Schadenberg, *Album de Tipos Filipinos, Luzon Norte* (Dresden: Stengel y Markert, 1891).

55 A. B. Meyer and Alexader Schadenberg, *Tipos Filipinos* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2008), 26-7.

56 Phelps Whitmarsh, "The Land of the Igorrotes," *The Outlook*, 28 April 1900, 965. Also reported in James A. LeRoy, "The Igorrotes of the Philippine Islands," *The World To-Day*, March 1903, 377.



Fig. 6. The image of the Tinguians that Floy Quintos commented as resembling the Olivares' Macabebe Scouts. Photo from A.B. Meyer and Alexander Schadenberg's Album de Tipos Filipinos, Luzon Norte (1891).



The Tagal Army enlisted or conscripted many Igorrotes, Gadennes, and other savages. Some Igorrotes are seen in the picture; though small they are very muscular and active.

Fig. 7. "Igorrotes" who were held prisoners by the Americans who looked like Olivares' long-haired "Macabebe warriors," from Frank Tennyson Neely's Fighting in the Philippines (1899). The original caption stated "The Tagal Army enlisted or conscripted many Igorrotes, Gadennes, and other savages. Some Igorrotes are seen in the picture; though small, they are very muscular and active.



Fig. 8. One of Olivares' images reusing his models of long-haired "Macabebe warriors." The image's caption read, "Negrito Prisoners of War. These men had been impressed or enlisted in Aguinaldo's army and were captured by the Americans. They constitute a feature of our Philippine trophies."



Fig. 9. Another reuse of Olivares' Macabebe models with the caption "Filipino Prisoners of War."

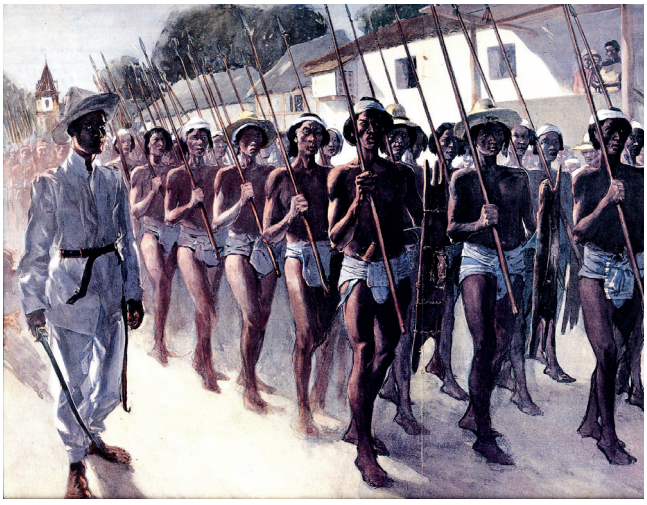


Fig. 10. G. W. Peters' "With the Insurgents in the Philippines. — A Company of Igorrote Spearmen Drilling in Caloocan," from Harper's Weekly, 13 May 1899.

> The feeling of friendship between the Igorot and insurrectos was so strong that when the insurrectos asked the Igorot to go to Manila to fight the new enemy (the Americans), 400 warriors, armed only with spear, battle-ax, and shield, went a three weeks' journey to get American heads. At Caloocan, just outside Manila, they met the American Army early in February, 1899. They threw their spears, the Americans fired their guns— "which must be brothers to the thunder," the Igorot said— and they let fall their remaining weapons and, panic stricken, started home. All but thirteen arrived in safety. They are not ashamed of their defeat and retreat; they made a mistake when they went to fight the Americans, and they were quick to see it. They are largely blessed with the saving sense of humor, and some of the warriors who were at Caloocan have been known to say that they never stopped running until they arrived home.[57]

Since "Igorot" was a general term, Fay-Cooper Cole identified, in particular, the Tinguians as the ones who joined the Republican forces in Malolos and fought the Americans.[58] The 6 May 1899 issue of *Harper's Weekly* illustrates these very soldiers in the same attire as the Olivares' Macabebe warriors and Meyer-Schadenberg's Tinguians (with their long hair in a bun) parading in Caloocan (Fig. 10).[59]

Except for the Tinguian warriors, the rest of the men in the Olivares' Macabebe images were most likely actual Macabebe men. Olivares did not provide the date, place, and circumstance of the photos. Still, on inference,

57 Albert Ernest Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, vol. 1 (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905), 37.

58 Fay-Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian: A Study in Philippine Folk-Lore* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1915), 245.

59 G.W. Peters, "With the Insurgents in the Philippines. — A Company of Igorrote Spearmen Drilling in Caloocan," *Harper's Weekly*, 13 May 1899, 478-479. When I first discussed the Olivares Macabebe images in 2016, I mistook the parade of Igorot warriors to have occurred in Malolos, Bulacan. See Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, *The Nameless Hero: Revisiting the Sources on the First Filipino Leader to Die for Freedom* (Angeles City: Holy Angel University Press, 2016), 80.

the structure in the background of the Macabebe men photos is similar to another photograph of Spanish soldiers held as prisoners in Cavite published in the 18 February 1899 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (Fig. 11).[60] The Macabebe and Spanish war prisoners may be the escapees from Macabebe on 28 June 1898 whom the Americans captured in Manila Bay. If they were indeed the escapees, the Olivares' images may have been photographed before April 1899, or the month Blanco received a directive to proceed to Saipan to assume the governorship of the Islas Marianas. His Macabebe volunteers joined him, along with their families.[61] Olivares' book, however, remains silent about this.



Fig. 11. Spanish prisoners in Cavite, from the 18 February 1899 issue of Harper's Weekly.

60 "Spanish Prisoners of Aguinaldo at Cavite," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 February 1899, 160. The caption says, "Spanish Prisoners of Aguinaldo at Cavite." Apparently, on 4 July 1898, Admiral George Dewey turned over the said prisoners (including, most likely, the Voluntarios de Macabebe) to Aguinaldo's forces. Eugenio Blanco was allowed by Aguinaldo to visit the former's family in Manila and was dispatched there to deliver a message for Governor-General Augustin. See Toral and Toral, *El Sitio de Manila*, 228.

61 "Local: El Viaje del Uranus," *El Comercio*, 11 December 1899, 3; J. Murray Bartles, "Spanish Marianas: Additional Information on These Rare Stamps," *The Philatelic Gazette* 2, no. 17 (1 May 1912): 291; "The Ladrone Islands: Col. Blanco Appointed Governor of the Spanish Ladrones," *Freedom*, 1 May 1899, 12.

5. Immortalizing Macabebe

Olivares' declared publication year of his book, 1899, is also deceiving since the book already featured the capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela, which occurred on 23 March 1901.[62] The first edition was likely published in 1899, and the following edition, which mentioned Aguinaldo's capture, retained the original publication year. Olivares' "Macabebe warriors" photos remained relevant because the Macabebe Scouts helped capture Aguinaldo. Even though more credible photographs emerged later on, Olivares did not bother to update the "Macabebe warriors" in his book.

6. Documented Macabebe Soldiers

In its 16 June 1900 issue, the Spanish magazine *Mar y Tierra* published a photograph of Macabebe soldiers who served under the Spanish flag during the Philippine Revolution of 1897 to 1898. They were called the Voluntarios de Macabebe, mentioned earlier, organized by Blanco in 1897. According to the magazine, the photograph was taken by a certain "Sr. Laureano" who was described as a "*notable fotografo*" (well-known photographer).[63] The Macabebe men in Laureano's photograph appear far more different than those depicted in Olivares' Macabebe men images. His photograph shows the Macabebe wearing Voluntario uniforms and not a single person sports long hair.

The image was photographed while some Voluntarios de Macabebe were aboard the steamship *Alicante* and were about to disembark in Barcelona, Spain. They were in Spain to seek recognition for their services to Spain during the Philippine Revolution. They were instrumental in protecting thousands of Spanish soldiers, officials, friars, and civilians in Macabebe who came from various provinces of Central Luzon on 16 June 1898. They also assisted in the escape of many Spaniards to Manila since Macabebe was located along Manila Bay. The revolutionaries captured Macabebe on 28 June 1898 and found it deserted by some Voluntarios de Macabebe. The Macabebe who remained received the wrath of the revolutionaries. Blanco, their commander, who, by the way, was a half-Spaniard and half-Kapampangan-Chinese, was

62 Olivares, *Our Islands*, vol. 2, 774.

63 There was a noted photographer of the time named Felix Laureano, a Spaniard born in Patnongon, Iloilo. Read about him in Felix Rodriguez Laureano, *Recuerdos de Filipinas*, ed. and trans. Felice Noelle Rodriguez, Renan Prado, and Ramon C. Sunico (Mandaluyong City: Cacho Pub House, 1895/2001).

appointed by the Spanish government as the last governor of the Spanish Marianas. Accompanying him were hundreds of Voluntarios de Macabebe and their families. When Spain sold the Marianas to Germany in 1899, Blanco and the Voluntarios de Macabebe were repatriated to Manila. To their surprise, Macabebe was leveled by the Revolutionaries-turned-into-a-Republican Army on 27 April 1899, and a new military unit under the American forces emerged: the Macabebe Scouts. Some of its members were former Voluntarios who experienced abuses under the Republican Army. The town paid the price for harboring Spaniards and remaining loyal to Spain such as reportedly leaving 300 townspeople inside the burning Macabebe Church.

The surviving Voluntarios de Macabebe went to Spain in 1900. Their photograph by Laureano was the only one of its kind to date. Other images of them—as a Macabebe Scout unit—were photographed by the Americans. The most famous of these was that of Olivares' where they did not look like Kapampangans but rather like Cordilleran people.

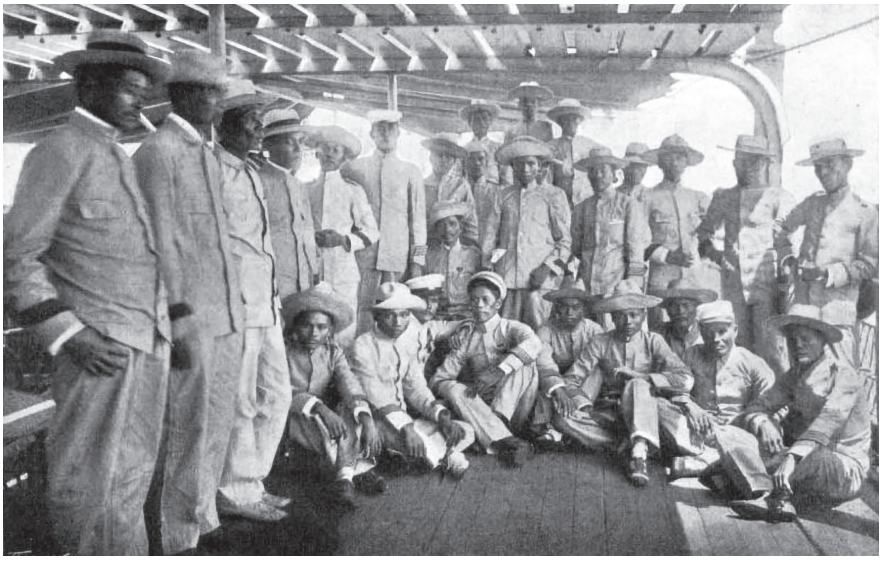


Fig. 5. The Voluntarios de Macabebe on board Alicante, from the 16 June 1900 issue of Mar y Tierra.

7. Legacy of Olivares' Macabebe Images

Historian Ricardo Trota Jose lamented how Olivares' photos of alleged Macabebe soldiers were utilized to give birth to another misconception about the origin of the Macabebe people:

> There are photographs of Macabebes with long hair, although not all Macabebes had long hair in the images. These photos tend to become stereotypes of what Macabebe men looked like, often accompanied by the myth that the Macabebes descended from the Yaqui Indians of Central America.[64]

While Olivares was no longer responsible for this, his photos took on lives of their own and was used as evidence for Aztec presence in the Philippines. Not a single Spanish document can support this, but the earliest documentation of this claim can be traced back to William Cameron Forbes in 1928, who said:

> ...Macabebes are presumably descendants of American Indian troops brought from the west coast of Mexico and California by the Spaniards during the seventeenth century and upon completion of military service permitted to settle in the region where the town of Macabebe and adjacent villages are now located.[65]

In 1957, Aguinaldo, together with Vicente Albano Pacis, published his semi-autobiographical book *A Second Look at America*. He included among his visuals the Olivares Macabebe photos to show his readers that he believed his captors (Macabebe Scouts) were not Filipinos but were "western Mexican Indians:"

> It is said that the original paternal ancestors of the Macabebes were western Mexican Indians brought to the Philippines as recruits by the Spaniards and later permitted to settle in the region of Macabebe, Pampanga. The original Indians naturally felt foreign among the Filipinos and looked upon the Spanish Government for assistance and protection. This feeling seems to have been transmitted from generation to generation to their descendants who continued to serve the Spaniards. After the Spanish defeat, they transferred their loyalty to the Americans almost instinctively.[66]

He also copied and expanded the caption of one of Olivares' photos of the "Macabebe warriors":

64 Personal communication on 19 April 2024.

65 William Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 1 (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 103. It was Florentino Iniego who pioneered the tracing of the earliest provenance of the Macabebe-as-Aztec myth to Forbes. See Iniego, "Ang Imahe," 165–166.

66 Emilio Aguinaldo, *A Second Look at America*, with Vicente Albano Pacis (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, Publishers, Inc., 1957), 124.

> This is a representative group of Filipino prisoners of war captured by the Americans. It is composed of Filipinos from all regions. The men with long hair are Macabebes, a few of whom joined Aguinaldo. Traditionally, however, Macabebes served in the Spanish forces and later in the American army. Out of selected Macabebe soldiers who joined the U.S. Army, Col. Frederick Funston formed a company to employ in his ruse which resulted in the capture of General Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela.[67]

Aguinaldo's preference for Olivares' images of the "Macabebe warriors" could be viewed either as a lack of interest in the real Macabebes at the time or as a matter of convenience since Olivares' book was easily accessible compared to other published materials on the Macabebes. With due fairness, although he utilized Olivares' book, Aguinaldo did not cite Comforts' "history" of Macabebe. Perhaps because Comfort's work would place Aguinaldo's Tagalog ethnicity in a bad light, or simply he found Comfort's "history" farfetched. Unlike Olivares and Comfort, Aguinaldo knew the Macabebe soldiers had served in the Spanish army. He killed one Macabebe officer in the Battle of Talisay in 1896. He was, however, silent about the atrocities his soldiers committed in the town of Macabebe from 1898 to 1899, which led the townspeople to throw their support to the Americans. Aguinaldo judged Macabebes as "mercenaries" who "switched their allegiance" from the Spaniards "to the Americans as a matter of course." He continued, "We ourselves had no Macabebes in our forces," a statement tantamount to disowning the role of the Macabebes during the Philippine Revolution. In Macabebe, in fact, the followers of the religious group *Santa Iglesia,* who were oppressed by the Spaniards and the elite of Pampanga, were among the first to rise against Spain in Pampanga on 22 February 1898.[68] On 13 June 1898, the same group stormed the Tribunal (Municipal Hall) of Macabebe in support of the Philippine Revolution in Pampanga led by Hizon.[69]

67 Aguinaldo, *A Second Look at America*, 194—195 (see visual supplement between these pages).

68 Manuel Garcia Morales and Euprasio Muñariz, "Ynforme sobre los sucesos de Apálit el 19 de Febrero de 1898," *Ultramar*, Legajo 5356, Expediente, 6b, Archivo Histórico Nacional; Fidel B. Viray, ed., "Historical and Cultural Life of Macabebe, 1953," *Historical Data Papers*, 70, National Library of the Philippines.

69 Juan Toral and José Toral, *El Sitio de Manila (1898): Memorias de un Voluntario* (Manila: Imprenta Litografia Partier, 1898), 195; Viray, ed., "Historical," 91–92.



Fig. 12. Young Macabebe Scouts, ca. 1900, courtesy of the Leo Cloma Collection.

In his popular textbook, *A History of the Filipino People*, renowned Filipino Teodoro A. Agoncillo also popularized the fact that the people of Macabebe were Aztecs. He, too, used this to explain that the Macabebe people should not be expected to develop Filipino feelings because they were not Filipinos.[70]

On the other hand, Filipino journalist Renato "Katoks" Tayag disagreed with Agoncillo.[71] In one of their conversations, Tayag noted Agoncillo's remarks, "You know, they (Macabebe people) are different from other Pampangos. I believe they... descended from the Mexicans."[72] Tayag was puzzled and noted, "How Agoncillo arrived at this conclusion, I have no way of knowing." He argued that the first natives to challenge Spanish authority in Luzon were the Muslims of Macabebe on 3 June 1571 through a naval battle in Bangkusay.

Similarly, Iniego was the first to debunk the Aztec-Macabebe myth by simply questioning the source of the claim:

70 Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, eight edition (S.l.: The Family of the Late Teodoro A. Agoncillo, 1990), 115.

71 Renato D. Tayag, *Recollections & Digressions* (S.l.: Philnabank Club, 1985), 165-167.

72 Tayag, *Recollections & Digressions*, 167.

> *Kaya't ang kawalan ng batayang sanggunian ukol dito ay tila nagpapalabo sa argumentong galing nga sa lahi ng mga Indian ang mga Macabebe. Ngunit sinadya nan o hindi, ang paulit-uiit na pagbabanggit nito ay nagpalala sa pag-aalipusta sa katauhan ng mga Macabebe.*[73]
>
> (The lack of sources about this [Aztec-Macabebe myth] seems to weaken the argument that the Macabebe people descended from the Indian race. Whether intentional or not, its proliferation contributes to ruining the character of the Macabebe people.)

8. Conclusion

American colonizers subjugated the narrative of Philippine independence by belittling our heroes' fight as merely Tagalog-centric and labelling the struggle as an insurrection. With the use of photographs, the colonizers also positioned themselves as superior to the Filipinos. American newspaper reports from the Philippines conditioned the American public to think of Filipinos as incapable of self-governance and defending themselves. They also showed the frailties of the nascent Filipino nation in terms of the lack of unity demonstrated by the formation of Macabebe Scouts in 1899.

Olivares' sin was concealing the truth about the Macabebe people (or publishing unverified information out of ignorance or manipulation). These visuals proved ruinous to the Macabebe image and continue to disrupt Philippine history until today.

The images were powerful, capturing the American and Filipino imaginations of succeeding centuries. Olivares eclipsed the historical incidents that motivated the people of Macabebe to fight Aguinaldo in 1899. His images and fictitious writing left Macabebe languishing over a century of obscurity, stereotypes, and misconceptions. Even luminaries like Aguinaldo and Agoncillo were conditioned to believe him.

On the other hand, with Olivares garbling the information attached to the photos, the Tinguians' participation in fighting the American forces in Caloocan at the onset of our war against the United States was also not highlighted in mainstream Philippine history. This would have been a source of pride for the Cordillerans. Even presenting the Olivares' Macabebe photos as images of savagery insulted the real people portrayed therein.

73 Iniego, "Ang Imahe," 165.

Examination of the images provides the opportunity to revisit the primary sources. Macabebes suffered under the rule of Aguinaldo's army; and worse, local inhabitants were reportedly burned alive inside the Macabebe Church in 1899. Nonetheless, shedding light on Macabebe's role during the nascent formation of the Filipino nation 125 years ago does not intend to revise history negatively. Reports of abuses and inhumanity, both by the Revolutionaries and the Macabebe soldiers, must be judged historically.

Interestingly, Olivares' Macabebe visual and textual narratives remained unchallenged. Perhaps nobody cared about the Macabebe's narrative, which allowed Olivares' the image to proliferate. The popular imagery of long-haired Macabebe warriors was an example of a colonial misrepresentation to dishonor the Filipino people, too.

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Colonial Passage and Religious Timelessness
The Image of Sculpture on the Cusp of Nation

Pasaje colonial e intemporalidad religiosa: La imagen de la escultura en la Cúspide de la Nación

Kiko del Rosario
University of the Philippines Diliman

Abstract

Over the course of the 20th century, the order given to sacred carved objects was part and parcel of prevailing abstractions of the Philippine, the religious, and the colonial, whereby stages construed by historians of art bespoke the republican and stylistic occupations they sought to ascertain. The incipient independence of the Philippine Islands before the Second World War prefaced the difficult task of going back past the corridors of a long-lived colonial experience. The retreat into such was, on the one hand, exceptional for the aim to cobble images together, as it was vexed in its template of straight movement, upon which supervened somewhat of a retrogradation, on the other. Where there was a pinnacle scaled by the learned sculptor of saint, there also appeared a primitivity possessed by the early carver of image, this latter often vested with empirical values arrogated from the exemplar of imitation held by the former. It so happened that the colonial was ineffaceably addressed to be Spanish and paradoxically valorized for its endowment of *escultura* to the islands. From this pretense of creative and spiritual apex, the Philippine sculptor of saintly images was posed to outlive colonial rule, stretch out religious time, and come forth artfully.

Keywords

Image; sculpture; colonialism; nation; modernism

Resumen

En el transcurso del siglo XX, el orden dado a los objetos sagrados tallados formó parte integrante de las abstracciones predominantes de lo filipino, lo religioso y lo colonial, por lo que las etapas interpretadas por los historiadores del arte se ajustaban a las ocupaciones republicanas y estilísticas que pretendían averiguar. La incipiente independencia de las islas Filipinas antes de la Segunda Guerra Mundial prefiguró la difícil tarea de remontar los pasillos de una experiencia colonial de larga duración. El retroceso a tales fue, por un lado, excepcional para el objetivo de improvisar imágenes, ya que fue vejado en su plantilla de movimiento rectilíneo, sobre el que sobrevino algo así como una retrogradación, por otro. Donde había un pináculo escalado por el erudito escultor de santos, aparecía también un primitivismo poseído por el primitivo tallador de imágenes, este último a menudo investido de valores empíricos arrogados por el ejemplar de imitación detentado por el primero. Sucedía que lo colonial se dirigía inefablemente a lo español y se valorizaba paradójicamente por su dotación de escultura a las islas. Desde esta pretensión de cúspide creativa y espiritual, el escultor filipino de imágenes santas se planteó sobrevivir al dominio colonial, estirar el tiempo religioso y surgir con arte.

Palabras clave

Imagen; escultura; colonialismo; nación; modernismo

1. Introduction: The Philippine, the Religious, and the Colonial in Sculpture

Before a relay of terms drawn from the Latin *imago*, *idolum*, and *statua*, Santiago Albano Pilar (1946–2021) invokes *likha*, *larawan*, and *poon* as descriptions recorded in the separate accounts of friars Juan de Plasencia and Pedro Chirino and another anonymous chronicler in early Spanish-occupied Philippines. In 2005, the art historian looked back on a life's work he had dedicated to the study of the Spanish colonial period, giving special thought to the stages of Philippine images which he had long been contemplating. For this, he measures the abovementioned idiomatic conceptions of represented likeness against the ingress of the colonial-period terms *estatwa (estatua)*, *rebulto (bulto)*, *imahen (imagen)*, and *santo*. He claims that this last is a distinct abbreviation of the *santo imahen*, a Filipinized concept of the Spanish *imagen santa* broadly referring to a sculpted image of a Christian saintly figure.[1] For Pilar to set these terms near one another, he insinuates the point at which the early image reorders into some kind of art. And to gesture towards its where and when, he devises a periodization of styles which he moves to be applicable to all forms of art, be they religious or secular, made during the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines from 1565 to 1898.[2] Pilar stages them into the proselyte (1565–ca 1730s), the formal (ca 1740s–1800), and the naturalistic (early 1800 to 1890s), the temporal phasing of which put together neatly and estimated against a matrix based on the economic history of the archipelago and the corresponding degrees of their makers' learnedness of copying. In each, he marks out the painterly qualities by which slope up tiers of independent exploration, self-consciousness, and secularized readiness. Pilar's staging comes after and deviates from his earlier inscription of the secular sculpture within the timeframe of 1850 to 1948, whose start he pegs to the opening of the Academia de Pintura in Manila, where sculpture was also taught, and which draws to a close upon the foundation of the Art Association of the Philippines. This latter was the alumni group of the University of the Philippines School of Fine Arts (UP SFA), the American-period successor to the Academia de Pintura, whose "push for modernism led unwittingly to the degradation of classical or traditional sculpture [and] further neglect of sculptural works done between 1850 and 1948,"[3] he bemoans. Pilar's phases are stringent, especially

1 Santiago Albano Pilar, *A Harvest of Saints* (Makati: Ayala Museum, 2005), 17.

2 Pilar, *A Harvest of Saints*, 42.

3 Santiago Albano Pilar, "Philippine Secular Sculpture," in *Sculpture in the Philippines: From Anito to Assemblage and other essays*, ed. Alice Guillermo (Manila: Metropolitan Museum of Manila, 1991), 70.

when placed alongside the work of the art historian Esperanza Gatbonton Bunag, who in 1979 had moved in *A Heritage of Saints* that, while "Mexican craftsmen involved with religious carvings had to be members of guilds and had to fulfill certain requirements [...], the Philippines did not enjoy a parallel experience. What *gremios* existed [in the Philippines] were mere categorizations of various professions. In some ways, they worked like sodalities and *cofradias,* as [did] the [...] *Gremio de Escultores de Manila* [...], an offspring of the *Academia de Pintura, Escultura y Grabado de Manila*."[4] For measures in addition to *likha* and *larawan*, Gatbonton also turns to *taotao*, a carving made in man's image analogous to the *tau tau* of Sulawesi, and *anito*, the spirit of the dead for whose similarity to the Javanese *antu* she invokes the scholar Trinidad Pardo de Tavera's study on the Tagalog language's Sanskrit sources.[5]

The temporal order that art historians, such as Pilar, gave images inspires a conundrum where the predilection for placing sculptures from different periods along the same axis eventually and recursively led to a temporal break from past colonial time. Yet even when the colonial's time had passed, its shape remained powered by descriptors and categorizations simultaneous with the national amassed from the same. Save for colonial art history's efforts to break the antagonism between the religious and the secular and therefore widen the net of faith, what emerged aggrandized was the paragon of Spanish and Novohispanic statuary's body to which the derm of the Indigenous, Muslim, and Chinese Buddhist, among others, adhered ancillarily. In turn, it was the very colonial, from which the national modern sought to dissociate, that rounded out the question of sculpture's time and place, this latter intrinsically and inertly linked to Spain's long tenure of the islands. Just as abstractions of the colonial image were absorbed by vernacular words to which scholars of sculpture turned, so too did they introduce image and sculpture's frontiers. Their limits may be fathomed, to the exclusion of schools of sculpture, out of a 20th-century enterprise: the historization of Philippine colonial religious sculpture, or as this essay will set forth, the simultaneous nationalist and art historical staging of holy images carved and sculpted throughout the Spanish period and the colonial denomination they were soon to be willed.

4 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints: Colonial santos in the Philippines* (Manila and Hongkong: Editorial Associates Ltd., 1979), 107–108.

5 Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 12; Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, *El sanscrito en la lengua tagalog* (Paris: Imprimerie de la Faculté de Médicine, 1887), 16.

2. Staging the Sculptural

In the historiography of Philippine art, while the religious is at times conflated with the colonial, the colonial is similarly measured in sharp contrast to the secular. The widely cited *The Art of the Philippines 1521–1957*, a ready reference for scholars of the postwar published in 1958 by the Associated Publishers under the editorship of Winfield Scott Smith III, would, for example, couch saintly image in the banner of Religious Art to distinguish it from 20th-century modernist sculpture.[6] The book, which gathers contributions by the culturati at the time, namely Leonidas V. Benesa, Emilio Aguilar Cruz, Angel Nakpil, Galo B. Ocampo, Rodrigo Perez III, Emmanuel Torres, and Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, was so well-received that even when "The other arts, in effect [were] relegated to minor niches, [including] religious art and architecture, sculpture, secular architecture (chiefly modern), and 'the minor arts of the Spanish period,"[7] the historian Antonio G. Manuud would praise its straightforward order, an approbation cast from the book's "first attempt to present the facts of Philippine art in thought-out consecutive form."[8] For all that, and with the hope to establish a common point of reference, Pilar deemed most fitting *aykon*, a Tagalized form of the word *icon*, as "a term in Philippine art history with reference to the styles before the advance of anti-clerical ideas."[9] Here, Pilar keeps alive a purposeful, however controversial, template after a long line of Filipino historians of art, besides which the art writer Karen Lang explicates: "Style, the most capacious concept in the history of art, is predicated on distinction and similarity. [...] Genealogical and proleptic, [...] flexible, and analytically powerful, style, it seems can never be wholly controverted."[10]

For Ocampo (1913-1985), a painter and one of Philippine modernism's most committed stalwarts, sculpture is more an action done to an image, for example when he writes 'sculptured images' to refer to the stone figures discovered in the momentous Calatagan excavations of 1959.[11] Together with the paint-

6 Winfield Scott Smith III, *The Art of the Philippines 1521–1957* (Manila: The Art Association of the Philippines, 1958), 1.

7 Antonio G. Manuud, "A Happy Beginning: The Art of the Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 8, no. 1 (1960): 225.

8 Manuud, 224.

9 Pilar, *A Harvest of Saints*, 2005, 40.

10 Karen Lang, "Chaos and Cosmos: Points of View in Art History and Aesthetics," in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*, eds. Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2002), 60.

11 Galo B. Ocampo, *The Religious Element in Philippine Art* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1965), 5; 17.



Fig. 1. Manunggul jar, excavated in the Tabon caves, Palawan, 890–710 BCE (Courtesy of the National Museum of the Philippines).

ers Victorio Edades (1895–1985) and Carlos Francisco (1912–1969), he is best remembered for forming part of the triumvirate that objected to academic painting beginning in the 1930s. Ocampo also served as the 13th director of the National Museum of the Philippines from 1962 to 1968. His written contribution to Scott's *The Art of the Philippines* figured him to be, alongside the stature of the painter and writer Zóbel de Ayala, one "so immersed in the cultural life of the country that one will at least find difficulty contesting their right to set the limits of Philippine art."[12] Ocampo exercised top authority over the museum's custodianship of the twofold state collections of fine arts and anthropology, in addition to leading its corresponding projects in exhibition and excavation, the results gathered from these appearing in an address given in the opening exercises of the 1965 academic year of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila. Among the first to do so, he places emphasis on the activities of art and artifact, regardless of their epoch, as undoubtedly religious ones, to the extent that he would excerpt from the likes of Renaissance artist biographer Giorgio Vasari. "Who does things for Christ with Christ must remain always," he averred, and in that goes to bestow the modernist titles of Filipino and artist to the early carver, instantiating the museum's recent discovery of the Manunggul jar from Palawan as an example (Fig. 1). He quipped: "The ancient Filipino artist, for instance, expressed the relationship of man to his divinities. Archaeological studies during the last three years of our incumbency as Director of the National Museum have uncovered these creative expressions by means of line incisions or carvings on limestone, wood or clay."[13] In 2013, touching on the same subject, the art critic Reuben Ramas Cañete (1966–2017) looked back at how the Manunggul jar had been placed "at the heart of intellectual debates about identity-formation and cultural validation in the postcolonial Philippine condition, in a sense replicating the Mexican museological experience [by the presentation of]

12 Manuud, 224.

13 Ocampo, *The Religious Element in Philippine Art*, 7.

the valorized native history of the pre-Hispanic Aztecs, Toltecs and Mayans that Nestor Garcia Canclini had [...] critiqued as a symptom of Latin American modernity."[14] Ocampo then would engender the archaeological material of a burial earthenware as an object that is also national, sacred, and artistic, and for this reason, retrospectively casts the image, or the *likha*, to be Philippine, religious, and colonial. Further, he instances, in the same breath, the hitherto forthcoming essay of the ascendant anthropologist Felipe Landa Jocano, who moved that, "Traditional religion in the Philippines has had almost the same structure in the past as it has today. It has persisted to the present by dodging, so to speak, the pressure of religious acculturation."[15] Here, Ocampo asserts that artistic activities across all times run by the same current of the divine, which, although remaining internally unaltered, had been outwardly given a new form by Christianity and whose development starts only upon the arrival of the latter to the islands. His treatise touches on the copious hermeneutics that had lent itself to the surviving carved objects in whose image the modern Filipino identity was reflected. On what emerged in the heady period beginning in 1946 and following the Second World War and subsequent Philippine liberation, the art historian and critic Patrick D. Flores (b. 1969) writes:

> The matter of identity preoccupied writers in the 50s through the 70s, abetted by the anxiety of post-war reconstruction, the republican transition, and later, the Marcos scheme of nation building and the nationalism upheld by the Marxist liberation movement. The predicament of being Filipino was, therefore, fraught and freighted with ideological commitments and oftentimes with prejudice [and] asks: 'What makes Philippine art Filipino? To what extent is Philippine art derivative of Western art?'[16]

It was then par for the course that in 1965, in Mexico, where he toured the capital's museums and archeological sites, Ocampo would conflate art with worship whereby he noted, after an enchanting visit to the Teotihuacan pyramids, that "Sabemos como de hecho que los Mayanes y Aztecos dejaron monumentos duraderos de piedras y artículos de arte que han ayudado a los antropólogos a reedificar la vida y la Sociedad de estos pueblos antiguos [We know for a fact that the Mayans and Aztecs left lasting monuments of stone and art objects that have helped anthropologists reconstruct the life

14 Reuben Ramas Cañete, "Ukit at Hulma: A Brief History of Philippine Sculpture," *Cuaderno Internacional de Estudios Humanísticos y Literatura* 19 (2013): 120.

15 Ocampo, *The Religious Element in Philippine Art*, 8.

16 Patrick D. Flores, "Lineage: Leonidas Benesa and Alice Guillermo," *Pananaw: Philippine Journal of Visual Arts* 6 (2007): 9.

and society of these ancient peoples]"[17] (Fig. 2). Flores deems the concerns of this period, here exhibited by the likes of Ocampo, as one that "constitutes an incontrovertible aspect of modernity: the insistence on the rationality of discrimination and the sort of representation that speaking for others accrues."[18] Thus, in his civic search for traces of art in the artifact, Ocampo creates a stage on which the religious artifact and colonial artistic object are able to hand in hand enact the nascent and sought-after national, against what Cañete thought of as the 'un-colonial' or the period in time that preceded the Spanish conquest of the Philippines.[19] It is the Filipino artist who Ocampo finds at the frontiers of colony and republic, coming to a crescendo and unaffected by religious time.



Fig. 2. Galo B. Ocampo, sketch of the Teotihuacan pyramids, 14 September 1965 (Reproduced from *Filipinas y México*, 1965).

17 Galo B. Ocampo, "La Civilización Maravillosa de México," in *Filipinas y México: Colección de discursos y conferencias pronunciados con occasion de la celebración del Año de Amistad México-Filipina en el Cuarto Centenario de llegada de la Expedicón Mexicana en Filipinas* (Manila: Comité del Año de Amistad Filipino-Méxicana, 1965), 74.

18 Flores, "Lineage: Leonidas Benesa and Alice Guillermo," 12.

19 Cañete, "Ukit at Hulma," 120.

3. At Civilization's Height

Prior to colony's close in 1946, a Philippine nation was already being contrived. Take for instance the painter and pedagogue Fabian de la Rosa (1869–1937), who in 1936 set up sculpture's stages in civilizational frames. In this context, the Philippines, at the time of writing still a commonwealth of the United States, partakes as a consequent contender for modernist recognition. To introduce the Art volume of Zoilo M. Galang's widely read *Encylopedia of the Philippines*, de la Rosa writes:

> Not even the later epochs of pre-historic times, such as for example, that when for the first time Spain set her foot on this soil and found a civilization far advanced than that which she did imagine to exist among the Malayan Filipinos of those times, judging not according to western standards but merely reflecting the civilization of India, China, Arabia and Japan, were they able to leave a legacy to Spanish-Filipino generation something conclusive in matters of sculpture sufficient to enable that generation to determine the peculiarities of style even sculptural psychology, with which the artist, archeologist or the historian of art could solve more or less the problem touching the relation that could have existed between the pre-Spanish and the Hispano-Filipino styles.[20]

To rationalize the Philippine, the first Filipino dean of the UP SFA attempts to bridge unfinished autochthonous artifact with absolute Spanish-introduced sculpture, in the middle of which he tests to conjure the peculiarity of style. To lay the ground for Philippine sculpture's development, de la Rosa distinguishes between little figures of clay, tile, porcelain, and wood from India, China, Japan, and Java, and sculpture, more willingly typecasting the former as having 'sculptural character.'[21] Whereas the latter would be for de la Rosa an artistic object, it was the small articles from overseas from which the Philippine would eventuate and from which, upon their cultivation by natives who had exercised a "desire that was greater than [their] handicap,"[22] sprung cultivated weaponry such as the *kampilan*, *alfang*, *sandata*, and *bolo*. At cross purposes with the wide view he bears of carving, de la Rosa imagines the crude sculptural to preface the dexterous sculpture, the latter fully formed and emanating only after the refinement of the former's incipience by skilled and dedicated artist. In other words, for de la Rosa, the sculptural was, like the artifactual, the moot indigene condition that would precipitate

20 Fabian de la Rosa, "Brief History of Plastic-Graphic Arts in the Philippines," in *Encyclopedia of the Philippines: Art*, ed. Zoilo M. Galang (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1936), 9.

21 de la Rosa, "Brief History of Plastic-Graphic Arts in the Philippines," 10.

22 de la Rosa, "Brief History of Plastic-Graphic Arts in the Philippines," 10.



Fig. 3. A bulul from Ifugao, some of which were exhibited at the Exposición General de las Islas Filipinas in Madrid, 1887 (Courtesy of the Museo de América).

the accrued sculpture and its arthood. In fact, it is this enduring paradigm, from which in-the-round wooden images of granary deities called *bulul* (Fig. 3), commonly found in the mountain regions of northern Philippines, were pictured by the most prominent Filipino art historians of the postwar, such as Alice Guillermo, Santiago Albano Pilar, Imelda Cajipe-Endaya, and Regalado Trota Jose, as the originative organism of all sculpture created across successive waves of Philippine colonization. Co-authored for the popularly consulted *Encyclopedia of Philippine Art* that was first published in 1994 by the modernist institution Cultural Center of the Philippines, the essay "Sculpture" sections this progression into such subheads as The Indigenous, Hispanic, and American Tradition after the dictum of the editor and cultural historian Nicanor G. Tiongson. This template holds out until the publication of the encyclopedia's second edition in 2017 where, more conscious of the colonial past's continuousness, the subheads are revised into 'The Living Indigenous Tradition,' 'The Hispanic Tradition and Local Transformations,' and 'The American Tradition and Local Transformation."[23] Flores, in 2019, writes about the art historical outlook of such kind given to the *bulul* in a review of the subject as it had been regarded by various Filipino critics in the past. He observes how, in one text, "The [bulul's] object is salvaged from its ethnographic description within a ritual context to the degree that the ethnographic is reconstituted as an aesthetic without necessarily undermining its vast Austronesian cosmology." For him, "Such a rhetoric restores the modernist sculptural form [...] because it intuits the object as formative, with its lifeworld instilling its formidable armature or carapace, as it were."[24]

23 Alice G. Guillermo, Santiago A. Pilar, Imelda Cajipe-Endaya, and Regalado Trota Jose, "Sculpture," in *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art: Visual Arts*, ed. Nicanor G. Tiongson (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 2017), 282–291.

24 Patrick D. Flores, "To Corrupt an Object in Situ: Describing the Vernacular/Viral Bulul," in *Practice Space*, eds. Jo-Lene Ong and Rachel Rakes (Amsterdam: de Appel, 2019), 157.

By focusing on the *bulul's* phenomenon as it draws up a theorization exerted by the critics he studied, Flores points to the widespread interest given to venerated images from the past which the enterprise of history carries into the world of art, investing them with material, formal, and aesthetic values and thereby herding them into the shed of sculpture. Flores's examination folds into the globalizing discipline of art history as it continues to move from a strictly formal or social history of art to a study of images, as it is called in the German-speaking world, and visual studies in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, their critical theory imbued with philosophical lines concerned with phenomenon, performance, and philology, and whose transition eclipses art history's humanist condition, one that had been upheld by the iconologist Erwin Panofsky who posited that "la obra de arte con mayúsculas solo empieza alí donde: 'el interés por la idea o la función está contrapesado, y puede incluso ser eclipsado por el interés por al forma'[the work of art with capital letters begins there only where: 'the interest in idea or function is counterbalanced, and may even be eclipsed by the interest in form']."[25] In the purview of the study of religious sculpted images made during the Spanish empire to which the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Captain Generalcy of the Philippines belonged to, future research on the subject will benefit from the proposition of the medievalist Jean-Claude Schmitt who submits that an anthropological approach to visual cultures of the past, "no se trata de elegir entre el valor del arte como documento y/o monumento, ni por supuesto de analizar las imágenes desde al oposición entre lo cultual y lo artístico, como si fuera posible determinar el momento en el que abandonaron sus viejas funciones para dejar paso al primado de lo formal sobre lo religioso [is not a question of choosing between the value of art as a document and/or monument, nor of course of analyzing the images from the opposition between the cultic and the artistic, as if it were possible to determine the moment in which they abandoned their old functions to give way to the primacy of the formal over the religious]."[26] In fact, if form and function were to act as the sole bases for gauging objects and images, de la Rosa's predilection for the grand would support his opinion that the Philippine *barangay* order[27] impeded the slow progress of 'original Philippine art' if juxtaposed with the plastic-graphic arts of India, China, Java, and Sumatra. Compared to the arts of such civilizations,

25 María Cruz de Carlos Varona, Pierre Civil, Felipe Pereda, and Cécile Vincent-Cassy, eds., *La imagen religiosa en la Monarquía hispánica: Usos y espacios* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), XX.

26 de Carlos Varona et al, XIX.

27 The smallest administrative and geographic area in which peoples in the Philippines live together.

those of the Philippines he finds in a lower degree.[28] The latter's evolution, he alleged, wholly accelerated in the 17th century and culminated embodied in the likes of the sculptor, writer, and nationalist hero Dr. José Rizal who was "impelled by the irresistible force of universal progress, [where] the influence of Spanish arts became more and more noticeable."[29] Like Ocampo, de la Rosa stages Philippine sculpture among the geography and temporality of civilization, whose measures of development, sophistication, and edification extricate the Philippine sculpture from its inconclusive condition. For this, de la Rosa's art history creates a world of sculpture, and its modernity metabolizes the rudiment image so that the Philippines would gain membership into the league of culture, and paradoxically, reinscribe it to be the same, that is, for not yet being sculpture or possessing enough sculpture, the primitive Philippine must mutate and pivot on the sculptural that can only be played out on the stage of the colonial.

The landscape painter and pedagogue Dominador Castañeda (1904–1967) also bears out the virtues of mimetic theory in *Art in the Philippines*, 1964, where he declares consummate, against the hideous, frightful-looking, and primitive pre-Spanish idol, the "flowering of Filipino sculpture during the Spanish regime that came in the nineteenth century." Of this period, he notes, "There was that idealized realism in which some synthesis was resorted to." He considers important "the presence of well-made images from Spain and Mexico which native carvers compared their works with or used as models."[30] Castañeda's argumentation assumes a strictly statuary stratum informed by a rubric fleshed out under the classical conventions of the Greco-Roman corpus he most likely learned from his studies at the UP whose School of Fine Arts he will assume deanship of, taking the place of the modernist sculptor Guillermo Tolentino. Castañeda and Tolentino's academic code holds on to that of their teachers, among them de la Rosa, who were trained in the Academia de Pintura, Escultura y Grabado. Take for instance, when Castañeda describes a Virgin image from the collection of the industrialist and connoisseur Luis Araneta as having bulges of the sleeves at the elbows that appear like blisters; large eyes and mouth extending from ear to ear; simple rendering of dress folds; incorrect proportions; neck almost as thick as the head; shallow grooves to represent the hair; chubby and masculine face, among other

28 de la Rosa, "Brief History of Plastic-Graphic Arts in the Philippines," 10.

29 de la Rosa, "Brief History of Plastic-Graphic Arts in the Philippines," 12.

30 Dominador Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Office of Research Coordination, 1964), 41.

defamatory descriptions. On another occasion, Castañeda would invoke the hierarchy of relief work and its gradation of *bajo*, *medio*, and *alto*, to malign early wood, clay, and stone idols. He writes, for example, "And they were mostly frontal, meaning that only the front was carved. This frontality indicates their quasi-religious purposes."[31] By this, he groups sculptures, according to the imitative capabilities of their makers, into four transitory stages, which he loosely calls aboriginal, primitively realist, mid-realist, and fully realist.

Against this view, Gatbonton goes on to defend the early image makers, as she preferred to call them, in a similar vein to the historian of viceregal art María del Consuelo Maquívar.[32] In her seminal book *A Heritage of Saints*, Gatbonton was among the first to quip that the frontal directness of carved images amounted to their strongest trait. Whereas Filipino art historians before her practiced formalism in its mere methodology, Gatbonton reroutes the formal to its functionalist bedrock to pull apart the hierarchies the former had maintained over Philippine art scholarship's contemplation of imitation. By this, she advises against the "often injudicious use of the word 'influence' in discussions of *santo* aesthetics," pointing out that "Such relationships [between artisan and model] are tenuous and incidental—part of the copyist exercise that was imposed on the first carvers of religious art, and not really a deep-seeking, conscious—intellectual, if you will—borrowing of influences."[33] Often regarded by the art history at the time to be temporally stationary or inert, bodies of sculpted images are held curiously by Gatbonton, by some chance they remain acquiescent to the committed call of a nation persevering in another's image and likeness.

4. Sculptured in Situ

For the part of the painter and writer Fernando Zóbel de Ayala (1924–1984), the colonial "presumes a specifically Spanish or occidental influence, whether in technique or iconography [where it is excluded] despite its fascination, the traditional pagan or Moslem sculpture of the Philippines."[34] Taking off

31 Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines*, 40-41.

32 See: María del Conseulo Maquívar, *El imaginero novohispano y su obra* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia), 1995.

33 Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 81.

34 Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture: A Short Survey," *Philippine Studies* 6, no. 3 (1958): 249.

from his participation in Scott's *The Art in the Philippines*, he published the follow-up study "Philippine Colonial Sculpture" in 1958, a hitherto untried study of sculpture that gathers illustrations, descriptions, and accounts of images removed from private collections. Here, he appraises the Philippine as distinct from the Spanish, Latin American, and Chinese to move forward an inquiry into the colonial characteristics of sculpture. Later, Zóbel would issue the essay anew. He printed an edition of 500 slim monographs of the same name before finally releasing the sought-after large-format *Philippine Religious Imagery*, 1963, working against what he calls de la Rosa's "vague generalities on colonial sculpture."[35]

Even when he cautions against the danger of dating by style, Zóbel proceeds to study his chosen images on the basis of the same. He groups them into three stages: popular, classical, and ornate. The popular style, according to Zóbel, implicates the work of the uneducated and unsophisticated non-professional native sculptor, who, not having access to any formal training for the close imitation of saintly models, "forces them to fall back on their imagination, [...] a situation that fortunately produces the most wonderfully unexpected results," he marvels.[36] Zóbel parses the classical style into three elements: the preservation of Spanish and Latin American flavors, the use of decorative motifs that invoke the Chinese influence, and the application of colors beyond a scheme. Lastly, the ornate style draws close to the classical but differs in the former's elaboration of a baroque richness and romantic realism, attributes which exhibit Zóbel's disposition towards European stylistic description. About this last stage, Flores writes: "This seems to be an indictment of both dexterity and sincerity of the makers of the ornate, denying them of prowess, which was ceded earlier to the makers of the popular and the classical. From this sequence of stylistic turns, we can say that Zóbel's notion of the Filipino is contingent on the ability of the makers to partake of the Spanish template and to imitate within proportion, portraying them as thoughtful imitators, as if they were conscious of imitating and imitating appropriately."[37] Zóbel and Pilar's, as haply Castañeda and Ocampo's, thinking around the colonial and the Philippine are moreover bridged by Flores, who warns, "It is not precipitate to point out that their strategies may be read as allegories of colonization beginning with innocence, terracing into cultivation,

35 Zóbel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 292.

36 Zóbel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 258.

37 Patrick D. Flores, "The Zobel Nexus," *Kritika Kultura* 24 (2015): 187.

and languishing as decadence. It is sufficient at this point to say that these [...] explications lay the predicate for a limited consideration of form and may, in fact, be prone to the perils of typification."[38]

Unlike Castañeda, the charge of Zóbel's biological readiness towards his objects of study tapers off in his understanding of sculpture as a broad concept, which "includes all representational or symbolic three-dimensional objects, regardless of size or material, excluding only those whose character and design are purely ornamental, such as formalized decoration on furniture, jewelry, architecture and so forth."[39] And even when he breaks up sculpture and formal object into separate degrees of ornamentality, he considers in other instances the dress of a saint where "in such cases cloth properly [becomes] a sculptural material rather than decoration added as an afterthought."[40] The flexibility of Zóbel's stylistic triptych is likewise interesting for its stages, which are adjoined rather than freestanding, and on which he allows sculpted images to identify unexclusively with the popular, classical, or ornate. Despite that, it points to the arduous and vain task of grouping innumerable images by whose factions Zóbel had permissively wished to at once apprehend and appreciate Philippine, religious, and colonial representations and in whose order, he constitutes altogether and intricately sculpture's form, material, and period. For Flores, only someone like Zóbel, a scion to the formidable Spanish-Filipino Zóbel de Ayala family, could have realized a study appreciably wide-ranging in scope (Fig. 4). He writes:

> This agility in crossing boundaries is reserved for people like Zobel, who could travel and relocate easily and in style. Because of such mobility, they are concomitantly wary of nationalism, an attitude that is perceived in Zobel's attraction to cultural fusion and staggering improvisation embedded in the Philippine *santos* and his resistance to nationalist importuning [...]. This double movement of identification and effacement of the Filipino springs from the temper of a transient: an expatriate or tourist whose impressions of a locale shape those of the native, who internalizes the exotic or the orientalist as identity, the native who is labor to Zobel's capital.[41]

38 Flores, "The Zobel Nexus," 187–188.

39 Zóbel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 250.

40 Zóbel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 257.

41 Flores, "The Zobel Nexus," 198.

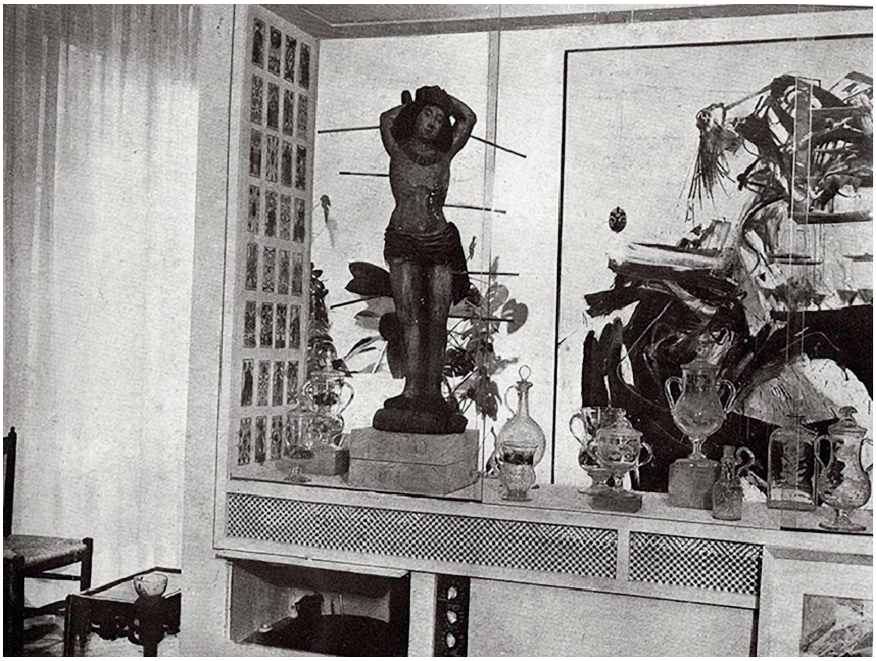
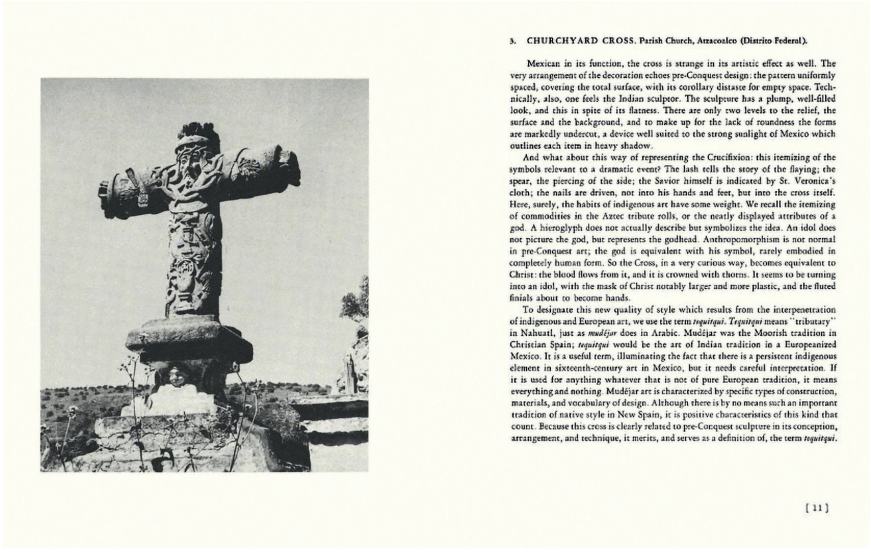


Fig. 4. A sculpted image of San Sebastián in Fernando Zóbel's first studio in Madrid, 1958 (Courtesy of Georgina and Alejandro Padilla Zóbel).



3. CHURCHYARD CROSS. Parish Church, Atzacoalco (Distrito Federal).

Mexican in its function, the cross is strange in its artistic effect as well. The very arrangement of the decoration echoes pre-Conquest design: the pattern uniformly spaced, covering the total surface, with its corollary distaste for empty space. Technically, also, one feels the Indian sculptor. The sculpture has a plump, well-filled look, and this in spite of its flatness. There are only two levels to the relief, the surface and the background, and to make up for the lack of roundness the forms are markedly undercut, a device well suited to the strong sunlight of Mexico which outlines each item in heavy shadow.

And what about this way of representing the Crucifixion: this itemizing of the symbols relevant to a dramatic event? The lash tells the story of the flaying; the spear, the piercing of the side; the Savior himself is indicated by St. Veronica's cloth; the nails are driven, not into his hands and feet, but into the cross itself. Here, surely, the habits of indigenous art have some weight. We recall the itemizing of commodities in the Aztec tribute rolls, or the neatly displayed attributes of a god. A hieroglyph does not actually describe but symbolizes the idea. An idol does not picture the god, but represents the godhead. Anthropomorphism is not normal in pre-Conquest art; the god is equivalent with his symbol, rarely embodied in completely human form. So the Cross, in a very curious way, becomes equivalent to Christ: the blood flows from it, and it is crowned with thorns. It seems to be turning into an idol, with the mask of Christ notably larger and more plastic, and the fluted finials about to become hands.

To designate this new quality of style which results from the interpenetration of indigenous and European art, we use the term *tequitqui*. *Tequitqui* means "tributary" in Nahuatl, just as *mudéjar* does in Arabic. Mudéjar was the Moorish tradition in Christian Spain; *tequitqui* would be the art of Indian tradition in a Europeanized Mexico. It is a useful term, illuminating the fact that there is a persistent indigenous element in sixteenth-century art in Mexico, but it needs careful interpretation. If it is used for anything whatever that is not of pure European tradition, it means everything and nothing. Mudéjar art is characterized by specific types of construction, materials, and vocabulary of design. Although there is by no means such an important tradition of native style in New Spain, it is positive characteristics of this kind that count. Because this cross is clearly related to pre-Conquest sculpture in its conception, arrangement, and technique, it merits, and serves as a definition of, the term *tequitqui*.

[11]

Fig. 5. A spread from Elizabeth Wilder Weismann's *Mexico in Sculpture 1521–1821*, published in 1950 (Courtesy of Harvard University Press).

On the other side of the Pacific, and under similar 'frontier conditions' as she thought to imagine the difficult geography of sculpture, the art historian Elizabeth Wilder Weismann (1907–1989) wraps her head around the disconcerting and difficult task of dating colonial sculptures in the face of art history's orderly development. Working in a dispersed cluster of art scholars working outside Iberian America, among them George Kubler and Diego Angulo Íñiguez, she delights in the joy of the historian of Novohispanic sculpture to drift into the anachronistic currents of space and time, going as far as calling sculpture a "human geology that preserves its record of the past."[42] Like Zóbel de Ayala, Weismann grapples with the colonial as it "collapsed before [her] realization that 'colonial' art was still being produced."[43] And in her omission of 'Colonial' from her book's title, *Mexico in Sculpture 1521–1821*, 1950, she appears conscious of the colonial that the sculptural inexorably conveys, beside what the influential art historian Manuel Toussaint, to whom she dedicates her book, points out: Weismann "does not offer a sculptural history of Mexico, but a Mexico in its sculptural aspect"[44] (Fig. 5). Toussaint's lofty position over Weismann, the translator of his works into English, comes out strong where he dictates what history is and what it is not, nonetheless underlining the profound framework of Weismann's project, one that will resonate with the art historian Jorge Alberto Manrique's body of historiographic work on viceregal art. In one essay, Manrique reported what had been the biggest problem being faced by historians of Novohispanic sculpture in 1990s Mexico. He rails against the conservative negation of sculpture's existence in New Spain during the end of the 18th and start of the 19th centuries, when he asks: "¿Cómo podia decirse que no había escultura, si bastaba ver cualquier fachada de iglesia, cualquier nicho de casa particular, cualquier retablo o cualquier capilla doméstica, cujados de esculturas? [How could it be said that there was no sculpture, if it was enough to see any church façade, any niche in a private house, any altarpiece or any domestic chapel, covered with sculptures?]"[45]. Here, wading in the tides of *la mexicanidad*, José Moreno Villa's *La escultura colonial Mexicana*, 1942, and Toussaint's *Arte colonial en* México, 1948, remain

42 Elizabeth Wilder Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture 1521–1821* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 3.

43 Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture*, 4.

44 Manuel Toussaint, "México in Sculpture, de Elizabeth Wilder Weismann," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 5, no. 19 (1951): 127.

45 Jorge Alberto Manrique, "Problemas y enfoques en el estudio de la escultura novohispana," in *Imagnería vierrienal: memorias de un seminario*, ed. Gustavo Curiel (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990), 12.

worthy of mention. The former offered the thought-provoking and contentious *tequitequi* and the latter introduced sculpture into the general history of art during the colonial period in Mexico, this latter fulfilled by Zóbel in 1963 in a Philippines where "A mere five years ago, the existence of Hispano-Philippine imagery was a matter of knowledge and concern only to a bare handful of enthusiasts and scholars."[46] Especially because what are today the Philippines and Mexico belonged to the same viceroyalty, art historians of the colonial period from the former are prone to weigh up their subjects with those from the latter, the comparative means of which may be teased out from the varying artistic historiographies of the two in consideration of the administrative unity against which Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's geography of art has warned, the difficult task of which eludes the scope of this study. Even when foreign scholars are at times regarded with suspicion, what Weismann compellingly offers is a counter-current to the nationalistic approach of Mexican writers, a proposition that rather looks at sculpture's axiom as affecting the material horizon of a geography in which she scouts the event of the sculptural among many a form: saintly image, church façade, side altar, arch or door, wall relief, crucifix, among others, an art historical position self-evident in the very title *Mexico in Sculpture*. In primary respects, she intimates how the Earth's lone geography is hence already sculptural, or geological, and on which sculpture descends, insists its modernity and nation, and eventually settles, an outlook that strikes near the phenomenological vein of the art historian Rodolfo Paras-Perez (1934–2011), who submits, in a study of the modernist sculptor Eduardo Castrillo, that sculpture's site is not just the ground on which it is installed, rather it is too, the act of walking around an object.[47] In the Philippines, writers born before the Second World War "often utilized formalist and positivistic approaches in art history, utilizing a descriptive and 'impressionistic' method of analyzing artistic content," reports Cañete, "with the exception of Zobel and Paras-Perez, whose common training at Harvard University predisposed them either to a more aestheticist and belletristic treatment of sculptural critique or to a highly nuanced ideological engagement with the narrative of modernism,"[48] an ethos shared by the Massachusetts-trained Weismann. Today, the work of such thinkers may beckon historians and geographers of art to nuance a theorization of sculpture in its modernist stages to be inextricable from the event of the colonial and the concurrent logic of nation-state borders.

46 Fernando Zóbel de Ayala, *Philippine Religious Imagery* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1963), 5.

47 Rodolfo Paras-Perez, *Beyond Art* (Manila: Vera-Reyes, 1974), np.

48 Cañete, "Ukit at Hulma," 119.

5. Recasting Sculpture's Framework

While writing her work on social realism for which she will become known, the art historian Alice Guillermo (1938–2018), observed the evocation of the worldly and the divine represented by sculpture's iconography or ornamental ensemble and embodied in their formal and material qualities. In a 1991 essay, she distributes *santos* into archaic, hieratic, classical, realistic, and expressionistic styles, the characteristics of each this essay will not lay out for its close approximation to Zóbel's preponderant and enduring template.[49] Zóbel's "provisional method of pigeonholing the wide variety of religious art objects" held out as far as the end of the 20th century, in view of one report from 1981 that states: "Apart from [the] two scholarly works [of Zóbel and Gatbonton], colonial Philippine sculpture remains largely unknown."[50] Unlike others however, Guillermo attempts to uphold the sculptured image to be sacrosanct. Such a stance comes out in Guillermo's sensitive descriptions, "virtues that are commensurately equaled by the affective, evocative language of the critic,"[51] such as when she gives details of a hieratic *santo*:

> Of the heavenly realm, it does not share the vicissitudes of mortal flesh to which humans are heir to. Heavenly splendor and holiness is conveyed by the crown or halo, and especially by the magnificent garments of gold and silver ornaments which suggest that it is on a plane above ordinary mortals. If it is a gilded and polychromed figure, the robe, richly embellished with floral motifs, does not suggest vertical folds but extends stiffly on all sides to form a conical shape. The face is exquisitely fine, its expression impassive, with eyes fixed straight ahead or turned heavenward, making no contact with or appeal to the viewer or devotee. In religious terms, such an image implies a vast distance between God and man, the divine and the human. It stresses the royal splendor of God and the saints on one hand, and the lowliness and unworthiness of man on the other.[52]

Here, Guillermo essays a formalist reading of the sculpture's surface order and a Freudian mining of the image's sacred depths, struggling to sequence their binary, which she will break up later on in her career.

49 Alice G. Guillermo, *Sculpture in the Philippines: From Anito to Assemblage and other essays* (Manila: Metropolitan Museum of Manila, 1991), 19–21.

50 Gabriel Casal and Regalado Trota Jose, Jr., "Colonial Artistic Expressions in the Philippines (1565–1898)," in *The People and Art of the Philippines* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1981), 94.

51 Flores, "Lineage: Leonidas Benesa and Alice Guillermo," 14.

52 Guillermo, *Sculpture in the Philippines*, 19.

After Guillermo, a new batch of art historians emerged mostly out of the humanities program of the University of the Philippines. It was not until 1991 when Regalado Trota Jose, an art historian who has, besides Zóbel, Gatbonton, Pilar, and Luciano P. R. Santiago, concentrated on the Spanish colonial period, published the seminal *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines 1565–1898*. Unlike writers before him who staged sculptures temporally by their mimetic capabilities and formally by their surface appearance, Jose shapes them by the technically descriptive concatenation of their bodily structure, work of carving, wood material, and swathe of garments, from which three types emerge.[53] The first he denominates *rebulto*, a free-standing piece, carved in the round, and more popularly called *bulto redondo*, *de bulto*, or *cuerpo entero* outside the Philippines.[54] The second is the *de gonce* or de *gozne*, meaning hinged, a sculpture separately garbed and composed of movable and jointed arms or legs, and which for the case of New Spain Maquívar christens *tipo maniquíes*.[55] The last, Jose calls the *de bastidor*, which are statues in which the head and arms are attached to a torso or *candelero*,[56] a frame of light wooden sticks, generally pyramidally or conically shaped, over which precious gowns, such as the *verdugado*, or hoop-skirt and other vestments were laid.[57] In the purview of Novohispanic sculptural historiography, the last two collapse under the broader category of *imágenes de vestir*, the holy practice of dressing religious sculptures which, until the second half of the 18th century, was prohibited in New Spain as stipulated by the third Concilio Provincial Mexicano.[58] On the one hand, Jose's typification of images are valuable for its intimate regard of sculptural bodies which he connoisseurly and forensically inspects. On the other, it perpetuates the perils of style. Throughout his categorization, Jose does not insinuate the Philippine, except when he refers to the images, never by the word sculpture, but by, and perhaps to bridge image with sculpture, the much broader *santo*.

Since *Simbahan*, the study of sculptured saintly images has less adhered to formal and material methods, foraying into social, gender, and anthropological studies of ritual and aesthetics carried out by the likes of Jaime

53 Regalado Trota Jose, *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines 1565–1898* (Makati City: Ayala Museum, 1991), 120.

54 Maquívar, *El imaginero novohispano*, 80.

55 María del Conseulo Maquívar, *La escultura religiosa en la Nueva España* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001), 29.

56 Maquívar, *La escultura religiosa*, 30.

57 Jose, *Simbahan*, 120.

58 Maquívar 2001, 29.

Laya and Lulu Tesoro Castañeda (1995), Victor Venida (1996), Fenella Cannell (1999), Patrick Alcedo (2007,) Romeo Galang (2012), and Jose Antonio Lorenzo Tamayo (2020), and Christina Lee (2021) to name a few specialists and writers. Instead of mapping out the stylistic history of their sculptured subjects, they tend to observe, follow, and document *santos* closely on the ground as they are made available to the public. That said, the subjecthood of their interest rests on data collected within a short window and made to play out in essays that are methodologically diverse. Consequently, their subjects were studied presently and affectively, as though they were animate in and central to their locale, away from the encompassing thrust of the identity politics which preoccupied scholars that had preceded them.

6. Final Considerations

The present essay finds that the methods used in Philippine colonial sculptural history were often formal and empirical. Since the early 20th century, when the Philippines was preparing for independence, up until after the Second World War, art historians devoted themselves to casting an identity for their subjects which they simultaneously christened Philippine and colonial, modernist notions arising from a civic duty to freshly-gained sovereignty, to which the history of art responded habitually with the labor-saving answer that was style. Often, the styles that were drawn up were delimited into stages owing to the connoisseurial persuasion of writers trained in diverging schools and made serviceable as a cumulative descriptive concurrent to the emerging entity that was the hitherto Filipino. In geographies such as the Philippines where efforts to decolonize concurred with the project of nationhood, the cultivated Filipino sculptor had been remarkably and strangely measured as an antipode to early image makers, by which the temporal ends of unrefined carver and discriminating artist came into sight. To make sense of the nation, art historians throughout the 20th century bridged these two ends by way of the devoutness of image makers which they held to be timeless. According to them, at no time was the faith of the early image maker affected, in spite of the passage of colonialism. On the one hand, such a view upholds the resilience of makers which they began to name Filipino. On the other hand, it may so neglect to nuance the creative standards set by colonialism that they may have been written off as totalizing criteria that Filipino artist simultaneously survives and sustains. The stamina of such a reckoning, which powers through the Philippine artworld today, sticks at its scales where higher degrees of

realism exercised by the ready Filipino surmount the purported philistine faculties of the so-called natives, even as they stand at extremes in between which spans a religious progression that makes coherent the narrative of the unbroken and cultivated spiritual artist. In distancing itself from the Spanish colonial period, the art history preceding and proceeding the war has made identification its single-minded mission and method. If sustained, this kind of history will stay premised on art's sameness and comparability, which can easily fall into style's seduction, be taken captive anew by geographical borders contrived by the nation-state, or waste away in marches of time under the obligation of historical eras. Already and allegedly outside their colonial cosmos and in light of their archaeology that remains to be seen, sculpted images of the Iberian Philippines hold other appellatives or forms of address that may very well be carved past the Philippine, the religious, and the colonial. Alternately, the image of sculpture may be better cut and cast afar the condition of likeness.

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Parte III. In the Philippine World

Los trabajos y los días
Sevilla en Filipinas (mediados del XVII)

The Works and the Days: Seville in the Philippines (Mid-17th Century)

Fernando Quiles
Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla

Resumen

Sevilla fue por años cabecera de la flota de India, con el consiguiente aporte material y humano. Desde ella, pues, se forjaron redes que conectaron con las poblaciones de ultramar. Vinculándose a esa construcción no sólo numerosos navegantes, sino también miembros de la iglesia. Y en el caso de la construcción del vínculo con Filipinas se han podido identificar importantes personalidades no sólo pertenecientes a la marina, sino también gente de iglesia. En el presente estudio abordo el caso de tres de ellos navegantes, que tuvieron una notoria actividad a mediados del XVII. Y también una virtuosa religiosa que se hizo cargo de fundar el primer convento de clarisas en Manila. Todos ellos participaron, de un modo u otro de ese flujo intercontinental.

Palabras clave

Sevilla; Manila; Mediados del siglo XVII; Pedro de Almonte y Verástegui; Sebastián López; Gabriel de Curucelaegui; sor Jerónima de la Visitación; Mártires de Nagasaki

Abstract

Seville was the head of the Indies fleet for years, with the consequent material and human contribution. From there, networks were forged that connected with overseas populations. Not only numerous sailors but also members of the church were linked to this construction. In constructing the link with the Philippines, it has been possible to identify important personalities not only belonging to the navy but also people from the church. In the present study, I address the case of three of them—navigators who were very active in the mid-17th century. And also a virtuous nun who founded the first convent of Poor Clares in Manila. All of them participated, in one way or another, in that intercontinental flow.

Keywords

Seville; Manila; Mid-17th century; Pedro de Almonte y Verástegui; Sebastián López; Gabriel de Curucelaegui; Sister Jerónima de la Visitación; Martyrs of Nagasaki

De lo mucho que se ha contado y de lo que aún queda por recordar, quiero poner mi atención en algunos de los personajes, con sus circunstancias, que no sólo tuvieron una presencia notoria en Filipinas, sino que además establecieron un vínculo siquiera emocional entre este Oriente hispano y Sevilla. Y para ello tomo en consideración a tres individuos vinculados a su gobernanza, pero también a un conjunto de religiosas y religiosos que partiendo de la ciudad-puerto peninsular acabaron en tierras orientales, contribuyeron en cierto modo al refuerzo del vínculo entre ambos mundos por la vía espiritual.

1. Los trabajos y los días: historias conocidas

De los primeros, quienes han sido parte de esta historia compartida con Filipinas y que se ubican en las décadas que median el siglo del barroco, me estoy interesando por tres miembros de la Armada que estuvieron al servicio de la Corona en Filipinas, Pedro de Almonte y Verástegui, Sebastián López y Gabriel de Curucelaegui. El primero, que alcanzó el cargo de general, tras de largo tiempo de servicio en la Real Armada, como refiere en su memorial de 1644.[1] El segundo, capitán de navío, del que se cuenta una heroica acción al enfrentarse a la flota holandesa que pretendía tomar Manila en 1648. Y el tercero, quien fuera, además de capitán general, gobernador de las islas Filipinas, dos décadas más tarde.[2]

De todos ellos he podido reunir noticias relativas a sus andanzas por las islas, que nos sirven para conocer mejor los vínculos que en última instancia se forjaron con la ciudad de Sevilla.[3]

1 "El General don Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui, residente en las Islas Filipinas, Ha seruido a V.M. mas de 23 años en el presidio de la ciudad de Cadiz, flota de la Nueua España, y Islas Filipinas en plaças de soldado, Cabo de esquadra de Guzmanes, Capitan de Infanteria, y lleuando vn socorro a las fuerças de Isla Hermosa, y cinco a las de Terrenate en puestos de Cabo, Almirante, y General de los galeones de V.M. de aquellas Islas, peleando en varias ocasiones con los enemigos, y haziendo conquistas en los Reinos de Mindanao..." Título del memorial que custodia la Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), sign. VE/255/16.

2 Otros individuos contribuyeron al mantenimiento de este vínculo político, pero también cultural. De algunos de ellos se han ocupado Ana Ruiz Gutiérrez ("Arte hispano-filipino en Andalucía," *Perro Berde. Revista cultural hispano-filipina*, nº 4, 2013, págs. 74-77) y Pedro Luengo ("Una Andalucía en las antípodas. Andaluces en la historia de Filipinas." *Andalucía en la historia*, 73, 2021, 38-41). También lo han hecho más especialistas, como en su lugar citaré.

3 A propósito, podemos recuperar algunas de las publicaciones que se han ocupado del tema, aparte del texto citado en la nota anterior de Luengo y de las obras clásicas de Marco Dorta (*Arte en América y Filipinas*), podemos acudir a los textos de López Guzmán, Díaz Trechuelo, citados en la bibliografía, a la que me remito.



Fig. 1. Pedro Murillo Velarde. *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas Dedicada al Rey Nuestro Señor por el Mariscal d. Campo D. Fernando Valdes Tamon Cavallº del Orden de Santiago de Govor. Y Capn.* Manila, 1734. BNE., sign. MR/45/31.

1.1 PEDRO DE ALMONTE Y VERÁSTEGUI Y LA INMACULADA[4]

Primero de todos quien acredita una trayectoria larga e intensa, pasando de Cádiz a Cuba y de ahí a Chile, para luego de años de tenaz empeño acabar en Oriente, entre Filipinas y las Molucas. Las fuentes le recuerdan capitaneando el galeón nombrado santa María Magdalena, en la defensa costera del lugar frente a la escuadra holandesa. Su meritoria labor le valió ser investido con

4 Enriqueta Vila Vilar y Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios entre Sevilla y las Indias. Los Almonte* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre Tavera, 2003).

el hábito de Santiago.[5] E incluso que, todavía a fines del XIX, se le recordara dando nombre a una cañonera que navegó por estos territorios.[6] El jesuita Francisco Combés en su Relación de las islas Filipinas llegó a significar el vínculo entre Almonte y el gobernador Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, que junto con otros capitanes y generales habían tomado parte en la lucha contra los naturales de la provincia de Caranga.[7] Pero no deja de llamar la atención el hecho de que acabara siendo desterrado de las islas con el propio Corcuera y su séquito, por difamar a quien le sustituyera en el gobierno de Filipinas.[8] Pero no ha de extrañar esta situación en el caso de quien había ejercido su cargo sin límite alguno a su labor, llegado incluso a tener importantes conflictos con el propio arzobispo Hernando Guerrero.[9] Al fin, el nuevo gobernador, Diego Fajardo, puso orden en tan tensa situación dando curso a las denuncias que se prodigaron al ser Corcuera "residenciado."[10]

Podríamos tener una constancia clara de la efigie de nuestro personaje, si se pudiera recuperar el lienzo pintado Sebastián Vicus, "diestro pintor de aquel tiempo," en el que aparece junto con el gobernador, Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, en devota actitud ante la Inmaculada Concepción.[11] Puede que no fuera casual el que apenas unos meses antes tanto el gobernador como el prelado oficializaran con rito eclesiástico el cambio de advocación de la Virgen de Antipolo, que fuera patrona del municipio filipino de La Paz (en Luzón),

5 Archivo General Indias (AGI), Filipinas, 2, N. 71, fols. 1-15. Consulta sobre concesión de hábito a Pedro de Almonte y Verastegui. Memorial citado en: VE/255/16. Biblioteca Nacional de España. Vid. Antonio C. Campo López, "El socorro del Maluco. La flota anual entre Manila y Ternate que permitió la soberanía española en las islas Molucas (1606-1663)," *Revista de Historia Naval* 140 (2018): 25.

6 Francisco J. Álvarez Laita, "Unidades navales en la Laguna de Lanao (Mindanao, islas Filipinas)," *Revista de Historia Naval* 142 (2018): 17-19.

7 Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "La topografía del conocimiento jesuita en Filipinas: la Relación (1654) del padre Francisco Combés, SJ.," *Libros de la Corte 24* (2022): 198.

8 Filipinas, 9, R. 1, N. 10. AGI. Marco Ramerini, *Gli spagnoli nelle isole Molucche. 1606-1663/1671-1677. La storia della presenza spagnola nelle isole delle spezie* (Verona: EBS Print, 2020).

9 Del choque de las autoridades civil y eclesiástica se ocupa Juan Hernández Hortigüela en "Episodios Filipinos" II, *Revista Filipina* 6/2 (2019): 147.

10 Hernández, "Episodios Filipinos," 151.

11 "...Un lienzo muy grande... de mano de un diestro pintor de aquel tiempo, Sebastián Vicus, en que está pintada la Inmaculada Virgen Nuestra Señora sobre una base dórica, cercada de grande número de hermosos ángeles, y abajo están retratados con grande primor el Gobernador D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara con su manto de Capitular del Orden de Calatrava, y al lado siniestro el maestre de Campo D. Pedro de Almonte y Verástegui con el suyo del Orden de Santiago, con mucho adorno por el suelo de armas militares: y debajo una inscripción de lo sucedido en esta solemne función. Se hablaba como obra de principios del XVII, que se encontraba en la capilla real del Campo. Casimiro Díaz, OSA., *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas* (Valladolid: Imp. Librería de Luis N. de Gaviria, 1890) 543. Más en: Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, "La biblioteca, pinacoteca y ajuar de don Miguel de Poblete, arzobispo de Manila" (*Archivo Agustiniano* 95, núm. 213 (2011): 418.



Fig. 2. Anónimo hispanofilipino, Inmaculada Concepción, marfil. 1650-1700. Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid. Nº Cat. CE26309. Foto: https://ceres.mcu.es/

por la de Nuestra Señora de la Paz y del Buen Viaje.[12] Sintomático cambio votivo con respecto a una imagen que se vinculó a un conflicto habido con los chinos entre 1639 y 1640, quienes la alancearon y quemaron, para ser salvada de la destrucción por los españoles.[13] Trasladada a Cavite se convirtió finalmente en la Patrona de los Viajes del galeón de Manila.

Doblemente interesante esta referencia documental al encargo pictórico, que ante todo nos pone en aviso sobre el hecho de que en la temprana fecha de 1654 se celebrara a la Inmaculada, en Manila. Y que se con él inmortalizara el vínculo del poder civil con una devoción mariana que va a generar no poco desasosiego religioso en temprana fecha. Al tiempo, habría que ponderar el papel jugado por el propio arzobispo Miguel de Poblete, conocido patrono del artista, Vicus.[14]

De otro, lado, cabría considerar que la demanda artística en esas fechas hubo de estar capitalizada por miembros de la iglesia, que se hicieron notar en el cumplimiento de su labor evangélica. Por ello mismo llamo la atención sobre el hecho de que el misionero franciscano Buenaventura Ibáñez, en una carta fechada en 1653, manifestara a otro hermano de la misma orden su incapacidad porque le atendieran en la demanda de un "lienzo de la gloria, purgatorio y infierno" que fuera grande. Se había querido involucrar en esta obra al maestro Castro, quien al parecer estaba muy ocupado, por lo que recomendó que se formalizara el encargo a través de alguien influyente, como el propio Pedro de Almonte.[15] Evidentemente los talleres artísticos hubieron de estar sobrepasados a mediados de siglo, con

12 Blas Sierra de la Calle, OSA, "El arte español en Filipinas," en *España en Filipinas. XLV Jornadas de Historia Marítima* (Madrid, 2012) 337-338.

13 Sierra de la Calle, "El arte español en Filipinas", 338.

14 Sánchez Fuertes, "La biblioteca," 399-444. Alude a la pintura y a su autor: Sierra de la Calle, "El arte español," 97. Sobre ello volvió más tarde Cayetano Sánchez en su aporte al libro coordinado por Jesús Peláez del Rosal, *San Francisco en el arte y en la literatura* (Córdoba: Asoc. Hispánica de Estudios Franciscanos, 2020), el artículo "Los franciscanos y el arte en Filipinas. Claves para su interpretación," pág. 647.

15 Sánchez, "La biblioteca," 415.

una creciente demanda, sobre todo a raíz del terremoto que destruyó la catedral, que hubo de reedificarse y dotarse de nuevo mobiliario por mano del prelado que entonces ocuparía la sede episcopal.

Y volviendo sobre Poblete, hemos de considerar el hecho de que él presidiera las fiestas celebradas en Manila, en diciembre de 1654, en honor de la Inmaculada Concepción.[16] Sin duda, un claro estímulo devocional que motivó el propio prelado en su llegada a las Filipinas, decidido a consolidar el asiento de la iglesia católica y española. Y todo parece indicar que no tuvo problema en valerse de obras de arte, muchas de las cuales trajo consigo en su viaje. En el inventario que se ha publicado de sus bienes figuran obras mexicanas, como la representación del venerable Gregorio López, la Virgen de Guadalupe o el Crucifijo "de Mechoacán", indudablemente de caña de maíz. No menos significativa la Virgen del Pópulo, pero sobre todo las series, a destacar "un apostolado de catorce lienzos" o los ocho grandes "de la creación del mundo y el del diluvio."[17]



Fig. 3. Anónimo. Miguel de Poblete y Casasola, Arzobispo de Manila. S. XVII. México. Museo Nacional del Virreinato. Foto: CC - Dominio público.

Queda por último referir un hecho que, no por conocido, he de silenciar. Me refiero al papel jugado por Almonte, siendo maestre de campo en Manila, intercediendo en favor del arzobispo Miguel de Poblete para que un pintor local cumpliera con un encargo de obra.

En este punto cabría recuperar la información conocida respecto al taller de pintura local, que favoreció el encuentro de saberes, desde creadores chinos a influencias foráneas europeas, flamencas en particular ("antes de mucho no nos harán falta las [imágenes] que se hacen en Flandes").[18] El pa-

16 Sánchez, "La biblioteca", 417.

17 Sánchez, "La biblioteca", 425.

18 Al respecto resulta sumamente ilustrativo lo publicado en 1897 por W. E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino. Recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos* (Madrid. Vda. de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1897), III, 66; citado por Sánchez, "La biblioteca," 414.



Fig. 4. Jerónimo Rodríguez de Espinosa, iluminador. *Carta executoria de hidalguía concedida a los hermanos Diego, Juan y Hernando de Almonte de Sevilla*. 1626. National Art Library. Victoria and Albert, South Kensington.

dre Poblete puso especial empeño en celebrar a la Inmaculada Concepción, lo que finalmente se produjo, como he adelantado, en diciembre de 1654. Y con tal motivo se redecoró el altar mayor de la iglesia de san Francisco, como dicho queda, con "un lienzo muy grande" de Vicus, que provenía de otro lugar. A falta de conocer esta representación podríamos considerar algunas otras obras más tardías con la glorificación mariana, tal como la que décadas más tarde -concretamente en 1773- pintaría Francisco Antonio Vallejo para la Universidad Pontificia de México y hoy atesora el Museo Nacional de Arte (México).

Al fin la Inmaculada sirvió, en cierto modo, de nexo con la metrópoli sevillana, donde en estas décadas se avanzaba en el camino de su declaración dogmática. No por ello hay que olvidar que la Virgen María había sido el gran baluarte devocional de las comunidades religiosas en Filipinas desde que se asentaron en el lugar.[19]

Sevilla siempre estará presente en la vida de Almonte. Aun cuando no se produjera el retorno, su familia mantuvo vivo el espíritu de linaje. Por el jesuita Pedro Gutiérrez sabemos de su meritoria labor en Filipinas, tal como lo comunicó por carta, en 1639, a Diego de la Puente.[20] Éste había vindicado los apellidos familiares en 1626 a través de la pertinente carta ejecutoria de hidalguía, que se conserva y con ilustración del desconocido Jerónimo Rodríguez de Espinosa (*HIERONYMVS RODERIQ*). En ella aparece arrodillado junto a su mujer, Jerónima de Verástegui, a los pies de la Inmaculada.[21]

19 Blas Sierra de la Calle, OSA, "Los Agustinos y el Arte de María en Filipinas," *Archivo Agustiniano* 108 (2024), pp. 309-472.

20 Gutiérrez, Pedro S. I. Copia de vna carta que el padre Pedro Gutierrez de la Compañia de Iesus escriuio a Don Diego de Almonte y Verastigui ventiquatro en la ciudad de Seuilla ano [sic] de 1639. Pedro Gutiérrez, S.I. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, VC/248/35.

21 Aa. Vv., *El documento pintado. Cinco siglos de arte de manuscritos* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado 2000), n. 46, 210-213.



Fig. 5. Casa Almonte. Foto propia.

Evidentemente Pedro de Almonte no pudo sustraerse a la tentación de los de su linajuda familia, que no tuvieron el menor reparo por exhibir sus respectivas cruces de órdenes militares.[22] Quienes además dispusieron del espacio idóneo para la pública exhibición, el nuevo domicilio adquirido por Juan de la Fuente Almonte, en 1631, a los herederos de Gaspar de Monteser, tesorero de la Casa de Contratación. De su fachada, remozada tras la compra, aún penden los blasones familiares, de Almonte y Verástegui.[23]

Y en ese domicilio no hubieron de faltar ni muebles ni objetos suntuarios que alumbraran los vínculos con el mundo oriental y en especial Filipinas. La menor de la familia, María de la Puente, al contraer matrimonio de 1661 aportó como

22 Así lo cuenta Girón Pascual: "El ascenso social se vio facilitado por la coyuntura *proconversa* de la etapa del conde duque de Olivares, tal como indicó Domínguez Ortiz, donde muchas mercedes de hábitos militares se concedieron a cargadores a Indias o a sus familias, desbordando aún más los controles impuestos por la Limpieza de Sangre. Esto se ve en el clan de los Almonte o los Tapia con casi una decena de primos hermanos de estos clanes portando cruces de órdenes en sus vestimentas." Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Capital comercial, capital simbólico. El patrimonio de los *cargadores de Indias judeoconversos* en la Sevilla de los siglos XVI y XVII," *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, Anno XVI (2019): 346.

23 Enriqueta Vila Vilar y Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Familia, linajes y negocios entre Sevilla y las Indias. Los Almonte* (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre Tavera, 2003), p. 123, n. 21. Y de Enriqueta Vila: "Redes mercantiles y sociales entre Sevilla y Lima," en *Mirando las dos orillas. Intercambios mercantiles, sociales y culturales entre Andalucía y América*, coord. E. Vila Vilar y Jaime J. Lacueva Muñoz (Sevilla, Fundación Buenas Letras, 2012), 189.

bienes dotales algunos muebles de referencia, como un escritorio de Japón.[24] Y también posiblemente otros bienes de igual consideración pudieron llegar a manos de otros miembros de las élites sevillanas por regalo o venta de esta familia. Así se tiene conocimiento de que el canónigo Ramírez de Arellano obtuvo de ellos un 'contadorcito' de ébano y marfil.[25] Es evidente que hubo de ser una práctica más asentada de lo que hoy conocemos, que justificaría la presencia en nuestra ciudad de esculturas en marfil, sobre todo crucifijos.[26]



Fig. 6. Anónimo, según Willem van de Velde el Viejo. La *Santa Teresa* del Almirante de Oquendo siendo atacada por la *Aemelia* del Almirante van Tromp durante la Batalla de las Dunas. 1642 – 1665. Rijksmuseum. Tomado de: https://www.europeana.eu/ Foto: Dominio Público.

24 Fernando Quiles, "Viaje interior de las Indias al hogar (Sevilla, tercer cuarto del s. XVII)," en prensa.

25 En 1666. Quiles, "Viaje".

26 Valga, al respecto, la última publicación relativa a las piezas chino-filipinas que atesora la catedral: Antonio J. Santos Márquez y Mª. Jesús Mejías Álvarez, *La plata y otras dádivas indianas en la catedral de Sevilla* (Universidad de Sevilla / Diputación Provincial, Sevilla, 2024), en especial el capítulo dedicado "Los marfiles chino-filipinos y otras piezas de las Indias en la Catedral hispalense," 59-66. En este punto cabría referir la rica bibliografía de que disponemos con respecto al vínculo entre Sevilla y Filipinas. Si acaso he de destacar el estudio de Ana Ruiz Gutiérrez, que fuera su tesis, sobre *El tráfico artístico entre España y Filipinas (1565-1815)* (Granada, Ed. Universidad, 2005).

1.2 SEBASTIÁN LÓPEZ EN SU ÚLTIMA NAVEGACIÓN

Bajo el gobierno de Fajardo, que hemos reconocido como sucesor de quien tenía de su mano a Pedro de Almonte, Corcuera, se produjo un hecho de armas que ha puesto en valor la intervención de quien a continuación me ocupo, el capitán Sebastián López. Se le atribuye una meritoria contribución a la derrota de la escuadra holandesa, en el contexto de la batalla de la Naval. El gobernador de la ciudad de Manila solicitó su apoyo en la defensa de la ciudad, junto con el general Lorenzo Ugalde de Orellana. Y ambos lograron conjurar el peligro. López conducía la nave almiranta, el galeón Rosario.

A pesar de su relevante actuación apenas se tienen noticias de él. Por un texto de época sabemos que era natural de Camiña, en Portugal.[27] Noticia que puede ratificase en el examen de piloto, superado a principios de diciembre de 1636. En los autos de la Casa de Contratación figura como natural de Viana de Camino e hijo de Alonso López y de Isabel González. Y vecino entonces de Triana, donde había contraído matrimonio con Beatriz de Silva.[28]

Sin embargo, no me ha llamado tanto la atención el episodio militar, como el final de acto en lo que a su vida atañe. Su muerte, que se produjo unos años después del citado suceso, se ha podido apenas vislumbrar por un documento en el que se registra lo ocurrido, con una gran carga de dulce emoción.

Sería Pedro Gómez de Cuevas, alcalde mayor de la provincia de Leyte, quien participara a la familia con hondo sentimiento la noticia del fallecimiento del gran navegante. Y sería su viuda la destinataria de la misiva, donde se le refirió el heroico proceder del difunto, al tiempo que el dolor que el suceso provocó a sus camaradas filipinos. Así que en el denso y gris ambiente que le tocó vivir, hubieron de llegarle las palabras de Gómez de las Cuevas como aire fresco.[29] La carta estaba fechada en 8 de agosto de 1651. Y se trataba de una comunicación que, una vez validada por un juez sevillano, se agregó a los papeles del registro público, para asegurar su plena vigencia, lo que en definitiva favoreció el que la viuda heredara los bienes del difunto.[30] De manera que, por el citado auto, sabemos que quedó validada la carta y que "por

27 Francisco Moreno, *Historia de la Sta. Iglesia Metropolitana de Filipinas. Con las vidas de arzobispos y varones insignes, extensiva a hechos culminantes de la conquista y fundación de varias instituciones en esta capital hasta 1650* (Manila, Impr de "El Oriente," 1877), 120.

28 AGI, Contratación, 55B, N. 28.

29 De ello me he hecho eco en un texto que he publicado recientemente: "Vivir también es navegar. En el sentir de la Triana de mediados del XVII," *Cuadernos de los Amigos de los Museos de Osuna* (2024), 42-45.

30 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPS.), lib. 16350, fol. 870; 28-VIII-1652.

no estar rota ni cancelada, ni en parte alguna sospechosa, antes careciendo de todo vicio y sospecha, manda se ponga y registre la carta."[31] Y lo hizo con suma sensibilidad y gran ternura expresándolo en estos términos:

> Trabaja el hombre y surca mares sin perdonar riesgos y peligros. Y cuando parece tener el premio de ellos se halla al fin de la vida. Muchos sentimientos me cuestan el copiar estos renglones porque sé que cada letra para Vmd será un agudo puñal que le traspase el pecho. Entendimiento y juicio son menester para conociendo la pérdida. También la causa, que es Dios el que fue servido de llevarse para sí al sr general Sebastián López. Y es de creer goza de su divina majestad, pues vivió bien y acabo mejor, que aunque su muerte fue acelerada pues a las ocho entró en su casa, al parecer bueno y sano, cenó y fue a la cama, y a las nueve era ya difunto. Yo fui el primero que llego a las voces de sus criados. Causó general sentimiento por ser querido de todos y el consuelo que puede haber es que no había ocho días que había confesado y comulgado. Y no ay duda, sino que tiene el premio merecido del cielo con que sirvió al rey nuestro señor y a Dios que a Vmd dé fuerzas y valor para poder llevar este golpe de fortuna y salud vida para hacer bien por su alma.[32]

A resulta de lo ocurrido se quiso poner orden en los papeles y asuntos económicos del difunto para ajustar lo que a la viuda pertenecía. La situación, tal como la carta transmite, era complicada:

> Pues desde el punto y hora que llego a esta Islas anduvo embarcado, de donde se le recrecieron tantos menoscabos que cuando falleció, como parece por los inventarios, se hallaron seis mil pesos, poco más y por haber dejado un pleito pendiente en la Real Audiencia, del tiempo que fue justicia mayor y castt^{o} del puerto de Cavite, que en vida salió en primera instancia en mil y quinientos pesos y cuatro años de suspensión de oficios, y por su fin y muerte como su albacea y testamentario siguiendo yo el pleito en la revista le dieron por buen juez y le hicieron rebaja de los mil y trecientos y le absolvieron aunque de poca ymportancia en que se gastaron algunos pesos, así en lo referido como en otras deudas que se pagaron; y por haber todo este tiempo entretenídome no he podido ajustar ni sacar el resto de lo que queda para poder enviar razón a Vmd como su heredera, y por muerte a la Virgen de la Encarnación de Triana, y así pido que lo más breve que ser pudiere se remita orden, papeles y recados suficientes para que yo los envíe a la persona o Personas que Vmd ordenare por su cuenta y riesgo empleado V. en ser con explicación y claridad porque yo no laste en tiempo alguno.[33]

Y no podemos menos de significar la trascendencia de esta comunicación, pues al llegar a manos del escribano público sevillano que velaba por los

31 AHPS., 16350, fol. 870; 28-VIII-1652.

32 Manila, 8 de julio de 1651. Firmado por Pedro Gómez de Cuevas. AHPS., 16350, fol. 871.

33 AHPS., 16350, fol. 871.

papeles de la viuda, tuvo a bien considerarla como claro testimonio del nexo amoroso que existía entre ambos y razón de más para concederle el beneficio de los bienes del fallecido general. El documento que informa de ello concreta:

> Doña Beatriz de Silva, viuda del general Sebastián López, vecina de Triana, por cuanto su marido falleció en Manila, reino de la China, y de su muerte ha sabido por carta de Pedro Gómez de Cueva, vecino de Manila [8-VIII-51]... por poder hizo testamento y la dejo heredera, porque esta carta es de mucha importancia y hoy no tiene en esta ciudad otro instrumento con que reconvenir (reconveniar) al dicho Pedro Gómez de Cueva, por tanto pidió al dicho señor Juez mande a dicho escribano público que la registre en mi registro.[34]

Este particular caso nos facilita la cercanía a quien siglos atrás arrostró la pena generada por la pérdida de su ser querido. En este caso no se trata del tráfico artístico, sino del flujo de emociones.

1.3 GABRIEL DE CURUCELAEGUI Y SU LEGADO ORIENTAL A SEVILLA

Pero volviendo sobre mis pasos para conectar con otro individuo que igualmente fue 'mediador' artístico, considero la figura de Gabriel de Curucelaegui, quien a fines de 1679 daba cuenta de su viaje a Filipinas para ocuparse de su gobierno. Como miembro de una rica familia vasca asentada en Sevilla, donde se ejercitaban en la compraventa de oro y plata, poseyó sobrado capital para ponerlo a disposición de la Corona, a cambio de su nombramiento como gobernador y capitán general de las islas. Se le despachó el título, al tiempo que el de presidente de la Real Audiencia de Manila, por Real Provisión de 13 de febrero de 1683.[35] Hasta su fallecimiento, seis años después, cumplió en su cargo con múltiples tareas, involucrándose en el mantenimiento de las fábricas reales, como la fortaleza de Manila o el puerto de Cavite, o incluso en la construcción del colegio de santa Potenciana. Aunque no pudo evitar conflictos con la población autóctona, como la habida con los sangleyes.[36]

Puede que fuera este relieve político el que acabó motivando el que se retratara, para testimonio del logro en el propio domicilio familiar de Sevilla. Por la minuta del escribano público sabemos que en realidad tuvo dos retratos:

34 *Idem*.

35 José Garmendia Arruebarrena, "Los hermanos Curucelaegui de Elgoibar," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*, XLIX-1 (1993): 161-187.

36 De la que sabemos por carta que hoy custodia el Archivo General de Indias. En realidad fue el oidor Pedro de Bolívar quien se ocupó del conflicto habido con los sangleyes panaderos del Parián. AGI, FILIPINAS, 69; 1688-V-23.



Fig. 7. Tomás de Yepes, círculo. *Bodegón con vaso de coco, papelera y escritorio de ébano y marfil*. Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas. Nº Cat. CE28855. 1650/1680.

> Ytt Dos retrattos del sr Dn Gabriel de Curuzelaegui hermano del dho Difuntto, Cauº del horden de snthiago Gouernador y Capn General de las Yslas filipinas y presidentte de la Real audiençia de ellas, el vno tiene dos varas y media de largo y vara y quarta de Ancho sin moldura y el ottro de medio cuerpo dorado y estofado que tiene dos tterçias en quadro.[37]

Una imagen que no he logrado conocer. En cualquier caso, buena es la información junto con la relativa a los bienes artísticos y suntuarios que poseyó en el propio hogar compartido con su hermano Santiago, en la calle Bayona de Sevilla.[38]

La visita que pude hacer por mano del citado escribano me permitió descubrir numerosos enseres repartidos por sus estancias. Y de entre todos, ahora quiero resaltar los que se exhibían en los dos escaparates ubicados en la sala alta. En el primero había doce jícaras de coco con tapaderas y filigranas de plata y otras seis sin ellas. También seis jícaras de calabaza con parecida guarnición y sin tapa, así como dos pocillos de China, guarnecidos de filigrana de plata igualmente tapadas, y un cofrecito que parecía estañado, e incluso dos calabacitas guarnecidas de plata con sus tapaderas. Y asimismo un vaso de unicornio con pie de plata y tres huevos de avestruz con asas, "como aguamanil", con picos pintados, trece tazas y dos pocillos sobredorados, de China, como otras tres tazas blancas con sus tapaderas y dos azules de lo mismo, además de dos aguamaniles sobredorados, como dos leones, que también tenía. Además de dos botecillos con tapaderas.[39]

En el otro expositor podría verse un nutrido conjunto de piezas de cerámica de China, compuesto por diez pocillos dorados y de colores, otros dos con

37 AHPS., lib. 10287, fol. 1324vto.

38 Fernando Quiles, "Hijos de la mar y comerciantes de Indias. Bienes artísticos en casa de los Cruzelaegui (Sevilla, m. XVII)," *Cuadernos de los Amigos de los Museos de Osuna*, núm. 21 (2019): 58-62.

39 Quiles, "Hijos", 58-62. Y también en: *Sevilla y América en el Barroco. Comercio, ciudad y arte*. Sevilla: Bosque de Palabras, 2008, 125-126.

tapaderas y tres cajetas. También tenía dos tazas blancas con tapaderas y otros dos azules 'destapados'. Interesante eran las tres hechuras de 'Santos de Cachimbo'.

Debajo de ambos muebles había sendas tinajillas de barro de Holanda. Y guardados en un baúl de ropa había dieciocho barros de Indias, dos rosarios de Coyol, uno con la cruz y el otro con una medalla de plata. Y, por último, una lámina de *Nuestra Señora del Pópulo*, con guarnición de filigrana de plata con lazo y piedra azul enmedio.[40]


SVCESOS DE LAS
ISLAS FILIPINAS.
DIRIGIDO.
A DON CRISTOVAL GOMEZ DE
Sandoual y Rojas, Duque de Cea.
POR EL DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA,
Alcalde del Crimen, de la real Audiencia de la Nueua Es-
paña, Consultor del santo Oficio de la Inquisicion.
EN MEXICO.
En casa de Geronymo Balli. Año 1609.
Por Cornelio Adriano Cesar.

Fig. 8. Portada de *Svcesos de las Islas Filipinas*, de Antonio de Morga. México, en casa de Geronymo Balli, 1609. Foto: Licencia CC/Dominio público.

Pero igualmente las obras escultóricas y la serie pictórica, amplia y diversa, constituyen un testimonio más que evidente del nexo de la familia Curucelaegui con las Indias. Tenían al menos tres Cristo de marfil, dos de media vara y el tercero de una cuarta.[41] Y además, en la sala grande baja, accesible a la visita, un cuadro de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, de dos varas y media de alto, con la moldura "por dorar", y, "con la misma calidad de moldura y del mismo tamaño", un cuadro de santa Rosa. Evidentemente podría tratarse de dos obras recién adquiridas o en proceso de renovación.[42] Y en la sala de al lado había otro cuadro de santa Rosa.[43]

40 Quiles, "Hijos de la mar," 62. De ello hablé en *Sevilla y América en el Barroco* (cap. 2) y también en "Lo mejor de cada casa. Objetos artísticos de valor en el ámbito doméstico sevillano a mediados del XVII," en Fernando Quiles y Mª. del Pilar López, coords., *Visiones renovadas del barroco iberoamericano* (Sevilla, Enredars, 2016). Igualmente la presente documentación ha sido aprovechada en otros estudios relativo a los vínculos materiales con las Indias, como el caso de Francisco J. Gutiérrez y Valeriano Sánchez ("El arbol del jardín del mar y su devoción mariana. El caso de la Virgen del Coral de Sevilla." *Regina Mater Misericordiae*, 334) y el de Alberto Baena Zapatero y los biombos de Nueva España ("Intercambios culturales y globalización a través del Galeón de Manila: Comercio y producción de biombos (s. XVII y XVIII)" en Salvador Bernabeu Albert, coord. *La nao de China, 1565-1815: Navegación, comercio e intercambios culturales*, Sevilla, Universidad: 2013, 213-246).

41 AHPS., lib. 10287, fols. 1322r-23r.

42 AHPS., lib. 10287, fol. 1323r.

43 AHPS., lib. 10287, fol. 1324r.

Y no cabe menor reconocimiento al vínculo marino que dos elementos singulares de su extensa colección artística, de un lado

> vna pintura grande de nuestra sra del pilar de Saragosa snthiago y sn Marttin sin marco y tiene dos varas y media de largo y quatro y media de Ancho y un floron que esta apartte que fueron del galeon y tiene el dho floron varfa y quarta de largo y dos varas y una terçia de Ancho.

Y de otro

> Una "pintura de lanunsiasion de nra sra que tanbien fue del galeon y tiene dos varas y dos terçias de largo y media vara de Ancho. Ytt ottra pintura de nuestra sra del rrosario sn Gabriel y sn franco que asimismo fue del dho Galeon y esta a la suuida de la escalera de las dhas casas y tiene quatro varas escasas de cayda y una vara poco mas de Ancho."[44]

Por último, cabe constatar el fuerte nexo que la familia tuvo con la Casa de Contratación y con sus principales agentes, así como con otros entes de poder de la ciudad, como el Asistente, Luis de Salcedo, al que regalaron

> dies y seis quadros de la casa de Austria de a dos varas y media de largo y vara y quartta de Ancho q se le entregaron al señor Don Alonso del castillo Rueda del consejo de Su Magd y su oydor en la Real audiençia de la casa de la Contratasion de las yndias de esta dha ciud por el dho sr Dn Santiago de Cruselaegui y por Don xptoual de Curuselaegui su hermano para el efecto de adornar la casa, al señor Don luis de Zalcedo que al presente es asistente de esta ciud.[45]

2. Las religiones en su camino: predicación, misión, imagen y emblemas

Dos recursos valieron para exaltación del culto católico en las islas, ambos conectados entre sí: las misiones evangélicas de las órdenes religiosas y el agregado martirial de algunas de ellas. En relación con los primero, ocupa un lugar preferente sor Jerónima de la Asunción, con la fundación del primero de los conventos femeninos en Filipinas. Y por lo que respecta al estímulo de la devoción a través de las figuras martiriales, sobre todo las creadas en estos territorios, son de destacar los mártires de Nagasaki, cuya canonización movió a un importante sector de la iglesia de Oriente.

44 AHPS., lib. 10287, fol. 1324r-vto.

45 AHPS., lib. 10287, fol. 1324vto.

2.1 LA FE MUEVE MONTAÑAS

Antonio de Morga, que llegó a Filipinas en 1593 como teniente gobernador, para restablecer la Audiencia, procedía de Sevilla, aunque era vasco de nacimiento. Le movía una clara voluntad de reforzar la presencia hispana en aquellas tierras, confiando para ello en las órdenes religiosas, ayudando a su arraigo y luego su expansión. Así lo comentaba:

> Hallé la tierra [...] con muchas esperanzas de que con mediana diligencia ha de ser Nuestro Señor servido de abrir la puerta a la predicación de su evangelio entre los infieles vecinos, como se va mostrando el fruto que hacen los cuatro frailes de la orden de San Francisco que el año pasado fueron desde aquí a Japón.[46]

De él hemos de destacar el texto que publicó en México (1609), con la relación de los *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*.[47] En preámbulo dirigido "Al Letor" manifestó su sentir de este modo:

> Engrandecese la Monarchia de los Reyes de España, por el zelo y cuydado con que an defendido en sus naturales y proprios reynos, la Santa Fè Catolica, que enseña la iglesia Romana... Y también, por el valor de sus inuencibles coraçones; con que, à costa de sus rentas y aueres, con armadas y gentes Españolas, an surcado los mares, descubierto y conquistado grandes reinos, en lo mas remoto è incognito del mundo, trayendo sus gentes, al conocimiento de Dios verdadero, y rebaño de la yglesia Cristiana, en que oy viuen, gouernados en paz è justicia, ciuil è politicamente, al abrigo y amparo de su Real braço y poder...[48]

Luego de unos años fue fray Bartolomé de Letona, biógrafo de la madre sor Jerónima, de la que me ocupo a continuación, quien redundaría en ello, exaltando a la venerable monja pero igualmente estimando a los mártires del Japón, como remarcó en el Prólogo a su libro:

> Esta Provincia es la vnica destas Indias en tener seis hijos suyos Santos Canonizados Protomartires de Xapon, con otros veinte, y siete Martires aqui, y en otras Islas. Tiene täbien esta Provinçia gran lustre en tener en Manila el Convento de Santa Clara, y en el á la Madre Geronima, y aotras muchas muy herederas de su espíritu.[49]

46 Y más tarde reconoció el progreso de las citadas órdenes, con la construcción de iglesias y hospitales. Cartas de 1595 y 1596, publicada en: Antonio F. García-Abasolo y Rosario Pérez Alcalá, "Antonio de Morga. La visión de Filipinas de un magistrado sevillano del siglo XVI," *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba, UCO, 1994), vol. 6, 65-78.

47 En casa de Gerónimo Balli, México, 1609. En relación con este magistrado y su estancia en Filipinas, vid. García-Abasolo y Pérez Alcalá, "Antonio de Morga...," 65-78.

48 Morga, Sucesos, s. p.

49 Fray Batholomé de Letona, Perfecta religiosa (Puebla, Vda. de Juan de Borja, 1662) Prólogo, n. 92.



Fig. 9. Anónimo. *Mártires del Japón*. S. XVIII. Sevilla, Santa María de Jesús.

Ya en julio de 1603 un colectivo ciudadano de Manila significaba a través de una misiva lo ocurrido con los mártires franciscanos del Japón.[50] Y expresando su inquietud sobre la necesaria valoración de lo ocurrido con ellos. Debo entender que no hubo una respuesta al comunicado, por lo que justo dos años más tarde los mismos individuos mostraron su preocupación por el desinterés manifestado. Por ello insistieron que se atendiera al franciscano fray Pedro Matías, miembro de una comunidad que realizaba una importante labor en las islas, para que se llevara a término el proceso de canonización de los referidos mártires.[51]

A Francisco Ruiz de Castro, conde de Taurisano y embajador español en Roma (entre 1609 y 1615), se le encomienda mediante Real Cédula de 16 de marzo de 1612, el apoyo a la causa de canonización de los mártires. Obraba en poder de los gestores de este movimiento informaciones recibidas en Macao y Manila, con la correspondencia y las relaciones reunidas provenientes del obispo del Japón y de "otras personas fidedignas."[52] Asimismo se hizo notar la inquietud

50 AGI., Filipinas, 27, n. 42.

51 AGI., Filipinas, 27, n. 55; 5-VII-05.

52 AGI., Filipinas,329, l. 2, fols.147v-148r.

de los impulsores de la causa al cardenal Borja.[53] Ya en la década de los veinte proliferaron las imágenes grabadas, sobre todo las relativas a los jesuitas. Y a la conclusión del propio siglo, con Roma al cargo de su beatificación, se materializan las representaciones triunfales.[54] Y la iglesia sevillana no se mantuvo ajena a este proceso vindicativo, como se verifica en el hecho de que las clarisas de santa María de Jesús, en Sevilla, dispongan de una interesante representación de los franciscanos en crucifixión. Aun cuando son más significativas las esculturas de los tres jesuitas, Miki, Goto y Kisai, que hoy conserva el Museo de Bellas Artes, procedentes de la Casa Profesa, que se hizo con estas imágenes posiblemente coincidiendo con su beatificación, en 1627, por mano quizás de Juan de Mesa.[55]

2.2 SOR JERÓNIMA DE LA ASUNCIÓN Y COMPAÑERAS

Sor Jerónima de la Asunción emprendió camino acompañada por otras ocho hermanas, quienes arrostraron los riesgos que entrañaban tan largo trayecto, que se prolongó por más de un año. Bien que lloraron las hermanas que quedaron atrás, en el toledano cenobio de san Juan de los Reyes, la marcha del "esquadrón sagrado de Vírgenes santas".[56] Entre ellas destacó sor Jerónima de san Antonio, que profesó en el convento de Sampaloc, Manila, en 1621. Su singularidad deriva del hecho de haberse ejercitado como escritora, siendo autora de un importante conjunto de textos místicos.

De sor Jerónima decía su principal biógrafo que enmudecía por no hablar vanamente: "De tal suerte encarçeló su lengua, q sino era preguntada, y en cosa forçosa no respondia; y si podia responder por señas escusava palabras."[57] Alejándose de la cotidiana mansedumbre conventual para acercarse a Cristo con la meditación. "Meditava a Christo en el monte Calvario; y poniase ella en vna Cruz, donde estava colgada, y suspenssa en el ayre tres horas; deseando ser Cruçificada con Christo."[58]

53 AGI., Filipinas, 329, l. 2, fols. 147v-148r; fols. 278-9.

54 De los testimonios reconocidos en el País Vasco y Navarra: Eneko Ortega Mentxaka, "El martirio y el triunfo de los jesuitas en Nagasaki: la iconografía y sus fuentes en los colegios jesuíticos del País Vasco y Navarra," *NORBA. Revista de Arte*, no. XXXVI (2016): 121-141. Y al respecto, del imaginario triunfal: págs. 139-140.

55 José M. Baena Gallé, "Los mártires jesuitas de Japón y Marchena. El legado de los duques de Arcos en 1753," *Archivo Hispalense* XCVII, núms. 294-296 (2014): 209-217.

56 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, 41.

57 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, "Libro Primero De la Vida de la Venerable Madre Geronima de la Asvncion," Lib. I, 3.

58 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 7, 3.

Pero como "ninguno puede entrar al Hijo sino por la Madre. Y como ella es la puerta del Cielo, assi también deve ser, y lo es de los exerçiçios espirituales." Y así durante los años toledanos se volcó en la meditación del Rosario y de sus misterios.[59]

Ella fue quien encargó la imagen de la Concepción que se veneraba entonces en el convento de san Juan de los Reyes.[60] Que en palabras del padre Letona "es de las mas perfectas, y hermosas de España, y muy milagrosa, y también es milagrosa la hermosura, y perfección, que tiene, debida â las Oraciones de esta gran sierva de María: la qual estuvo en Oracion, y exerçiçios todo, el tiempo, que le estubo haçiendo el escultor, rogando â la Uirgen, que saliesse muy hermosa, y perfecta."[61]

Sería el Domingo de Resurrección de 1620 cuando se hizo pública la noticia de la inminente partida de la madre sor Jerónima, ya con todas las cédulas reales precisas para cursar el viaje. Y aún se demoró la partida unos días, que se produjo el 28 de abril, en dos carrozas que había preparado el padre fray Joseph de Santa María, Definidor y Procurador de la provincia de san Gregorio de Filipinas.[62]Tras de varias paradas en el camino, llegaría a Sevilla en las primeras semanas de mayo, alojándose en santa Clara al menos hasta el 22 de junio, cuando parte para Sanlúcar de Barreda, embarcando en Cádiz el 5 de julio.[63]

> En el viaje, que hiço de Toledo â Manila, en que por mar, y tierra andubo cinco mil leguas (q aun el pensarlo da horror a vn hombre sano, y robusto, quanto mas a vna muger de sesenta y cinco años, enfermissima, y debilitadissima â penintençias) padeçió muchos trabajos. En las dos navegaciones de los mares del Norte, y del Sur estubo tan enferma que quantos la vian desesperavan de su vida, siempre cargada de achaques penosissimos, y dolores increibles, que se siempre mostró vna serenidad, alegria, y paciençia tan rara, que era admiraçion, y pasmo de quantos la miravan.[64]

59 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 9, 1.

60 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 9, 4.

61 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 9, 4.

62 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 25, 1-2.

63 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 25, 6-7.

64 Letona, *Perfecta religiosa*, cap. 16, 5. Para mayor detalle en relación con el viaje y su estancia en Filipinas: González Zymla, Herbert. "Los viajes de sor Jerónima de la Fuente: Claves de la proyección de la espiritualidad franciscana femenina en México, Manila y Macao." Paula Revenga Domínguez, coord. *Arte barroco y vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico. Entre lo sacro y lo profano*. Michoacán/Córdoba: El Colegio de Michoacán/Editorial Universidad de Córdoba, 2017; 301-330.

En este punto nos encontramos con una nueva conexión sevillana con Filipinas: Por obra del maestro Velázquez, con su aporte a esta construcción intelectual y vehicular: la monja-símbolo, el signo impulsor de la devoción. Y correspondería a Velázquez trazar las primeras líneas de esa emblemática figura. Al margen de las calidades del retrato, habría que significar dos frases que refuerzan el mensaje, una de ellas perdida en la versión del Prado, aunque se conserva en el ejemplar de la colección Fernández de Araoz. Ésta partía a modo de filacteria de los labios de la religiosa, al ser una expresión propia: "SATIABOR DVM GLORI... FICATVS FVERIT." En tanto que mira el crucifijo viene a decir que "En su gloria está mi verdadera satisfacción." Ya vimos esa fuerza motora, que fue para sor Jerónima la rendida devoción por Cristo. Y la otra inscripción, sobre la cabeza, viene a decir: "BONVM EST PRETOLARI CVM SILENTIO SALVTARE DEI": "Es bueno esperar en el silencio la salvación de Dios." Lo que nuevamente nos permite recuperar el pensamiento de la monja, que alababa la meditación y el silencio.



Fig. 10. Diego Velázquez. *La venerable madre Jerónima de la Fuente*, 1620. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Foto: Licencia CC/Dominio público.

Y para mejor contextualizar el retrato, he ahí el texto situado a los pies del mismo:

> Este es verdadero Re / trato de la Madre / Doña Jerónima de la Fuente, / Relixiosa del Con/ vento de Sancta ysabel de / los Reyes de T./ Fundadora y primera Ab / badesa del Convento S. / Clara dela Concepción / de la primera regla de la Ciu/ dad de Manila en filipin / nas. Salio a esta fundación de / edad de 66 años martes / veinte y ocho de Abril de / 1620 años. Salieron de / este convento en su compa / ñía la madre Ana de / Christo y la madre Leo / nor de sanct francisco. / Relixiosas y la herma / na luan de sanct Antonio / novicia. Todas personas / de mucha importancia / Para tan alta obra.

Las dos reproducciones principales de la imagen de la monja hicieron el viaje de retorno a Toledo, donde se repartirían entre sendos conventos franciscanos, tanto para perdurable memoria de su existencia, como para estímulo a las vocaciones monacales. Evidentemente, la fama de santidad le llegó antes incluso de la muerte. Sus hermanas toledanas así lo sentían, por lo que recibieron con gozo los retratos.

Murió sor Jerónima en 1630 y no hubo espera alguna para emprender el camino hacia su beatificación. Del 9 de septiembre de 1634 es la carta real dirigida al cardenal Francisco Barberini, haciéndole saber que el procurador general de Manila, Juan Grau Monfalcón, dio cuenta de la muerte de sor Jerónima "con fama de santidad". Por lo que solicitó el "que favorezca y ampare ante el papa la causa."[65] Él mismo compartió con el cardenal Borja y Velasco -arzobispo entonces de Sevilla- su inquietud.[66] Se reforzó la solicitud mediante misiva regia en que se rogaba a Su Santidad diera "entera fe y creencia" al embajador español en Roma, marqués de Castel Rodrigo, en su demanda de la bula de rótulo para las informaciones y canonización de la madre.[67] Y también empujó en esa dirección el cardenal Albornoz, como aval del embajador español, con la solicitud de la citada bula, para que sea "despachada con toda brevedad."[68]

En el primer cuarto del XVIII se mueve la causa de sor Jerónima de la Fuente, por mano de la comunidad clarisa. El virrey de Nueva España recibió una real cédula por la que se le ordenaba pagar por mano de la Real Hacienda lo adeudado a las descalzas de santa Clara de Manila, a fin de que lo emplearan en lo previsto, "y no cese, por falta de medios, la prosecución de la causa de canonización de su fundadora madre Jerónima de la Asunción."[69]

Valga lo arriba referido como una breve muestra de cuantos vínculos mantuvo Sevilla con las Filipinas todavía en el XVII. En cierto modo permite considerar el papel jugado por la ciudad como base portuaria, lugar desde el que partía la flota de Indias y al que retornaba tras de su periplo atlántico. Y más allá de servir de eje de esa maquinaria virreinal, habría que significarla como asiento de agentes del comercio, religiosos y religiosas y tanta otra gente que depositó su esperanza de negocio y de mejor vida en los galeones que partieron del lugar. Pero igualmente de los que amarraron a su puerto tras del viaje. Y con ello la derrama de objetos y bienes extraídos de las bodegas de los navíos. He ahí lo ocurrido con los tres ilustres navegantes que hicieron vida en Manila, así como el de la virtuosa monja que hizo lo propio, tras de su largo peregrinar, pese a su marcha dejaron testimonio de su conexión con la ciudad andaluza.

65 AGI., Filipinas, 340, l. 3, fol. 473.

66 AGI., Filipinas, 340, l. 5, fol. 52r.

67 AGI., Filipinas, 340, l. 5., fols. 53r-54r.

68 En Madrid, 14-II-1640. AGI, l. 5, fols. 53r-54r.

69 AGI., Filipinas, 333, l. 12, fols. 308-310; 3-X-1723.

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Tracing Philippine Baroque Art
A Look into the Heritage Provenance of the 17th-Century Retablos of Silang, Cavite

Rastreando el arte barroco filipino: una mirada a la procedencia patrimonial de los retablos del siglo XVII en Silang, Cavite

Phillip N.A. Lacson Medina
University of the Philippines Diliman

Abstract

Much has been written on the Philippine Baroque theme, often defined as mestizaje or hybrid, a concept of Latin American origin. In its adaptive architectural form, local pioneering scholars have dubbed it as "earthquake baroque," while from faith-based perspectives, we value it as "syncretized." The study will attempt to track the development of Philippine baroque art as a conscious pastiche in art and architecture, evident in today's concept of global production, conditions, and context. Currently, transcontinental discourse on historical interconnections has played an important role in transcultural formations. In Philippine art and history, one can appreciate this by looking into visual evidence of the transfer, adaptation, and possession of artistic styles. The paper will review creative expressions in art and architecture beyond the predominant emphasis on Spanish-Chinese-Indio dynamics. It will be an attempt to appreciate how Flemish, Arabic, and Malay influences contribute to the aesthetics of Silang.

Keywords

Philippine baroque; Jesuit art; mestizaje; mudejar; pastiche; retablo

Resumen

Se ha escrito mucho sobre el tema del barroco filipino, a menudo definido como mestizaje o híbrido, un concepto de origen latinoamericano. En su forma arquitectónica adaptativa, los estudiosos pioneros locales lo han denominado "barroco sísmico," mientras que desde perspectivas confesionales, lo valoramos como "sincretizado." El estudio intentará rastrear el desarrollo del arte barroco filipino como un pastiche consciente en el arte y la arquitectura, evidente en el concepto actual de producción, condiciones y contexto globales. En la actualidad, el discurso transcontinental sobre las interconexiones históricas ha desempeñado un papel clave en las formaciones transculturales. En el arte y la historia filipinos, se puede apreciar esto observando las evidencias visuales de la transferencia, adaptación y posesión de estilos artísticos. Este estudio examinará las expresiones creativas en arte y la arquitectura más allá del énfasis predominante en la dinámica español-chino-indio. Intentará a apreciar cómo las influencias flamencas, arábicas, y malayas contribuyen a la estética de Silang.

Palabras clave

Barroco filipino; arte jesuita; mestizaje; mudéjar; pastiche; retablo

1. Introduction

This study seeks to present a historical and artistic exposition of an old *retablo*[1] in the Philippines made during the early colonial period. Through historicization, it will look into the historical development and artistic production of Philippine baroque through the carved *retablos* of Silang, Cavite, as an approach to further understand its artistic heritage provenance. As a product of the early colonial period, the retablos can convey the inception of dialogue and imposition of Western ideals coupled with the assimilation, omission, and assertion of regional and local sensibilities in art.

The town of Silang is located in the eastern portion of the province of Cavite, about 43 kilometers south of Manila. It was established as a settlement in the *tingues*[2] of Cavite during the early years of colonization. The Franciscans started to evangelize on the mountain slopes as early as 1585. They established the parish in 1595 under the patronage of San Diego de Alcala; hence, a 1599 first document recorded the parish as San Diego de Silan. These scattered agricultural villages followed the prescribed *reduccion*[3] system of the colonizers. In the 17th century, the *Pueblos de Silan y Yndan* were part of an *encomienda*[4] under the *Provincia de Tondo*. However, the Franciscans could not sustain this mission, so the *encomendero*, Diego Jorge de Villalobos, entrusted the town to the Jesuits. This was recorded in the chronicles of the

1 Retablo is a shelf or ledge on which ornaments are placed, or a frame enclosing decorated panels, above the back of an altar, hence, "re-table" or behind the altar The word may also be referred to a painted or carved "altarpiece," consisting of one or more fixed panels. Also called retable, reredo or pala d'altare. From "Retable" *The Oxford Companion to Art*, (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1995), 28-30 and 977.

2 Tingues is a native word for the mountains citing a description of Silang in Pedro Chirino, "The New Residence of Silan and its Christians," *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (Rome: 1604; Project Gutenberg, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898 — Volume 13 of 55, Chapter LXXIX), https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/15184/pg15184-images.html.

3 *Reduccion* is a system of resettlement of natives of colonized barangays. The area is also often declared a *doctrina* or an administrative unit in the colonial regime as a preparatory step to set up a parish through indoctrination done by the missionary friars. The reduccion system would eventually lead to the creation of *pueblos* or towns. From the entry on "doctrina" in the *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 1, (Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993), 206-207.

4 The *encomienda* was a system of the Spanish colonial administration first employed in the Americas and then introduced in the Philippines during its conquest. Portions of the land were granted to loyal and meritorious colonial officials. Upon receipt of the land grant and as approved by the Spanish Crown, the grantees are called encomenderos with the role of protecting the territory and its inhabitants. It was also considered an early partitioning of local government units with the functions of collecting tributes and soliciting labor from the natives. From the entry on " encomienda" in the Philippine *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Volume 1, (Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993), 212-213.

Jesuit Pedro Chirino in *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* dated 1601. Historical narratives continued in *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas* of Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde, also a Jesuit. On the third transfer of the town, a large stone church was constructed under the command of Padre Juan de Salazar.

Salazar's church was large, with thick walls supporting frequent earth movements, given the town's proximity to volcanic and tectonic activities. Construction of the church started in 1637 and continued until 1639, but the retablos were finished around 1663. The exterior may be simple, but the interior houses the *retablos*, rendering a magnificent depiction of colonial saints.[5] The retablos are fundamental samples of scriptural art for evangelization. The church of Silang distinctively holds one of the oldest inventories of colonial statuaries and bas-reliefs in the country.[6]

There is a robust scholarship on Philippine churches' descriptive analyses covering ecclesiastical chronicles, liturgical significance, and cultural importance.[7] Early scholarly studies on Philippine baroque *retablos* follow the Spanish-Chinese-Indigenous pattern of interpretation as linked with a historical narrative. This is evident in the earlier works of esteemed local scholars like Fernando Zobel de Ayala, Alice Coseteng, Esperanza Gabonton, and Regalado Trota Jose, among many others, as they look into the wide array of Philippine colonial art and architecture productions. Studies were done from the middle to the end of the 20th century.

5 Rene B. Javellana, S. J., *Wood and Stone: For God's Greater Glory, Jesuit Art & Architecture in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 58.

6 Regalado Trota Jose, "Mga Estilo sa Retablong Pilipino: Ilang Halimabawa Mula sa Kabite" in *Iskultura sa Pilipinas: Mula Anito Hanggang Assemblage at iba pang Sanaysay*, ed. Alice Guillermo (Manila: Metropolitan Museum Manila, 1991), 92.

7 Philippine scholarship on church history and art is already immense. This study will only mention those that have direct relevance to the topic and concerned locale. However, it is highly necessary to mention other scholars like Fr. Pedro Galende, OSA for the Augustinian legacies in the Philippines with his publications from 1987 to 2010; Jose Eleazar Bersales of the University of San Carlos for writing and editing the cultural publication, *Balaanong Bahandi*; *Sacred Treasures of the Archdiocese of Cebu* in 2010; and, Benito Legarda, Jr. for his *Hispanic Philippine Churches: An Architecture Study* in 2020. We also have foreigners like German-born Winand Klassen in his *Architecture in the Philippines: Filipino Building in a Cross-Cultural Context* made a general overview of churches per religious order in the Philippines being released in 1986 and reprinted in 2010; and a Swiss by birth and Cebuano at heart, Paul Gerschwiller, who released the two-tome historical research on the towns of Argao (2015) and Boljoon (2016), Cebu under the auspices of Ramon Aboitiz Foundation, Inc. These are just some of the passionate scholars exploring the intricacies of colonial church art and architecture in the country.

Zobel de Ayala, in 1963, cited the fusion of Spanish, Chinese, and Philippine characteristics[8] in *Philippine Religious Imagery.* While his study focused mainly on moveable sculptures, his work rendered the early understanding of the Philippines' artistic inclinations. In 1972, Coseteng presented the Philippine colonial style in the *Spanish Churches in the Philippines* as a general expression of Spanish-American, particularly Mexican colonial, with a hint of Medieval Spanish, Mudejar. While the study focuses on architecture, art production was greatly discussed in this seminal work on ecclesiastical edifices in the Philippines. Her study highlighted the fact that through the supervision of the friars and the competence of Filipinos and Chinese-Filipino mestizo builders and craftsmen, colonial art production developed styles differently from the Americas.[9] In 1979, Gatbonton explored a broader discourse of carved *santos* during the colonial period. In *Heritage of Saints*, she presented a contextual history for the production of images from the Spanish Medieval history up to the age of colonization. Gatbonton noted that "history has traditionally assigned the role of artists and craftsmen to the Chinese in the Philippines" and designated the locals as the "largely invisible underpinning of the colonial economy."[10] Connoisseurs and heritage scholars highly appreciated this, given her local area categorization of the stylistic execution of *santos.* Finally, we have Jose's *Simbahan* in 1991 as an extensive dissection of Philippine church culture from architecture to arts and ephemera. The book underscored that the "Church-State set-up dictated the cultural development of the country in many ways," as evidenced by the laws incorporated from the Latin American experience, the strong friar character of Christianization, and the inclusive approach to recounting the local artists, both indios and mestizos.[11]

All these studies play a large role in tracing the development of Philippine baroque art and of Philippine colonial art history in general following the tripartite model. However, most of these studies focused on the 18th and 19th-century samples of art. There is a gap in the study of older colonial art productions in the country. Further, it is also noteworthy to mention the earlier works of foreign scholars in the field, notably Pal Kelemen (1951 and 1969), Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo Spinola (1959), who pioneered the exposition

8 Fernando Zobel de Ayala, *Philippine Religious Imagery* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila), 10.

9 Alicia M.L. Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Mercury Printing Press, 1972), 2-3.

10 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *Heritage of Saints*, (Manila: Editorial Associates Ltd., 1979), 145-146.

11 Regalado Trota Jose, *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines, 1565-1898*. (Makati City: Ayala Museum, 1991), 19, 51 and 136-137.

of art in the Americas and the architecture of Spain in the colonies. These two were often cited by Filipino scholars as histo-cultural studies tried to configure the "Filipino" in Philippine baroque history.

Multi-disciplinary approaches to faith-heritage studies are gaining a momentum of interest covering disciplines of anthropology with its *syncretized faith,*[12] descriptive architecture with its *earthquake-baroque* character,[13] of decorative arts with Western ornaments, Chinese resonances, and native influences[14] and "its mix of different cultural influences…made it *totally* Philippine."[15] Studies produced during the 21st century provided a viewpoint from a wider global perspective.

Scholars like Fernando Zialcita and Rene Javellana reassessed the Filipino identity as seen in arts, culture, and heritage. Zialcita released *Philippine Ancestral Houses* (1980) with Martin Tinio, Jr. to showcase domestic architecture with a pursuit to define the plurality of traditional Filipino home designs. His acceptance of cultural diversity paved the way for a more critical outlook on Filipino identity as he published *Authentic Though Not Exotic* in 2019. Here, he emphasized the need for a change in cultural outlook, an alternative way to read Philippine history and culture. This can be attained by divesting current biases in reading Filipino heritage. His three essays in this book call firstly to acquire a more positive light in reading the demonized Hispanization of the Philippines, second to go beyond the binaries of culture as its limits in choosing between traditional (non-colonial) versus the mixed or bastardized (colonial), and lastly, to avoid a reductionist interpretation due to the need to define (misleadingly) and generalize (hastily). Rene Javellana, a Jesuit priest and scholar, explored the causal adaptability of the Jesuits in Philippine art productions. The Jesuits' liberal approach to evangelization offered the possibilities of cultural blending, assimilation, and acculturation, as seen in the art productions of the time. In his 1991 book, *Wood and Stone: For God's Greater Glory, Jesuit Art & Architecture in the Philippines* provided the historical backbone to this study. More so, his publication in 2017, *Weaving*

12 Syncretic elements in Philippine Christianity have been surveyed and analyzed since the middle of the 20th century. See John Phellan Leddy, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1967), 78-81.

13 Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines*, p.19

14 Gerard Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino: A History of Architecture and Urbanism in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 136.

15 Valuable architectural notes and commentaries were published in Augusto Villalon, *Essays on Philippine Heritage and Architecture* (Makati City: The Bookmark, Inc., 2001), 267.

Culture: The Invention of Colonial Art and Culture in the Philippines 1565-1850, has provided greater insights into the connection of the Philippine experience to the greater scheme of things in the world.

Continents apart, American-Canadian author and art historian Gauvin Alexander Bailey also explored the concept of architectural hybridity and the exploration of Jesuit art in the Spanish colonies during the height of the empire. In a chapter in the *Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia* book published in 1999, he offered an assessment of Philippine retablos as unique and elaborate in indigenous form and adaptively squat as implemented to be earthquake-resistant.[16] These studies have broadened the Filipino perspective away from the decades of discussion of "Filipino-ness" in art as they provided the links and interconnectedness of the Philippine art production with the rest of the intercontinental experience.

As the paper explores the Philippine Baroque, it is necessary to tackle the earlier assessments and concepts of *Mestizaje* and *Mudejar,* given similar trajectories of cultural blending, assimilation, and acculturation across continental borders. While these phenomena are similar to the Philippine experience, the study contends that they do not completely define Philippine art production, as multiple cultural assertions exist.

Prior to this, a discussion on the instrumentality of the Jesuits and their concept of art and evangelization is also necessary. The narrative shall serve as the prologue of links and chain of events that led to the permissible creation of art and architecture. This movement of combining Catholic ideals with local aesthetics is seen in India and the Philippines based on the studies in the book *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*. In Silang, the 168 years of Jesuit administration would surely provide direct cross-continental art movements, as seen in the details of design produced in 1663.[17]

Through these two domains of local and international scholarly interpretations and cross-continental stylistic syntheses of *Mestizaje* and *Mudejar*, the study aims to present actual forms of visual evidence of this "hybridity,"[18]

16 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit art and Architecture in Asia" in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 356-360.

17 The estimated year of the *retablo's* construction given the existence of Santo Niño de Ternate citing Javellana, 116.

18 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Andean Hybrid: Convergent Cultures in Churches of Colonial Peru*, (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010). Hybrid was chosen by the author to explain the geographical and cultural admixture and its fit in the international sytlistic movement.

polymodality,[19] and perhaps, better to be explained as a *conscious pastiche* in an architectural sense. This study proposes that conscious pastiche of architecture took place in the Baroque period or even before the period of colonization, given the historical dynamics of the *Mudejar* style. This idea is supported by architect and scholar Gerard Lico, who first noted that "colonial churches were a mixture and accumulation of fragments borrowed from medieval Spanish architecture as well as from Chinese, Muslim, and other foreign influences coming as far as India…with an outcome of unique vernacular interpretation of Spanish colonial architecture rendered through an aesthetic confluence of stylistic sources."[20] Consciously, certain motifs were still employed despite their classification under the medieval period and the Renaissance.

This study seeks to point out that this was influenced by semantics and semiotics of preferences and historical demands of time, creating a polystylistic form. While pastiche architecture may be viewed negatively for its lack of originality and authenticity, the study would like to argue that it *consciously engages* the architect or designer to reinterpret traditions and respond to the needs of the cultural context of their time.

Through these concepts, we will trace the heritage provenance of one of the earliest *retablos* in the Philippines. From here, the study will outline the themes of artistic and historical aspects of conscious pastiche that contributed to the creation of the Silang *retablos*. This manner of histo-cultural exposition is imperative in removing the limiting binaries and reductionist approach to understanding art. The study proposes to explain the dialogue, imposition, assimilation, omission, and assertion in Philippine baroque art through the themes of historicization or historical development.

The themes will also explore the retablos' semiotics and semantics relevant to the conscious pastiche. First is to acknowledge the history and the mode of art production. In historicizing, this is the dialogue. The Jesuits were the causal force and the contextual background for the *retablos*' creation. Second, the importance of the engravers as the source of the designs. This should be accounted for proper historical attribution of the reliefs or *relleves*' design origin. From a historical point of view, this is the imposition or the recommended

19 A term proposed for architectural mix similar to the acquisition of varying styles in music from Dr. Fernando Zialcita's lecture "Building a house in the first Global City" presented in ICOMOS Philippines Webinar, Unboxing Philippine Architecture's Multiple Links, 25 May 2024.

20 Gerard Lico, *Arkitekturang Filipino*, 135.

friar-approved designs for the *retablos* of the new territories. The third theme is the recognition of the Asian and native workers who hand-in-hand created the artwork as envisioned for ecclesiastical function. From here, opportunities for assimilation and omission would have taken place. The fourth and fifth themes are creative expositions proposing the multicultural existence of motifs. It is here where we will unravel the possible assertions of interest.

From these themes, the study wishes to highlight the immense potentiality of the Silang Church as an *artifact of global encounter* during the 17th century, a discourse of world cultures translated in the carvings of the *retablos*. Through these historical and artistic explorations, the study can trace a comprehensive heritage provenance for greater appreciation of the nation.

2. The Jesuits' Encounter

The Jesuits, officially known as the Society of Jesus, have played a significant role in developing arts and architecture throughout history. With Ignatius of Loyola as its founder in 1540, his companions followed a quasi-military order in their missionary work and yet were deeply immersed in the arts. Their agenda was to defend and spread Catholicism through education supported by a strong engagement in the arts as a communication tool.[21]

This is particularly highlighted in their efforts during the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits strategized and labored heavily to fulfill their mission in Europe and beyond. Backed up by their strong financial and influential capabilities, the order became one of Europe's most powerful religious orders. Their focus on theology, education founded in the study of letters and philosophy, and the arts provided Catholic communities with impressive atheneums guided by the teachings and traditions of the Church headed by the Pope in the Vatican.

Notable in their teaching is the principle of "cura personalis," or care for the entire being, composed of their intellect, emotions, and spirit. This holistic approach to learning is animated by the discerning capacities of man's philosophy and a strong sense of judgment and morality and fostered by a deep appreciation for the arts.

21 John W. O'Malley, S.J., " Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus" in *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773*, trans. Robert Turner (Philadephia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 1-26.

This was also manifested by the Jesuits in the realm of architecture. In Europe, they were known for their grandiose and elaborate church buildings. These were symbols of the divine and their order's temporal power and influence. Jesuit churches were often characterized by ornate facades, theatrical interiors, and lavish ornamentations. These buildings were designed to bring heaven to earth, inspire awe, and stimulate reverence among the faithful, reflecting the majesty of heaven in the human creation of sacred space.

One of the most famous examples of Jesuit architecture is the Church of the Gesù in Rome. Built in the late 16th century, it served as the mother church of the congregation and the model for their succeeding church building. It was also here that Jesuits first utilized the Corinthian-composite order, then replicated it as a conscious choice of the Jesuits in the Church of São Paulo in Goa as a symbol of the triumph of the Christian mission in the East.[22] The main Church of Gesù was designed by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and later completed by Giacomo della Porta. It is a classic masterpiece of Baroque architecture. It features exquisite displays of interior decoration depicting the providence with frescoes executed by celebrated artists of the time, among them Baciccia or by the name of Giovanni Battista Gaulli for the glorious ceiling painting entitled Triumph in the Name of Jesus and the various altarpieces by Andrea Pozzo.

From their triumphant architectural achievements, the Jesuits also utilized the visual arts to fill in the baroque interiors by patronizing many leading artists of the period. This included the works of Peter Paul Rubens, Diego Velázquez, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who produced works of visual art for the Jesuit churches. The religious order also played a crucial role in the proliferation of books, music, literature, and even theater, with many talented engravers, composers, poets, and playwrights contributing to the vibrant 17th and 18th century Europe. The education and cultural engagement related to the Counter-Reformation left an indelible mark on the sociocultural landscape, especially when colonial empires impressed such ventures into their new territories.

It was the Jesuits who built the third church in Silang between 1637 and 1639. It was made of stone as the parish was established in 1595 and was made of light materials constructed by the Franciscans. Inside the stone church,

22 David M. Kowal, "The Jesuits and Architecture in Portuguese India" in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773,* eds. John W. O'Malley, S. J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 486.

three magnificent retablos made of Philippine hardwood were built. These retablos contain eighteen (18) polychrome bas-reliefs. Classified under the 17th-century examples of colonial architecture in the Philippines, the various reliefs or *relleves* are alternately displayed with statuaries within the style of mature baroque[23] composition transitioning to the fluidity of rococo motifs. Commissioned by the Jesuits, the altar served as the central piece for visual evangelization. One should not assess its purpose for the illiterate population since the pre-conquest locals had a form of language and writing. Remembering the works of Saint Francis Xavier, who first went to Asia to spread Christianity, visuals for evangelization are tools of the Jesuits to communicate effectively with the locals. It was believed that Saint Francis Xavier brought several images in wood and paper.[24] Inspired by these books and small images, the Jesuits created images in wood and stone to memorialize, immortalize, and aestheticize the holy men and women in the House of God for the appreciation of their prospective and new converts.

In Silang, the saints and scenes from the scriptures were portrayed to feature several important textual-visual lessons for Christian conversions. Here, one can see the divine and human genealogy of Jesus. The traditional imagery of the Trinitarian representations offers the heavenly origins of Christ, while apocryphal and protoevangelium narratives showcase the maternal lineage with the images of Saints Anne and Joaquim, parents of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Saints Joseph, Peter, and Paul, along with Archangel Gabriel, were present in the Scriptures. The rest of the sculptures are saints canonized by the church as martyrs, virgins, defenders, doctors, founders, and workers for the holy cause of the Christian faith. Furthermore, the retablos contain reliefs depicting the Mysteries of the Rosary, making it distinguishable among Marian shrines in the country. A similar sculptural theme can be seen across the continent from the Santa Maria de Comayagua church in Honduras, founded in 1537. The retablo of the church was dedicated to the Virgin of the Rosary and was surrounded by relief and gilding, depicting scenes from the rosary[25]

23 Mature baroque pertains to the period of late baroque and transitioning to the more elaborate and airy rococo styles. The term was also indicated in the National Historical Commission of the Philippines marker dated 2008.

24 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit art and Architecture in Asia" in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 315.

25 Pal Kelemen, *Art of the Americas: Ancient and Hispanic, with a comparative chapter on the Philippines* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), 296-297.

and the Stations of the Cross. One notable relief inside this church is the Coronation of the Virgin, which has a resemblance to the relief in Silang.

As the *retablos* of Silang served as the monumental decoration for the church interior, it is also considered unique since it carries the most number of carved *relleves* in the country, hence, it was declared a National Cultural Treasure of the Philippines. Perhaps the *relleves* were far more suitable for scriptural-based learning in the 17th century. It is like a painting or engraving but more durable. It was constructed to be large and imposing for everyone to see. It can render a scene of personalities and events more effectively than a statue. Silang's *retablos* depicted the annunciation, nativity, and other biblical stories in great detail, serving the purpose of catechism. The old church the Jesuits built became the center of their evangelization in upland Cavite. From Silang, the two *pueblos y iglesias* of Indang and Maragondon were born. Subsequently, these three old churches gave birth to all upland parishes of the Diocese today. Silang church is now a shrine and a pilgrim site. It is even called the Mother Church of Upland Cavite, thanks to the Society of Jesus, which endeavored to fulfill its mission.

3. Drawing from Earlier Assessments and Impressions

Traditional cultural discourse for colonial material production in the Philippines often follows the equation of Spanish-Chinese-Filipino review of motifs and elements. This is patterned from the *Mestizaje* concept derived from the Latin American experience employing hybridity as the product of transcultural dynamics. The Spanish-American-Local motifs metamorphosized into a distinctive form of art. While one cannot negate such a definition in Latin America, can we strictly use this definitive model in the case of the Philippines? Will there be other cultural factors involved in tracing the design origins offered by Western thought? Are we limiting ourselves to such a convenient equation offered by the West and embraced by early local scholars? There is a need for a wider understanding of global history and an appreciation of interconnections and contributions achieved through deeper archival research for art history.

Much so that we should be reminded that another form of artistic synthesis took place centuries ago. The *Mudejar* expressions in art were born from the historical and cultural nexus of the Muslims and Spanish groups in southern

Spain. Understanding the dynamics of *Mestizaje* and *Mudejar* will lead one to the plausible understanding that transcultural changes may be compared, differentiated, and appreciated depending on the nuances of geographical variances. What took place in *Hispania* or *Al Andalus* in the 8th to 15th centuries and in *Nueva España* in the 16th century may render parallelism and discord in *Las Islas Filipinas,* given the geographical and cultural distinctions. Mestizaje and Mudejar do not define the entire Philippine art/history experience. Filipino history is interconnected with these concepts but unique in its own.

Starting with this earlier convergence, the history of Mudejar is a romantic tale of conquest, surrender, and marriage. Looking back at medieval Spain's great military battles, cultural exchanges, and religious coexistence, all these gave birth to this artistic innovation. The term may be coined from the Arabic word *mudajjan* or "domesticated."[26] It refers to the Muslims who chose to live in territories won over by Christian kingdoms that spanned from the 8th to the 15th centuries. Spain was once home to a large Muslim population, rich in trade and with people in contact from Northen African dominions. Before this, it was the Hispania of Rome, and it became Al-Andalus, where Islam-practicing people lived in Andalusia, Valencia, and Aragon. During the Reconquista, Christian rulers expanded their domain to the Muslim communities of Mediterranean Europe, and Islamic Law ceased to be the dominant law.[27]

Even though it was more than a millennium ago, interfaith tolerance was practiced. The Mudejars lived under Christian rulers, yet they were granted religious rights. Certain communities practiced Islamic law and thus maintained cultural traditions. However, these were not given freely. It was regulated and taxed. Despite the discriminatory imposition of cultural regulation, the Muslim heritage pervaded through time in Spain. This greatly influenced the period's cultural and intellectual life.

An obvious manifestation is reflected in its architecture. Mudejar is most commonly understood as an architectural style combining Islamic and Christian elements in design. This multicultural approach to architecture is identifiable by the styles of its arches and intricate scrollwork on walls and floors. The use of strong geometric patterns and natural cooling systems harnessing the temper of air are potent signs of cultural amalgamation.

26 Edgardo Mar. A Castro. "Mudejar Reflections in the Philippines" in *More Islamic Than We Admit, ed. Isaac Donoso*, (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation Inc., 2017), 217-233.

27 Mariam Rosser-Owen, Islamic Arts from Spain (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 78-79.

Early planners, masons, and craftsmen were prized for their skills. It was patronized by both Muslim and Christian elites. More so, Mudejar artisans and intellectuals flourished in bridging Muslim, Christian, and even Jewish groups in Spain. It reached its peak when Spain became more stable and prosperous under the rulers of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. Life in Mudejar, Spain, changed in 1492 with the signing of the Alhambra Decree. The conservative Catholic monarchy under Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon strengthened the Reconquista campaign to unify the land under Christian ideals. The Mudejars were even forced to convert or face discriminatory regulations. As most people retained the Mudejar aesthetics, which had been largely integrated for centuries, their Islamic-Spanish tradition is forever carved and built in the architectural landscapes of the bygone era.

However, values and sensibilities changed in the late 17th century. But the legacy lives on in Alhambra Palace in Granada, the Giralda Tower in Seville, and the Aljafería Palace in Zaragoza. These examples of built heritage stand as monuments of transcontinental cultural exchange. It is a testament to the rich cultural heritage of medieval Spain and the lasting vestige of the Mudejar splendor. However, art scholars noticed that the Mudejar style was not exclusive to the Iberian Peninsula. Pal Kelemen noted that typical Mudejar constructions were also brought to Peru, particularly in the abbey of nuns in Santa Clara, Ayacucho, given the geometric patterns of octagonal concavities.[28]

In the Philippines, Islam reached the islands in the 14th century. Historically, early records set the date of 1380 as the country's advent of Islam based on the accounts from Maguindanao and Sulu, which chronicled the various genealogies and chronologies of their rulers.[29] These accounts not only confined the local communities to inter-island alliances but also to a wider horizon of religious and regional interactions as accounted in trade and tribute-bearing missions. Alice Coseteng first noted this in her impression of Cebu and Bohol churches as their architectural elements have a strong ethnic and cultural affinity with that of Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu,[30] while Klassen called this Folk-Islam[31] in his exposition of Muslim architecture in the Philippine archipelago.

28 Kelemen, *Art of the Americas*, 298.

29 E. P. Petañe, *The Philippines in the 6th and 16th Centuries*, Manila: LSA Press Inc., 1996), 157.

30 Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines*, p. 85.

31 Winand Klassen, *Architecture in the Philippines: Filipino Building in a Cross-Cultural Context* (Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 2010), p. 248.

The shared practice of faith is an obvious outcome of this Islamic history in the Philippines. The subtleties of confluence are more evident in culture. However, one erroneous assessment of most scholars is to directly equate today's local Muslim architecture with the concept of Mudejar when Islamic traditions were not the main technique in the socio-cultural venture but one of the vibrant motifs along with the cultures of India, Malay, and China.

Several centuries later, Spanish conquistadors reached the Americas. This resulted in an encounter and exchange between the colonizers and the indigenous people. Following their joint religious mission and territorial expedition for the king, missionaries and soldiers brought European traditions and sensibilities in art and the way of life in general. This resulted in the complex interplay of cultures, artistic influences, and social dynamics that defined Spanish colonialism in the Americas. Mexico, in particular, carried the Mestizaje banner in art and architecture. Having centuries of thriving and vibrant civilizations, the area of today's Mexico was once the home of five major civilizations: the Olmec, Maya, Teotihuacan, Toltec, and Aztec. Mestizaje art and architecture combine indigenous techniques, symbolisms, and valuations with the new styles and iconographies of colonial imposition. It was even noted that there was a richness of gold leaf throughout Latin American art, surpassing what contemporary European church art produced.[32] It is an inevitable result of a new visual rendering reflective of the blended nature of the colonial society.

The best example of architectural hybridity was constructed from the ruins of an indigenous Aztec temple of Tenochtitlan. Here, the Cathedral of Mexico was built and rose as a specimen of combined European architectural manners. It took some 250 years to build; thus, stylistic rendering can be diverse. Other notable artistic and architectural legacies of the Jesuits in Spanish America are the churches of San Francisco Javier in Tepotzolan and San Jose el Real in Mexico; the church of Cuzco and San Agustin in Arequipa in Peru; and the church of Quito, Ecuador.[33] Gothic elements, Renaissance and Baroque tenets of design, Churrigueresque themes, and later, Neo-Classical patterns were all employed. Here, indigenous building techniques and localization of materials were used, along with the intersection of ornate detailing and elaborate

32 Kelemen, *Art of the Americas*, 291.

33 Ramon Gutierrez and Graciella Maria Viñuales, The Artistic and Architectural Legacy of the Jesuits in Spanish America" in *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773*, trans. Robert Turner (Philadephia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003) 269-310.

interiors that reflect the tastes and preferences of makers and local patrons. *Mestizaje* was born from two strong cultural fibers producing visual tapestry in art and architecture.

Mestizaje art and architecture have a juncture with the art history of the Philippines, given the context of colonialism. However, the interplay is more complex as various cultures, influences, and power dynamics define the Spanish colonial relations in the archipelago and its multi-cultural region in general. Initially, it was similar in terms of cultural hybridization; Spanish missionaries brought centuries of continental artistic traditions, from Renaissance to Baroque, to be adapted and emulated in the local context. However, hybridization is not enough to define the Philippine experience. Here, Chinese and Filipino craftsmen and builders worked with the European designs using their time-tested techniques, materials, and sense of aesthetics reflective of strong Indian and Malay sensitivities, blending the East and the West in Philippine art and architecture. Similar to New Spain, colonial churches are examples of this artistic expression. Every religious mission aspired to create the best churches worthy of worshipping God. The Jesuit, Antonio Sedeno, introduced the first stone building in the early 17th century, the first San Ignacio.[34] This was followed by the San Agustin Church. By 1620, there were already twenty-seven stone churches in Manila, and only three were made of wood.[35] From then on, European architectural elements were combined with indigenous construction traditions, resulting in the Earthquake Baroque of the Philippines.[36]

The parallelism between Mestizaje art and architecture in New Spain and the Philippines is reflective of the universal course of cultural dialogue, adaptation, and fusion. The resilience of indigenous culture is a testament to its strong ability to assert agency and creativity within the colonial structure. In the case

34 Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo Spinola. *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano_americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 42 and 233. Rino D.A. Fernandez and Kristina M.A. Banzon, *Isinalawang Introduksyon sa Arkitekturang Filipino: An Illustrated Introduction to Filipino Architecture* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2015.), 92.

35 This was particularly noted by Phelan as sourced from Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands XIX*, 161-163. The Jesuits built three magnificent baroque churches of stone at Antipolo, Taytay, and Silang as noted from Murillo Velarde, Historia, 143-145. John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses* (USA: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 188-189.

36 Earthquake Baroque was coined from the characteristic massiveness and decorative value of colonial churches. It was first mentioned in Coseteng's seminal work on Spanish churches. Succeeding Philippine architecture references noted the term to define and give distinction to our colonial architectural heritage. The term was also noted by renowned Jesuit art historian, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit art and Architecture in Asia," 313.

of the Philippines, a syncretized form of religious art and practice became a foreseeable outcome of these two strong cultures' collision. There are also multiple manifestations of Jesuit-sanctioned hybridity in India, as explored by the study of David Kowal.[37] Christian symbols and iconographies merge with indigenous faith and practices as one sees fit and parallel to existing belief systems. This is evident in the number of stories chronicled by the missionaries where an image is found in a river, shore, forest, cave, or tree. The imagery and experience of the divine are evident in nature, common elements from pre-Hispanic traditions. This is accepted and tolerated by the early missionaries and placed on the pedestal of local folklore and faith heritage.

In summary, the Mudejar and Mestizaje concepts in art and architecture represent two distinctive but interrelated trends in creative history. Each has its transcontinental narrative operative in a transcultural dialogue. They differ in historical contexts and the cultural dynamics that play a part in their development. Mudejar emerged with the co-existence and interactions between the Muslim and Christian societies in medieval Spain, while the Mestizaje came to light with the imposition of colonizers on the indigenous people in continental America who tried to adopt the mandated style using local materials and building techniques. In both illustrations of cultural exchange, we can see that the Philippine experience follows this conscious integration of styles. It was imposed and embraced, emulated and improvised, shared and owned, making a multicultural legacy its own. Truly, the Philippine experience is more complex.

4. Mapping the Pastiche Consciousness in Art and Architecture

Looking at The Oxford Companion to Art,[38] a *pastiche* in the arts seems inferior when the value of originality is prioritized. It can be dubbed a mere inspired copy. It is a chosen fragment and modified — *a borrowed style*.

37 David M. Kowal, "The Jesuits and Architecture in Portuguese India," 480-504.

38 PASTICHE, PASTICCIO. A hotch-potch; a picture or design made up of fragments pieced together or copied with modification from an original, or in professed imitation of the style of another artist; also, the style of such a picture, etc. (O.E.D.). The term 'pastiche' is generally applied in a derogatory sense to ECLECTIC work with the implication that the artist has not welded his borrowings together into a unified style of his own. The Oxford Companion to the Arts, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 819.

Defining pastiche in architecture refers to the practice of borrowing. This can be in the form of elements, styles, or motifs from different architectural epochs combined to create a new design. It involves a great deal of imitation or emulation of historical architectural styles beyond the timeframes of the architectural genre. The existence of pastiche in architecture is evident throughout history. Architects draw inspiration from a wide range of design genres, including ancient civilizations, classical antiquity, the Renaissance, Baroque, Gothic, and various regional architectural traditions.[39] Pastiche architecture became particularly prominent during the 19th and 20th centuries, as architects sought to revive historical styles in response to changing tastes, cultural movements, and technological advancements; hence, we had the Gothic Revival and Neoclassical architectural styles. As one of the notable examples of pastiche architecture, neoclassicism emerged in the late 18th century as a revival of classical Greek and Roman architectural forms. Neoclassical buildings often incorporate elements such as columns, pediments, and symmetrical facades, evoking the grandeur and order of ancient civilizations. Likewise, the Gothic Revival movement of the 19th century sought to emulate the soaring arches, pointed arch windows, and intricate ornamentation of medieval cathedrals and castles into grand homes and even office buildings.

The study proposes that the retablos of Silang Church are evidence of an earlier conscious pastiche method in art and architecture. The varying styles, design origins, and motif attributions were products of a complex history brought together in the retablo's composition. Thus, we can say that the retablos of Silang have a complex heritage provenance. Aside from the "Jesuit Model" or acculturation assessment pioneered by the Jesuit art scholar Gauvin Alexander Bailey,[40] Silang retablos should also be surveyed beyond the Western lens. The retablos were created in the middle of the 17th century; the entire composition would be immediately classified under the Baroque period. However, as we look further into the architectural details, we will see how various cultures contributed to the altarpiece. To aid the study in this venture, below are six thematic themes to map and explain the origins of the varying designs and motifs supporting the conscious pastiche methodology.

39 Norma I. Alarcon, *Philippine Architecture during the Pre-Spanish and Spanish Periods* (Manila: University of the Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2003), 70.

40 Gauvin Alexander Bailey," Jesuit Corporate Culture and Visual Arts" in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 56.

4.1 LEARNING THE JESUITS' VISUAL EVANGELIZATION

Without a doubt, the Jesuits built the altars of Silang in the time of their great visual evangelization. In Europe, they ventured into education, art production, and church building. This is reflected in the grandiose display of paintings and art inside their churches and institutions. This was also manifested in their ornate frontispieces of publications, prayer books, and prints. These smaller art productions are intended for portability, a conscious purpose for an efficacious evangelization to counter the growing movement of Protestantism. These small images on paper, ornate and beautiful, were technologies of the time containing visuals of classical motifs: depiction of the divine in flowing robes, pillars and pediments in the heaven, swags and cascades of fabric, all remembrance of the classical age. These elements were used consciously as a desired homage to classical arts, as the Jesuits preferred. In the Philippine context, Javellana quoted Fernando Zobel as they similarly supported the ideas of Mexican scholars, positing that engravings were the starting point of valuable sources of Philippine colonial art as seen from *estampitas* or small prints and *laminas* or large posters.[41] These classical renderings were introduced by the friars using references they had brought from Europe or New Spain.

In Silang, the Jesuits used the retablos as their visual display for evangelization. In form, it is characterized as baroque, given the details of the broken pediment, elaborate and decorative details, and a profusion of cherubs. No longer seen in the current state of Silang retablos is its vibrant polychrome and gilding. However, an inspection in 2016 revealed traces of gold leaf on one of the carved panels and the carved fleur-de-lis wooden plaques.[42] The existence of the fleur-de-lis can be traced as far back as the High Middle Ages but is more associated religiously as a symbol for Mary. In the Old Testament, the Song of Solomon accounted, "Like a lily among thorns is my darling among the maidens,"[43] has its scriptural correlation with Blessed Mary being "blessed are you among women." The fleur-de-lis is an example of conscious semiotics for Mary, depicting the noble semantics of God's majestic love for the Mother

41 Rene Javellana SJ, Weaving Culture: *The Invention of Colonial Art and Culture in the Philippines 1565-1850* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017), 149-151. Mexican scholars with the likes of Manuel Touissant, Pál Kelemena nd Martin Sortia were identified by Javellana in his study.

42 Lorelei D.C. de Viana et al. *A Technical Report on the State of Conservation of the Our Lady of Candelaria Church Retablos in Silang, Cavite* (Manila: Far Eastern Univerity Manila Institute of Architecture And Fine Arts, 2016), 8-10.

43 Song of Solomon, chapter 2, verse 2, *Dake's Annotated Reference Bible: The Holy Bible* (Georgia: Finis Jennings Dake, 1988), 676.

of God. Another interesting symbol is the pineapple, which is not endemic to the Philippines and was only introduced as a baroque motif.[44] Another older design provenance may be seen in the repetition of plaques containing the vase of lilies in the lower register of the main retablo. Such a motif is known in numerous Annunciation paintings during the Renaissance as the symbol of Mary's purity bearing the Son of God. Further, the various cartouches and cherubic escutcheons of the main retablo and altar frontal are even older than the baroque styles. The execution of these decorative motifs can be traced from the 15th–16th-century Italian Renaissance style[45] based on the study of ornaments.

Learning the Jesuits' visual evangelization is the key to understanding the dialogue employed. Using arts as the medium, the early missionaries were able to communicate their faith, traditions, and the complex narrative of the Judeo-Christian belief system to the locals. The Jesuits were able to present the divinity and humanity of Jesus with the carefully chosen statues of the "family tree." The scriptural-visual *relleves* aided in the biblical narratives when copies of the bible were scarce and printed prayers were still limited in circulation. It was an effective alternative communication. Moreover, the profusion of flora in the retablos' composition is a manner locals may appreciate since early inhabitants were greatly oriented to the environment. It is important to note that traditional place naming in Silang is associated with plants, trees, and topography.[46] The presence of carved foliage, fruits, and blooms corresponded with the locals' predisposition to nature, while the existence of the sun, moon, and star held by the angels influenced the natives in their understanding of the cosmos and the divine.

4.2 TRACING THE FLEMISH TOUCH

Active between the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the Flemish brothers Johannes, Hieronymus, and Anton II Wierix collaborated with the Jesuits on various endeavors. They were adept engravers and printmakers operating in

44 Javellana, Weaving Cultures, 154.

45 A. Racinet and A Dupont-Auberville, *The World of Ornament / Die Welt der Ornamente /L' Univers de l'ornement, Complete coloured reprint of /Vollständiger kolorierter nachdruck von/ Réimpression complète en couleur de L'Ornement Polychrome (1869-188) & L'Ornement de tissus (1877)* (Köln: Bibliotheca Univeralis Taschen, 2015), 440-443.

46 Silang's etymology comes from the word silangan or east. Similarly, the word Silang refers to the passage between two large landmasses like mountains from Juan de Noceda and Pedro Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de Lengua Tagala* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860). Other places like Kaong, Sabutan, Tibig, Iba, and Biga are local names for plants and fruit-bearing trees.

Antwerp and Brussels who trained under their father, Anton I. They specialized in detailed engravings depicting religious themes and used as decorative visuals in books. The Wierix brothers provided the Society of Jesus with beautiful illustrations for their publications. Hieronymus, in particular, worked a specialization in small religious scenes. These prints were remarkably useful for the Jesuit mission, with sanctioned propagandistic intentions during the Counter-Reformation.

It was a time of great tension and religious and geopolitical upheaval. It was when the religious order played a momentous role in consolidating Catholicism in Europe and in disseminating Catholicism globally through colonial assertion. The Wierix brothers contributed to this pursuit by producing Jesuit-sponsored publications. It was believed that the religious education program was initiated by its founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, who then asked a fellow Jesuit, Jerome Nadal, to write text for several Italian-made drawings. The Wierix brothers were commissioned to create more images for succeeding books and prints, such as the *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*. These were portable enough to be brought to their foreign assignments and eventually to the Asian colonies. Their sophisticated visual art aided the Jesuit missionaries in conveying religious narratives, traditions, and instructions beyond the usage of words. When language was a barrier to communication, art could be expressed freely through visuals, full of meaning and symbolism. The textual-visual strategy of the Jesuits, as provided by the enterprise of the Wierix brothers, was a conscious effort to effectively engage with diverse audiences of various cultures.

In 1581, the first Jesuits came from the Province of Mexico to the Philippines. A decade later, missions were established in Balayan, Taytay, and Antipolo. In 1593, the missionaries established their Panay churches. By 1599, the early Franciscans in Silang left the community and entrusted the pueblo to the Jesuits. With them, the Jesuits brought their precious books, started to evangelize, and built the stone church we still see today. From the books, they patterned the designs for the bas-reliefs. These are important elements in their evangelization narrative, serving as visuals for the important biblical moments in introducing Jesus Christ to the natives in the 17th century. How the craftsmen competent in woodwork could render the miniatures from books to form grander proportions was a test of skill and artistry.

Several Silang bas-reliefs can be traced back to the Flemish engravings, particularly from the Wierix brothers. Earlier scholars observed and claimed "that there were no clear connections between a Philippine engraving and

a specific European engraving."[47] True, but this study presents the strong connection between an engraving and the retablos. The study allocated this separate section for the illustrative exposition and full appreciation of art and history readers. Undoubtedly, the Jesuit Fathers gave these as references to the artisans who made the 17th-century panels using the prints from the books they carried across the Atlantic and the Pacific. To date, the study only acquired several comparisons within the timeframe of this research. These are subdivided according to the carved relief panels (Annunciation, Coronation of the Virgin, Presentation in the Temple, and Saint Teresa of Avila) as documented by the National Museum of the Philippines in its declaration as National Cultural Treasures in 2016.[48] The following section will discuss the provenance, iconography, and comparative details of the Philippine *relleves* with the original Flemish engravings.

4.2.a THE ANNUNCIATION

Typical representations of the piece are the three figures depicting Mary, Archangel Gabriel, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a white dove. Often set inside the medieval impression of the private quarters of Our Lady, the interior presents a canopied bed and a chair accompanied by a kneeler. Mary was visited by the angel as she meditated over her books. Mary received the Divine Word of her miraculous conception as confirmed by the presence of the Holy Spirit. It is described in the catalog as follows:

> The Annunciation. Mary is kneeling behind her desk. She is visited by the angel Gabriel. He tells her that she will give birth to a son who will be called Christ. The dove of the Holy Spirit descends on Mary. In the margin is a three-line Bible quote from Luke 1 in Latin.[49]

47 Javellana, 152.

48 Under the Chapter of Sanctus of the Masters Thesis, *Gathering the Uncollected, Accounting and Curating Silang's Heritage* (Quexon City: University of the Philippines, 2013) and published as a book in Phillip N.A.L. Medina, *In Nomine: The Iconographical Study of Silang Church* (Silang: Herencia de Silan, 2020).

49 Translated from the original catalogue note: De Annunciatie. Maria zit geknield achter haar lessenaar. Ze wordt bezocht door de engel Gabriël. Hij vertelt haar dat ze een zoon zal baren die Christus zal heten. De duif van de Heilige Geest daalt op Maria neer. In de marge een drieregelig Bijbelcitaat uit Luc. 1 in het Latijn.



Fig. 1. The Annunciation Relief Comparative. First panel: Sculptor unknown, c.1660s, The Annunciation in Silang Church. Bas-relief polychrome hardwood, 820mmx2180mm. Diocesan Shrine and Parish of Our Lady of Candelaria, Silang Historical Society Files. The second and third panels show a comparison of Hieronymus Wierix, Hvmilis, 1563 to before 1619, Engraving on paper, book page, 70 mm×45 mm. Available at Rijk Museum, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/ RP-P-1898-A-19876 and inverse of Karel van Mallery, Tijpus, Annuntiationis, 1626 – 1676. Engraving on paper, 98 mm×64 mm. Available at Rijk Museum https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/ RP-P-OB- 22.692

Silang's bas-relief of the Annunciation contains the elements and motifs discussed above. The design for this sculptural piece is attributed to Wierix, dating from 1563 and before 1619. The original engraving measures 70mm x 45mm and enlarged to a wood panel measuring 0.82m x2.18m.[50] Comparing the engraving and the relief, one notes the similarities in the positioning of the elements in the composition: the soaring dove, the canopy, the placement of Mary and her demeanor, and the posture of the archangel giving a blessing.

However, this study further notes that there are minute details that bear a resemblance to another engraved piece. Dating between 1626 to 1676 per catalog, Karel van Mallery's work is an inverse of Silang's annunciation relief (note the figure in its inverse presentation) with similar details on the canopy and the trusses above; the clustering of the clouds around the white dove; the belted vestment of the archangel and even the minute detail of what seems to be a clasp of a tunic exposing the interior breeches of the angel as it steps forward to Mary. The original engraving is 98 mm x 64 mm. The catalog states:

50 Gemanil Ygy, *Our Lady of Candelaria Parish Church As-Built Documentation* (Quezon City: Digiscript Inc., 2019) A-2.

> The angel Gabriel, holding a lily in his hand, announces the birth of Christ to Mary, while she kneels on a prayer chair, with a book in front of her. Top left is a cloud formation containing the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit and a ray of light with a line of text in Latin. Below the scene two columns with three lines each in Latin.[51]

4.2.b THE CORONATION

Another well-known Marian imagery is the Coronation with Our Lady, which is the focal point of the composition surrounded by the divine presence of the Holy Trinity: God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a white dove. Depicted in the heavens, the clouds offer varying levels. At the lower portion, it carries the Mother of God in her flowing vestments with the divine personas above her. Hands clasped to her chest, she receives an open-form crown as Queen of Heaven and Earth. Jesus and God the Father are portrayed carrying spheres. Christ is depicted in his billowing resurrection clothing, while the Father is dressed in a cope and miter like a bishop. The 101mm x 72 mm piece is dated similarly to the rest of the works attributed to Hieronymus Wierix. The catalog noted:

> Mary is crowned in heaven by the Trinity: Christ, the Holy Spirit, who is like a dove, and God the Father. Christ and God jointly place the crown on her head. A caption in Latin is in the margin.[52]

The study confirms that Wierix's Coronation engraving matches the relief in Silang's main retablo perfectly. Silang's positioning of the Trinity and Mother Mary, her meditative countenance, and the positioning of the spheres are impeccably similar to Wierix's engraving work replicated on Philippine hardwood measuring 0.83 m x 2.23 m.[53] However, not all details were copied from Wierix. Again, this study highlights Karel van Mallery's c. 1581-1645 work measured at 109 mm x 71 mm bearing the same subject matter with the matching cherubs carrying the Mother of God. The angelic presence was absent in Wierix's design, but Karel's work matched Silang's bas-relief splendidly. Seemingly, the upper portion of Silang's coronation *relleve* was of Wierix, and the lower portion originated from Karel's.

51 Translated from the original catalogue note: De engel Gabriël met in zijn hand een lelie kondigt Maria de geboorte van Christus aan, terwijl zij knielt op een bidstoel, met voor haar een boek. Linksboven een wolkenpartij met daarin de duif als symbool van de Heilige Geest en een lichtstraal met een regel tekst in het Latijn. Onder de voorstelling twee kolommen met elk drie regels in het Latijn.

52 Translated from the original catalogue note: Maria wordt in de hemel gekroond door de Drieëenheid, respectievelijk Christus, de Heilige Geest als duif en God de Vader. Christus en God plaatsen gezamelijk de kroon op haar hoofd. In de marge een onderschrift in het Latijn.

53 Gemanil, A-2.



Fig. 2. The Coronation Relief Comparative. First panel: Sculptor unknown, c.1660s, The Coronation in Silang Church. Bas-relief polychrome hardwood, 830mmx2230mm. Diocesan Shrine and Parish of Our Lady of Candelaria, Silang Historical Society Files. The second and third panels show a comparative of Hieronymus Wierix (left), 1563-before 1619, Kroning van Maria. Engraving on paper, 101mm×72 mm. Available at Rijk Museum, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1910-1755 and Karel van Mallery (right), 581 - c. 1645, Kroning van Maria. Engraving print on paper, 109mm×71mm. Available at Rijk Museum, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1908-2339

4.2.c THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

Another striking replication from engraving to wood is the bas-relief of the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple. The original design was also attributed to Hieronymus Wierix, with a 103mm x 66mm size, and translated to a 0.81 m x 2.23 m wooden panel.[54] The catalog stated:

> The high priest, Simeon, holds in his arms the Christ child, who was brought to the temple by Mary and Joseph. They kneel before the altar with a pair of doves in their hands. The dove of the Holy Spirit descends on the Child. The prophetess Hannah and others look on. In the margin, a six-line caption in two columns, in Latin.[55]

54 Gemanil, A-2.

55 Translated from the original catalogue note: De hogepriester Simeon houdt het Christuskind in zijn armen, dat door Maria en Jozef naar de tempel is gebracht. Zij knielen voor het altaar met een duivenpaar in de handen. De duif van de Heilige Geest daalt neer op het Kind. De profetes Hanna en anderen kijken toe. In de marge een zesregelig onderschrift, in twee kolommen, in het Latijn.



Fig. 3. The Presentation in the Temple Relief Comparative. First panel: Sculptor unknown, c.1660s, The Presentation in the Temple in Silang Church. Bas-relief polychrome hardwood, 810mmx2230mm. Diocesan Shrine and Parish of Our Lady of Candelaria, Silang Historical Society Files. Second panel: Hieronymus Wierix, 1563 - before 1619, Presentatie in de tempel. Engraving print on paper, 103mm×66 mm. Available at Rijk Museum, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1898-A-19893

This study highlights the fact that it bears an outstanding resemblance to the *relleve* of Silang in numerous ways. The positioning of the personalities (not the countenance) matched the Flemish work accurately. Some of the remarkable interior nuances seen in this work are the replication of the archway, the pillars, the trellis window, the side curtain, and the burst of light bearing the Holy Spirit as it descends to the Infant Jesus over a clothed table. The dove offerings were contained in a small basket carried by Mary and Joseph. Curiously, even the supporting character on the left side holding his belt was captured from the engraving to the wooden relief, although he now faces the viewer as if taking a pose.



Fig. 4. The Saint Teresa of Avila Relief Comparative. First panel: Sculptor unknown, c.1700s. Saint Teresa of Avila in Silang Church. Bas-relief polychrome hardwood, 880 mm x 1750 mm. Diocesan Shrine and Parish of Our Lady of Candelaria, Silang Historical Society Files. Second panel: Antonius Wierix II, ca. 1622-24, The Ecstasy of St. Teresa. Engraving, 12.1cm x 7.9 cm. Available at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/384070

4.2.d SAINT TERESA OF AVILA

Silang's left retablo contains six bas-reliefs, one of which is the relleve of Saint Teresa of Avila. A Spanish nun, she was given the name Teresa Sanchez Cepeda Davila y Ahumada and was one of the major writers of the Catholic faith. She is the first female saint to be granted the title of Doctor of the Church. This was bestowed on her only in 1970 by Pope Paul VI, although petitions were elevated as early as 1597 by all cathedral chapters of Spain to Pope Clement VIII. She was canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, along with Saints Ignatius of Loyola, Philip Neri, and Francis Xavier.

Her image, carved on 17th-century hardwood, is located on the first level, in the center frame of the Gospel altar. The polychrome artwork features the Carmelite nun wearing her brown habit. She is quaintly portrayed as being shot by an arrow of the Child Jesus, flanked by Mary and Joseph. Other more common representations may show her heart already pierced by an arrow of an angel while holding a book or pen or being visited by a dove. Gian Lorenzo

Bernini's The Ecstasy of St. Teresa is the most familiar depiction of the saint. This is located in Cappella Cornaro of Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome. Here, an angel is piercing the heart of the ecstatic nun.

The study asserts that the work of Antonius Wierix, brother of Hieronymus, resembles Silang's wood relief most. From the original work of 12.1cm x 7.9cm, almost all details matched the 88m x 1.75m[56] Wood panel. It was enlarged more than eleven times its size. From the cloud and cherub formation above, the positioning of the Holy Family (Saint Joseph holding the Child Jesus, Mother Mary holding an arrow, a barefoot Child Jesus, the reclining Saint Teresa as being crowned by laurels, the bursts of light and halos and even the sprout of a plant in the foreground, all has the marks of Antonius' work. The original engraving was once the property of the Princes of Liechtenstein. Then, in 1951, it was part of the Elisha Whittelsey Collection of The Elisha Whittelsey Fund. It is now kept and periodically exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. From the four samples, the study presents the conscious choice of the Jesuits to replicate their book's visual images into the altarpieces of Silang. Though challenged with resources, the pseudo-military-religious order accomplished the hard and long process of creating these retablos. Looking at the church's construction dates between 1637 and 1639, it took them almost three more decades to finish the decorative interior. The use of the Flemish engravings in the retablos of Silang is a time of imposition in the retablo's historical development where Western ideals were directed forcefully and purposely for replication in the commissioned artworks done by unknown woodworkers.

4.3 FINE ASIAN ARTISANS AND WORKFORCE

Silang's 17th-century sculptors may be unnamed, but they are not totally unknown. The contributions of Chinese artisans and the native workforce in Philippine colonial art have been part of the national art history narrative for decades. It cannot be denied that the Chinese and native workers complemented their woodwork skills and knowledge in wood sourcing to respond to the colonial directive. These artisans and workers were ordered to conspicuously reproduce Western artistic models for the colonial churches and their evangelical devices. They were given materials to imitate, highly probable from the portable books and prints brought from continental Europe, and finally landed in the islands across the Pacific. Some references carried

56 Gemanil, A-2.

mixed motifs that ranged from the late Renaissance to Baroque. Though the structure echoed Spanish Baroque, it looked exotic, strange, and foreign.[57] Typical bibles of the time were heavily decorated and printed with engravings, not as colorful as their earlier references of the medieval period's illuminated manuscripts. These sources, along with strict instructions from the missionaries, became the basis for the borrowing and transplanting artistic elements and design.

Beyond the local artisan's manual competencies, they asserted their presence by adapting Western-style imperatives and transforming them according to their perspective of localized forms; thus, assimilation was born. From here, we achieve a period of Philippine art that is typically syncretized both in meaning and form. On one end, the most notable Chinese influence is the manifestation of oriental eye features and the use of oriental style clouds in colonial sculptures. Note that the representations of Chinese deities are also portrayed hovering over clouds. Cloud patterns can be traced back to the Chou Dynasty (1,000-256 B.C.), according to the Philippine religious art scholar Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, and it can be in various forms "like dragon scaling styles to quatrefoil forms, more so that Malay and Muslim art also follow cloud symbols in concentric and sinuous lines."[58] This study noted that Chinese deities on clouds offer good fortune to places and people, so it is not surprising that the Chinese readily adopted and understood the Jesuit's order for wooden statues and reliefs with cloud motifs.

The native people, on the other end, responded in two ways. First was adapting the holy images to replace their wooden idols, known as *larauan.* The Tagalog experience and belief systems of deities residing in rivers, forests, and caves were common narratives in the region. Note the Virgin of Antipolo and her apparition on a tree, the Virgin of Casaysay found from a spring, the Soledad de Porta Vaga, and the de Guia from the shore. Silang's image of the Anunciata was also found deep in the woods, placed in the church, and returned once again. These are similar themes of colonial miracles found in nature, perhaps a conscious parallelism of the friars to replace the ancient native deities slowly.

Second, local workers rendered their natural knowledge of the environment by selecting the most appropriate wood for the project. Pacific people are

57 An assessment of the Franciscan Church of Santiago in Paete, Rizal. Kelemen, Art in the Americas, 339.

58 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *Philippine Religious: Carvings in Ivory* (Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1983), 15-16.

adept at woodcraft and have a choice of building materials for pre-Hispanic structures.[59] Hardwood is an excellent material for retablos as it will last for centuries. There is a value of permanence. The retablos of Silang were probably made of molave,[60] a Philippine hardwood abundant on the island of Luzon. The Latinized arboreal nomenclature originates from the native local name, *mulawin*.[61] Silang was once a dense forest located at high elevations. The Jesuit Pedro Chirino noted that Silang was in the mountains with scattered agricultural communities.[62] As this must be separated by woodlands. Its arterial river system running from south to north was aptly named *Rio Tibagan*,[63] Reminiscent of its purpose for timber hauling via the body of water that flowed down from the mountain of Silang to Imus.

Aside from church-building, locals were also forcibly employed in galleon yards in Cavite Puerto, around 45 kilometers downstream from Silang. The demand for wood for construction and shipbuilding greatly deforested the woodlands near Manila.[64] It is also interesting to note that during the reign of King Charles III (1716-1788), he issued a ruling forbidding the use of wood in retablos since the forests of American colonies were already depleted by the middle of the eighteenth century.[65] But no such decree was issued for the Philippine colonies. By the 19th century, other Cavite churches were importing wood from Bataan, Zambales, Mindoro, and even Cebu.[66]

59 Kelemen, Art in the Americas, 341.

60 de Viana et al. 8.

61 Molave, a Hispanized name for the *mulawin* tree, also known as *Vitex parviflora*, a tropical species in the family Verbenaceae. It is also known as tugas in the southern Philippines. Another variety of molave wood is *Vitex cofassus*. The wood is native to Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Given its good quality, the Spanish missionaries brought specimens for propagation to Guam, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.

62 Chirino, "The New Residence of Silan and its Christians".

63 "Tibag" as a root word means to fell a tree while the Tagalog suffix-"an" connotes place, hence, a place to fell. Also possible for stones concerning river stone quarrying.

64 Edgardo J. Angara and Carlos Madrid. *The World of the Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Global and Human Context* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation Inc., 2017), 44. This reference further cited Greg Bankoff, "The Tree as the Enemy of Man: Changing Attitudes to the Forests of the Philippines, 1565-1898," Philippine Studies, 52:3 (2004), 325, citing data from 1871 to 1872 by Ramón Jordana y Morera, "Memoria sobre la producción de los montes públicos de Filipinas en el año económico de 1871-72" *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Ultramar*, 27 November 1873: 6-9; 12 December 1873: 1-6; and 27 December 1873: 1-10.

65 Quoted from Kelemen and attributed to a personal conversation of Francisco de la Maza, 301.

66 Regalado Trota Jose, "Church Expenses in the 19th Century Cavite: A Cursory Look at the Account Books," *Philippine Studies*, 34:3 (1986), 365.



Fig. 5. Portion of the wooden altar frontal featuring the Immaculate Conception, altar table of the Diocesan Shrine of Our Lady fo Candelaria in Silang, polychrome, from the SHS Files.

4.4 REMEMBERING THE ARABESQUE

One should appreciate the beauty of nature as imitated in the scrolls of stems and buds we know as *arabesque*. In the art world, there are two forms. One is the Islamic Arabesque, with its rigid but interlaced geometric work imitating the flora, and the other is the Western Arabesque, with its more fluid, curvilinear, and inundating vegetal form. The first can be seen from the Mudejar samples in Spain and the Arab world, except in some areas identified by Kelemen. The second is more used in Europe through various ages, from antiquity to the Middle Ages, Renaissance to Baroque, and even to succeeding artistic genres. The winding and twining of foliage has been a constant pastiche in decorative style and is attributed to the Islamic heritage of design.

The study presents Silang's altar table, which has an intricate composition of carved scrollwork panels as its frontal. An image of the Immaculate Conception is carved in the central cartouche, typical of 16th-century Renaissance ornaments.[67] This is surrounded by fifteen panels of floriated motifs: thirteen vertical and two horizontal. The larger top frieze is accentuated with vegetal whorls broken by five medallions. The thinner lower panel is a series of ringed swags and floral details alternating with cherubim heads. The rest of the vertical panels are also from the Renaissance period, with ornamental

67 A. Racinet and A. Dupont-Auberville, *The World of Ornament*, 443.

foliage originating from Flemish tapestries.[68] Note that these elaborate patterns can be drawn from the Western arabesque style. However, given the regional exposure to Arab and Indian traders, these patterns are also familiar with the Malay arts.

The study stresses that the design represented various genres in Western art periodization. The altar frontal does not only represent the Renaissance and Baroque ideals in one composition. More than this general aesthetic valuation, the historical development of the Philippine colonial art design is readable visually. Here, we see the arabesque model evolving through time from its inception in the Middle East going to Europe via trade and war in the time of the Middle Ages, appreciated up to the Renaissance, and valued still during the Baroque period as it returns via colonialization in Asia. This is a history of a global art voyage when we consider the Arabesque model traveling the world like a long-lost relative finding his way back home encultured by his journey.

4.5 A HOST TO MULTICULTURAL SAINTS

Patronage or dedication of saints, Marian litanies, and Scriptural titles to a particular church have been a tradition among church and monastery buildings. The canonized images are placed in the holiest portion of the interior, the sanctuary, along with the altar and the crucifix. Decorative altarpieces called retable or retablo became fashionable during the early Middle Ages. It became more ornate during the Baroque period. In Silang, the three retablos contain several saintly figures of diverse cultural attribution. Enshrined are the biblical figures of Jewish origins, like Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Saints John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, and Bartholomew. There are also the apocryphal personages of Saints Ana and Joaquim. The virgins and martyrs of the ancient Roman empire with the likes of Saints Agnes of Rome, Catherine of Alexandria, and Ursula. The great canonization of 1622 raised several Spanish saints onto the divine pedestal. We have Saints Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Saint Teresa of Avila, and Saint Isidore, all Iberian. The multiple Spanish canonization was believed to boost the Counter-Reformation.[69] More so, the pantheon of Jesuit saints serves as semiotics for religious military might. This is an example of the Jesuits' assertion in the retablos'

68 A. Racinet and Dupont-Auberville, 487-488.

69 Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "War Saints: The Canonization of 1622" *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2022, pp. 201-226. https://doi.org/10.1515/jemc-2022-2027.

historical development. Unknown to many, the top portion of the Jesuit epistle retablo are Japanese saints Paul Miki, John Goto, and James Kisai, who were part of the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan. They were tortured and executed on February 5, 1597, by then ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Nagasaki. They were only canonized in 1862 by Pope Pius IX; however, they were deeply honored by the Jesuits as early as the 17th century.

From ancient Roman martyrs and virgins to consecrated Asians, the retablos of Silang are a testament to the Catholic teachings of never-ending grace to anyone who will accept Christ as their Redeemer. The study believes that the multicultural blessed personalities convey a continuum of Christianity's history from Jerusalem to Rome, Byzantine to Alexandria, and Spain to Asia. This was not an accident; it was a carefully laid out strategy to win the new territories for converts. Unfortunately, it would take more than three hundred years before the first Filipino saint was canonized.



Fig. 6. The Japanese Saints Paul Miki, John Goto, and James Kisai in the attic of the Jesuit retablo in Silang, Cavite, Philippines. Note the angelic finials holding the celestial bodies in their shields, from the SHS Files.



Fig. 7. Panolong-like devices in older retablos in the Philippines as seen in Silang, Santa Ana Manila, San Agustin in Intramuros and Paete, Rizal, from SHS and personal files.

4.6 A PLAUSIBLE MALAY INFLUENCE

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, Philippine society was cognizant of the Indian and Arabic religions brought by trade.[70] One local assertion to prove or state a motif borrowing is the existence of seemingly Malay ornamentation in the Silang retablo, particularly in its altar frontal. Gatbonton noted Philippine scrollwork as a typical "protracted cloud," or the *awan larat* design combining half scrolls and foliates.[71] Samples of such work can be seen in Southeast Asian countries as well.

Another architectural device worthy of attention is the existence of an inverted broken pediment located on the top portion of the *altar mayor*; the architectural device appears to be a *panolong* or winged ornamentation for the Maranao houses called *torogan*. Local architectural semantics dictate that these devices mark the stature of a structure as it is reserved for the powerful and of high status. The early local artisans may see the retablos as the House of God, thereby worthy of such symbolism. Upon closer inspection, the panolong-like devices contain foliage figures similar to *okkir*[72] or the *ukkil-tumi'an*[73] floral design motifs. These are topped with a vase as a finial.

70 Kelemen, *Art of the Americas*, 334.

71 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *Philippine Religious: Carvings in Ivory*, 21.

72 Okkir is a floral design motif for Maranao architecture, which may be used along with *naga* or dragon designs for *panalong* or beam ends of a *torogan* or a Maranao house. Sourced from Klassen, *Architecture in the Philippines: Filipino Buildings in a Cross-Cultural Context*, 246.

73 *Ukkil* or *okil* for ethnic Muslim Filipinos, also means the art of sculpting. There are three types of ukkil: (1) *sumping* or the floral; (2) *birdo,* or the tree-plant style; and (3) *hashas,* or the serpent. Note the *ukkil-tami'an* illustrated by master carver Datu Pangilan Jamasali in Sibutu Islands, Tawitawi, c. 1987. Sourced from Ligaya Fernando-Amilbangsa, *Ukkil: Visual Arts of the Sulu Archipelago*, 18 and 175.

Similar devices can be found on older samples of colonial retablos[74] like the one in Santa Ana in Manila, San Agustin, Manila, and Paete, Laguna, as seen in Fig. 7. Such occurrence among 17th and 18th-century retablos makes one wonder if it was a cultural assertion tolerated by the early missionaries as part of their permitted tolerance for religious assimilation. To further this theory, Coseteng noted in her book that Muslim influence is apparent in the colonial Philippines, to which she opined:

> Whether these features of Muslim art were consciously adopted during the colonial era for purely artistic effect or whether they were spontaneous, if unconscious expressions of a latent or innate artistic tradition, it is quite difficult to be arbitrary about. It could have been that Muslim culture, which was already ascendant in the area, had been imbibed by the inhabitants and somehow had prevailed even during the Spanish occupation.[75]

Therefore, let us explore this Malayan aesthetic assertion on these early colonial churches. Santa Ana's altarpiece, in its gilded splendor, features the winged motif on the attic level of the retablo. Its church was constructed in 1720 by the Franciscans and assessed under the churrigueresque style.[76] Like Silang's main retablo, a vase surmounts the familiar triangular motif. In Santa Ana, the vases sprout images of saints surrounded by foliage, while Silang exhibits a larger urn with a solitary rose. We see similar renditions of a panolong-vase motif in San Agustin's cloister retablos. Four old retablos are located within the Augustinian order's cloister beside the church, which was constructed in 1586. Two of these bear the inverted broken pediment flanking the top niche. One retablo of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino[77] displays the same motif flanking the top *relleve* of Saint Helene and the True Cross, while the retablo of Saint Thomas of Villanueva, Bishop of Valencia, Spain,[78] has a simpler tapering finial as it flanks the *relleve* of Saint Joseph and the Child Jesus. Lastly, Paete's two *retablo colaterales* (side retablos) also offer the panolong-vase motif, but the vessel is almost flat, giving an impression of a gilded cartouche crowned with a branch of leaves. The first stone church was

74 The study only focused on the comparative exposition of the retablos of the four aforementioned sites. However, it should be noted that the retablo in the baptistry of the Santa Ursula Parish in Binangonan, Rizal, also contains four panolong-like motifs, a unique feature in the entire country. The church was constructed in the late 18th century and was declared a National Cultural Treasure in 2025. Please refer to Victorino Mapa Manalo's study on the Binangonan church, "Binangonan: A Retablo like No Other," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 43 (1/2), 2015: 140-197.

75 de Viana et al. 8.

76 Chirino, "The New Residence of Silan and its Christians".

77 Pedro Galende OSA, *San Agustin, Noble Stone Shrine*, (Manila: GA Formoso Publishing, 1989), 124.

78 Pedro Galende OSA, *San Agustin, Noble Stone Shrine*, 140.

constructed in 1646. The retablo on the left is dedicated to the Assumption, while the right bears the *relleve* depicting the Pentecost. The floral motif of Paete's inverted broken pediment flows out from the woodcut in multiple blooms, compared to Silang's large solitary stem with three buds protruding outside the woodwork. San Agustin's floriated design resembles a whorl of light tendrils pruned within the confines of the wood, while Santa Ana is made with a thicker scrollwork of buds dripping to the sides beyond the carving.

Furthermore, the study noted that three of the four samples bear strong Marian dedication except for the retablos of San Agustin: Silang shows the catechetical scenes of the Mysteries; Santa Ana enthrones the Mother of the Virgin, Saint Anne; and Paete presents Mary as the focal subject in the Assumption and Pentecost themes of the *relleves* guarded by the panolong-vase ornamentation. We may also surmise that the retablos of San Agustin are the oldest among the other three samples since it is the oldest known stone church in the country. However, retablo constructions may always take a later date to complete. Chronologically, San Agustin will be followed by Silang, Paete, and then Santa Ana in this probable dating.

The Malay sense of culture in the Philippines has a strong impression of Islamification. Neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, like Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia, are predominantly Muslim. The panolong feature of a traditional Maranao house in Mindanao may be the innate Philippine art's link with its regional culture. Due to the intense colonization of Luzon, Tagalog communities near Manila had barely any evidence of Muslim or Hindu artifacts. One incredible proof of pre-colonial sophistication is the existence of the Laguna Copperplate, which contains old Malay, Sanskrit, Javanese, and ancient Tagalog honorifics.[79] Further studies and exploration of artifacts are necessary to improve this claim.

79 E.P. Patanñe "New Philippine Date Challenges Historians." *Manila Standard*, March 31, 1991, 4.



Fig. 8. Silang Church was granted a National Historical Landmark in 2008, and the retablos, along with the entire church complex, were declared National Cultural Treasures of the Philippines in 2016. The three retablos of Silang, from the SHS Files.

5. Conclusion. Appreciating the Philippine Experience of Transcontinental Connections

Exploring transcontinental discourse in art and history is viable within the vast Spanish historical experience. The Mudejar, Mestizaje, and the Philippine case offer a rich story of cultural exchange within the annals of the Spanish chronicles. However, one cannot dilute these three as synonymous as the varying reactions and complexities of socio-cultural dynamics differ in period and context. The blending of art, architecture, and even belief systems showcased the interrelation of the world long before we appreciated the concept of global connectivity or the globalization we know today.

In summary, thematic convergences seek to define the historical developments of the retablos creation as a way to trace its heritage provenance. The first theme is the acknowledgment of its long history. The Jesuits' visual evangelization was the causal force that brought the creation of the retablos to the new territories, particularly in Cavite. It was the inception of cultural confluence. The society's tremendous experience in evangelical art, as exemplified in Counter-Reformation in Europe, exploits in Latin America, and evangelization of India, was truly noteworthy, courageous, and determined to spread Christianity as soldiers of Christ. Second, the unknown visual links of the Flemish engravers present another level of historical development. It was

through the enterprise of book printing that Flemish artworks, both Wierix brothers and van Mallery, were carried in the Jesuit books. Such information heightens the character of colonial art production in the Philippines. This visual evidence will change the Spanish-dominated historical narrative in colonial Philippine art by making it both inter-continental and intercultural. Third, the study acknowledges the Chinese and local workers' long-standing contributions to colonial art production. These people were hired by the Jesuits for their creativity and knowledge in woodwork and wood sourcing. Here, the workers will have a chance to assert their creativity in the weave of colonial direction. For the fourth to sixth themes, the study provided a survey of strong Asian cultural attributions in colonial art. It should be acknowledged that prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, Arabic, Indian, and Malay motifs were part of the archipelago's shared artistic sensibilities. Lastly, the Jesuits provided the retablos of Silang with a unique feature. The altarpieces hosted several multicultural saints, reflecting the Jesuit ideals and making the semantic and semiotic values of Silang's retablos truly universal in a Catholic sense.

Moreover, the selected churches for the plausible Malay influence offer a comparative view of the highlighted motif. The existence of the inverted broken pediment similar to a *panolong* may hint at a conscious pastiche in the architecture, allowing the natives to assert their aesthetic artifact in the colonial composition. The semiotics of the panolong may be a concession or perhaps a homage to the inhabitants' customary beliefs to directly prompt and instruct them that the colonial church is the new house of the Supreme Being. We can further argue this with the common motif of the vase, a symbol of Mary bearing the Christ, surmounting the native winged symbol as a message conveying faith domination or perhaps faith unification.

The study further supports the idea that the conscious usage of past designs and reinterpretation of composition is the *historicization of the visual arts*, like a citation of renowned literature or a significant parallel study that will trace the heritage provenance of the artwork. The study does not intend to downplay any native assertions, especially with the feature of the Flemish engravings as source designs for the Silang retablos. It is more important to ponder the idea of conscious pastiche, as a sense of homage enriches the study of the global character of the local retable pieces already declared National Cultural Treasures of the Philippines. Previously unknown, we have concrete evidence that the engravings used as design inspiration are now part of the shared heritage of the Belgians and Filipinos today through the

Jesuit intervention. This is a historical justice for the Flemish engravers and local workers to recognize their artistic production.

Furthermore, as an outcome of the conceptualization and rationalization of Philippine art and culture, such an effort has brought a rural town to the appreciation of world scholars. In the nomination dossier of the historic town of Vigan in the northern Philippines, the locality was cited as the "most extensive living example of the interaction of Ilocano, Filipino, Chinese, Spanish, and Mexican architecture in Asia and has been declared as a World Heritage Site."[80] We see in Vigan the dialogue of cultures, the imposition of new styles blending into an assimilated whole, and the assertion of the local values to highlight Vigan's existence in the field of heritage architecture. Particular to this study, it is with great intention to visually convey the salient points of the 17th-century retablos of Silang and promote this in future studies for world heritage nomination, given its multicultural provenance.

This study initially hopes for a local term describing the Filipino art and architecture experience of global interconnectedness. Defining can be daunting. Tracing can be tedious. The study settled for the conscious pastiche as it gives tribute to past art and architectural achievements, preserving and reinterpreting visual heritage as part of its current age of production. However, pastiche may still sound foreign and unrelatable to Filipinos. *Sapin-sapin* or layering and *halo-halo* or mixed may be candidate terms to be applied beyond their usual local culinary connotation. Let us be reminded that in history, it is always an endless quest to identify, interpret, and tell the story. By accepting and appreciating the interplay of nuances in the arts and history, we see and trace a sense of continuity in all our creative consciousness. This is the Philippine experience.

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80 Augusto F. Villalon, *The Nomination Dossier for the Historic Town of Vigan*, (Vigan: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines and Vigan Heritage Village Commission, 1999), 5.

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Legacy Wood
Configuring a Periodic Table for Identifying the Timber Species and Dating of Galleon-Era Philippine Wooden Artifacts

El legado de la madera: Configuración de una tabla periódica para identificar las especies de madera y datar los artefactos de madera filipinos de la era del galeón

Cheek S. Fadriquela
University of Santo Tomas Graduate School

Abstract

A periodic table was configured to aid in identifying the timber species and dating Philippine-made wooden artifacts carved during the galleon era. This graphical representation plots the legacy wood identified from extant dated ecclesiastical woodcarvings at San Agustín Church against the Hispanic period from the latter half of the 16th century until the end of the 19th century. Three case studies and other galleon-era objects that crossed the Pacific demonstrated the validity of this periodic table. This paper underscores the Filipino view on the most appropriate timber materials for creating outstanding wooden artifacts that define its legacy during the Hispanic colonial period.

Keywords

wood; galleon; artifacts; carvings; dating

Resumen

Se configuró una tabla periódica para ayudar a identificar las especies de madera y datar los artefactos de madera de fabricación filipina tallados durante la época de los galeones. Esta representación gráfica coteja la madera

heredada identificada a partir de tallas eclesiásticas fechadas existentes en la iglesia de San Agustín con el periodo hispánico comprendido entre la segunda mitad del sigloXVI y finales del siglo XIX. Tres estudios de casos y otros objetos de la época de los galeones que cruzaron el Pacífico demostraron la validez de esta tabla periódica. Este trabajo subraya el punto de vista filipino sobre los materiales madereros más apropiados para crear artefactos de madera sobresalientes que definen su legado durante el periodo colonial hispano.

Palabras clave

madera; galeón; artefactos; tallas; datación

1. Introduction

The Philippines has one of the highest floral biodiversity on the planet, and it includes thousands of indigenous trees from which timbers have been harvested for constructing ships and building domestic, ecclesiastical, and civil structures throughout the archipelago for centuries. With his adroit hands and acumen in harnessing the potentials of his natural environment, the most suitable timber species were felled, hewn, sawn, and joined by Filipinos to create wooden vessels that brought him to life and the afterlife.

Manila was the trading entrepôt between the Orient and the New World from 1565 to 1815. This floral diversity was evident not only in the wooden galleons that ferried merchandise and the embellishments in Roman Catholic Churches but also in the wooden objects brought to Acapulco and beyond to the Western world.

Under a structural frame of hewn, sawn, and carved premium hardwood species, architectural details such as doors, balusters and finials, and ecclesiastical furniture like *retablos* (altarpieces), *santos* (religious statuary) and *sillerías* (choir stalls) were intricately carved and assembled to imbue church structures with divine atmosphere and deepen the faith of both the clergy and the laity. Since the 20th century, a number of these wooden ecclesiastical objects have found their way into museums and private collections. In an attempt to enrich the exhibit narratives, there has been confusion on the wood species and dating in their labels with the absence of pertinent records and scientific investigations. Moreover, when an invasive wood identification survey is not permitted due to social and aesthetic values, and since these wooden artifacts are not viable for radiocarbon dating due to their 'young' age, their wood species and age remain uncertain.

With such limitations, this paper aims to create a preliminary tabular guide to narrow down the wood species identity and the age of ecclesiastical artifacts by examining and plotting the results of several wood identification campaigns conducted mainly at the San Agustín Church in Intramuros, Manila, and by consulting published sources to determine the accounts that could corroborate the findings. This periodic table of wood species utilization can also aid in establishing the authenticity of Filipino ecclesiastical woodcarvings during the Hispanic era. Various applications of this periodic table were evaluated with a special focus on the galleon-era objects.

2. The Philippine Floral Diversity

A basic understanding of Philippine floral diversity is essential in appreciating the high diversity of wood species utilized in the country's timber-built heritage. Identified as one of the 17 megadiverse countries in the world,[1] the Philippines, with its over 7,600 islands, hosts 8,120 species of flowering plants, 3,500 species of indigenous trees, 33 species of gymnosperms, 640 species of mosses, and 39 species and 8 subspecies in dipterocarp forest.[2]

2.1 THE PHILIPPINE FORESTS

The Philippine forests can be classified into six types based on the composition of stands.[3] The first type is the Dipterocarp forest, which has a total of 47 species and subspecies that are widely distributed in the major islands of the Philippine archipelago. They are represented by small to large, resinous, usually evergreen and buttressed trees. But practically, all dipterocarp species are large trees reaching heights of 40 to 50 m and diameters from 100 to 150 cm. It can be found on nearly all types of topography from the frontal zone of the beach up to 800 m along mountain slopes.

Common in this forest are timber trees like *almon* (*Shorea almon* Foxw.) and *lauan* (*Shore contorta* Vid.), which can be used for boat planking and general construction. Apart from its use for keels and stern posts,[4] *yakal* (*Shorea astylosa* Foxw.) is another timber tree predominantly utilized for house posts and trusses.

Trees from the *molave* forest produce timbers highly valued for their natural beauty and durability. With a few exceptions, the dominant trees are short-boled, irregular to very irregular in form, and with wide-spreading crowns. Many of the species occupy limestone soils.[5]

The most dominant tree in this forest is the *molave* (*Vitex parviflora* Juss.) or *mulauin* tree. *Molave* timber was widely used for ecclesiastical objects, house

1 "Megadiverse Countries," Biodiversity A-Z, last updated 24 December 2020, www.biodiversitya-z.org.

2 *The State of the Philippines Environment* (Quezon City: IBON Books, 2006), 3; AB Ella et al., *Anatomical Identification Handbook of Philippines Dipterocarps* (College: FPRDI-DOST, 2009), 9.

3 H.N. Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," *Bureau of Forestry Bulletin* No. 10 (Manila: Bureau of Printing), 17.; Florencio Tamesis, "Philippine forests and forestry," *Unasylva* Vol. 2 No. 6 (USA: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1948), https://www.fao.org/4/x5347e/x5347e06.htm.

4 George Ahern, *Compilation of the Most Important Timber Tree Species of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: The Forestry Bureau, 1901), 97.

5 Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," 26.

posts, truss systems, and shipbuilding. Another dominant tree is *narra* (*Pterocarpus indicus* Willd.) for interior timberworks such as trusses, floor planks, and furniture. *Tindalo* (*Afzelia rhomboidea* (Blco.) Merr.) is another tree species used for floor planks, truss systems, and woodcarvings.

The forest of the sea and the mangrove forests occupy beaches washed by the tides and are well-developed in mud flats at the mouth of rivers.[6] This forest produces timber for piers and wharves and is a principal source of firewood and charcoal. *Tangal* (*Ceriops tagal* (Perr.) C.B. Rob.) belongs to this forest and can be used for telephone poles and temporary railroad ties.[7]



Fig. 1. *Molave* tree (left, Fadriquela 2023), wood tangential surface (upper right, Fadriquela, 2023), and cross-section (lower right, Daracan and Mendoza, 2017)

The pine forest is found in the mountainous regions of Luzon and Mindoro at an altitude ranging from 900 to 1500 m.[8] Its major timber species is Benguet pine (*Pinus kesiya* Royle ex Gordon), which is used for house construction, mine timbers, and coffins.

The climatic conditions in mid-mountain and mossy forests are extremely moist in terms of rainfall and relative humidity.[9] It is also extensively exposed to winds. The moist condition causes the mossy environment, while the wind condition causes the dwarfed habit of the trees. In this forest, one can harvest *makaasim* (*Syzygium nitidum* Benth.) from the Myrtaceae family for general construction, furniture making, and ship planking.

The last forest type is the beach forest, which occupies sandy beaches above high-tide limits.[10] The principal trees are *talisay* (*Terminalia catappa* L.), *palo maria* (*Calophyllum inophyllum* L.) and *agoho* (*Casuaraina equisetifolia* L.). *Palo*

6 Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," 28.

7 Luis Reyes, "Philippine Woods," *Technical Bulletin* 7 (Manila: Commonwealth of the Philippines Department of Agriculture and Commerce, 1938), 361.

8 Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," 30.

9 Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," 31.

10 Whitford, "The Forests of the Philippines," 29.

maria or *bitaog* is a large tree attaining a diameter of 130 cm, with a short bole seldom reaching 5 m and big spreading branches. It is highly esteemed by boatbuilders for its superior resistance to weathering.[11] It is used to construct the rudders and frames of ships.

2.1 FACTORS AFFECTING FLORAL DIVERSITY

This floral diversity can be attributed mainly to two factors: first, the biogeographical location, and second, the history of settlement and colonization of the country. In terms of biogeographical location, the Philippines belongs to the floristic province of Malesia, which can be phytogeographically separated into three subregions of West Malesia or the Sunda Shelf, Wallacea, and East Malesia or the Sahul Shelf (New Guinea).[12] As a result of the very complex plate tectonic movements and resulting islands and orogenesis during the last 50 million years, the Malesian region has high biodiversity, containing an estimated 42,000 plant species, of which 70% are endemic. The subregion of Wallacea, in particular, has high endemicity, especially in the Philippines, but it is also a transition zone between west and east Malesia and plays an important role in the floristic exchanges between the Sunda and Sahul Shelves.

The waves of migration and colonization further enhanced the floral diversity of the country. Early settlers[13] brought *santol* (*Sandoricum koetjape* (Burm.f.) Merr.), whose wood is primarily now used in carving *santos*. *Langka* (*Artocarpus heterophyllus* Lam.) or jackfruit was used in *comoda* construction in Bohol and was utilized by luthiers to make string instruments such as violins in Cebu and Romblon.

When the Spaniards came, they brought *kakawate* (*Gliricidia sepium* (Jacq.) Walp.),[14] which is usually utilized for fences or orchid stands. The raintree (*Samanea saman* (Jacq.) Merr.), which is commonly called the *acacia* tree, is presently utilized in wooden furniture and sculptures. During the American period, mahogany (*Swietenia macrophylla* King) was brought to the country.

11 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 261.

12 Abdulrokhman Kartonegoro, Sylvia Mota de Oliveira and Peter C. van Welzen, Historical biogeography of the Southeast Asian and Malesian tribe Dissochaeteae (Melastomataceae). *J. Syst. Evol.*, 60 (2020): 237-252, https://doi.org/10.1111/jse.12752.

13 N.T. Baguinon, M.O. Quimado and G.J. Francisco, "Country report on the forest invasive species in the Philippines," *The unwelcome guests: Proceedings of the Asia-Pacific Forests Invasive Species Conference* (Bangkok: FAO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, 2005), 108, https://www.fao.org/4/ae944e/ae944e09.htm#bm9.

14 Baguinon et al., "Country report," 109.

Apart from furniture construction, it has also found its way into the wood-carving industry.

After World War II, *yemane* (*Gmelina arborea* R. Br.) was introduced in Milangnila Cebu for reforestation in 1960.[15] *Yemane* found its way to wood carving due to the scarcity of the much-favored wood *batikuling* (*Litsea leytensis* Merr.). Most, if not all, sculptures of Maestro Willy Layug from Pampanga are made of *yemane*.

3. The San Agustín Church Wood Carvings

The initial periodic table for wood species utilization was based on various wooden elements at the Immaculate Conception Parish Church or San Agustín Church. This World Heritage Site, completed in 1607, is the oldest Catholic church in the country. Its wooden elements have been well studied by scholars, such as art historians who provided dating and wood anatomists who provided scientific wood identification.

3.1 THE PAGREL COLLECTION

The diversity of wood species utilization during the Hispanic period is well represented by the Pagrel collection exhibited mainly at the former San Agustín Church's convent refectory, which is also now called Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery. This gallery was inaugurated in 1976 in memory of the centennial birth of Carmen Zaragoza Roxas Viuda de Araneta, the mother of architect-Filipinologist Don Maria Luis Araneta.[16] Named after his children, Patricia, Gregorio, and Elvira, the Pagrel collection is an inventory of 26 bas reliefs, 32 sculptures, 18 paintings, and 27 ecclesiastical furnishings amassed by Don Luis from the late 1940s.[17]

Long before this gallery was established, Zobel described this collection as "unquestionably the most important in existence, whether in sheer size, range of style, or general quality of individual pieces, adding that its condition

15 Baguinon et al., 109.

16 Felice Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery: The Pagrel Collection of Luis Ma. Araneta* (Mandaluyong City: Echanis Press, Inc., 1986), 2; Pedro Galende O.S.A and Regalado Trota José. *San Agustín: Art & History 1571-2000* (Hong Kong: Pedro G. Galende and Regalado Trota José, 2000), 112.

17 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery*, 2.

is "superb." Several years later, Zobel reported that numerous pieces were carefully and discretely restored, and cataloguing was being carried out.[18]

Influenced by the devotion and religious fervor of his family, Don Luis was well acquainted with the lives of the saints,[19] which was affirmed by her daughter Elvira[20] in her essay about her father. This could explain his familiarity with the iconographies of the saints. An architect by profession and from a clan that had travelled widely even before World War II,[21] he saw the value in salvaging the artifacts of the churches damaged by war.[22] In contrast, as post-war parish priests were more inclined to adapt to modern developments, Don Luis and his scouts began gathering ecclesiastical art and architectural elements impaired by time in exchange for modern appurtenances and church repair works.[23]

His exhaustive study and research in Philippine art and culture, which landed him the position of Commissioner of the Philippine Participation at Brussels's World Fair in 1958,[24] attests to his extensive knowledge of Philippine art, which most probably afforded him the acumen in dating the artifacts he has collected. How the artifacts were concretely dated is another research in itself, but the author posits it could have been based on the foundation date of the parish church where the artifacts were collected. This is probably valid for the 16th-century *santo* from Libmanan in Camarines Sur since San ego de Alcalá Parish in Ibalon, now called Libmanan, was established in 1583.[25]

Nevertheless, as Gatbonton[26] puts it, "In the absence of written records, dating *santos* in the Philippines is, at best, an educated guess." In 1985, Elvira commissioned the Forest Products Research and Development Institute (FPRDI) to

18 Fernando de Ayala Zobel, *Philippine Religious Imagery* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1963), 35.

19 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery,* 4.

20 Elvira Araneta, *In My Father's Room: Stories and Small Things Near and Dear to Luis Ma. Araneta* (Manila: San Agustin Museum and Patricia Maria Araneta, 2016).

21 Levine Andro Lao, "Kingly Treasures auction features Luis Ma. Araneta collection," Lifestyle.inq, November 11, 2019, https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/350396/kingly-treasures-auction-features-luis-ma-araneta-collection/.

22 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery,* 5.

23 Marge C. Enriquez, "Luis Ma. Araneta's heritage passion finds a home." Lifestyle.inq, July 24, 2017, https://lifestyle.inquirer.net/268983/luis-ma-aranetas-heritage-passion-finds-home/.

24 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery,* 5.

25 Regalado Trota José, *A Chronology of Mission Arrivals (Barcadas), Ministries, and Imprints of the Franciscan Province of San Gregorio (1576-1900) Based on Selected Franciscan and Other Sources*, (2022), Unpublished work.

26 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, "Further Notes on Philippine Santos (A lecture delivered on Jan. 1982 at the Philippine Plaza Hotel)," *The Manila Arts & Antiques Exhibition, September 13-19, 1982* (Manila: Studio 5 Designs, Inc., 1982), 29.

conduct wood identification of the Pagrel Collection.[27] Headed by Senior Science Research Specialist Jose Meniado, the wood identification was performed on 53 statues in three days. The team noted in the field report that some were in an advanced state of deterioration, and some components had been replaced with different species. In 2009, under the Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation grant, the author was able to verify that the existing wood species labels were valid from the nine objects his team was allowed to conduct wood identification. He was not actually aware of the 1985 wood identification conducted by FPRDI, and he had to validate the existing wood species labels. There is only one object in the collection dated to the 16th Century. It is an image of Santiago de Matamoro carved in the round from Libmanan, Camarines Sur. For the 17th century, 13 objects were identified, and 92% were made of molave. Examples are the carved round images of St. Luke in *molave* from Ilocos and *San Juan de Bautista* in *santol* from San Luis, Pampanga.



Fig. 2. 16th Century *Santiago de Matamoro* from Libmanan, Camarines Sur (Fadriquela, 2019)

The entire Philippine archipelago is well represented in the 18th-century collection. There were 69 objects investigated. From the two wood species utilized in the previous century, the diversity increased to six wood species. The choice of wood species was still *molave*, followed by *narra* and *batikuling*. Examples are the *molave* bas relief of the Crowning of Jesus with Thorns from Morong, Bataan, a church bench with an Augustinian emblem made of *tindalo* from Cebu, a *narra* bas relief of St. Augustine de Hippo from Apalit, Pampanga, and an image of St. Peter carved in the round made of *batikuling* from Mabitac, Laguna. Furthermore, included in this century are the *acle* (*Albizia acle* (Blanco) Merr.) carving in the round of *Santa Rita de Cascia* from Apalit, Pampanga, and *manipnip* (*Palaquium tenuipetiolatum* Merr.) wood-made crucified Christ from Lubao, Pampanga.

27 Cheek Fadriquela, *Kahoy: Wood in the Philippines, Wood and Its Uses from Pre-Hispanic to Spanish Colonial Philippines* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2013), 74.

Only 19 artifacts date from the 19th century. One can infer a lesser preference for using *molave* for the woodcarvings but an increase in the use of *batikuling* and *narra*. Examples are a *narra* liturgical chair from Pakil, Laguna, a *batikuling* carving in the round of the Institution of the Eucharist from Laguna, a *santol* bas relief of God the Father and the Holy Spirit from Malvar, Batangas, and a *manipnip* liturgical chair.

3.2 AT THE 17TH CENTURY CHOIR LOFT

The church choir loft has two important artifacts for this undertaking, namely, the *sillerías*, and the *facistol* (lectern). There are 68 intricately carved *sillerías* in the choir loft, which were commissioned by Fray Miguel Garcia Serrano, the prior of San Agustín Church from 1608 until 1611 and provincial from 1611 to 1614.[28] The 1994 historical marker from the National Historical Institute (now called the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP)) reads that these seats were carved *molave* seats with *narra* inlays. On the other hand, based on a book published in 2000, the museum website claims that the strapwork motifs were made of *kamagong* (*Diospyrus blancoi* A. DC) with inlays of *narra*. However, during the restoration of these choir stalls in 2015, a wood identification activity conducted by a team from the Department of Forest Products and Paper Science at the University of the Philippines Los Baños College of Forestry yielded the use of *narra* and *tindalo*. All carved parts of the chair assembly are made of *narra*. This may dispel the legend[29] that these choir stalls came from Macao, but the possibility that *narra* timbers were brought to Macao for carving remains. Despite the wide distribution of *narra* from southern Myanmar, through the South-East towards the Santa Cruz and Pacific Islands, its distribution in Macao has not been reported.[30]

28 Galende and José, *San Agustin: Art & History*, 136.

29 Pedro G. Galende, O.S.A., *Angels in Stone: Architecture of Augustinian Churches in the Philippines* (Manila: G.A. Formoso Publishing, 1987), 29.

30 I. Soerianegara, and R.H.M.J. Lemmens, *Plant Resources of South-East Asia 5- (1) Timber trees: Major commercial timbers* (Bogor, Indonesia: Prosea Foundation, 1994), 379.

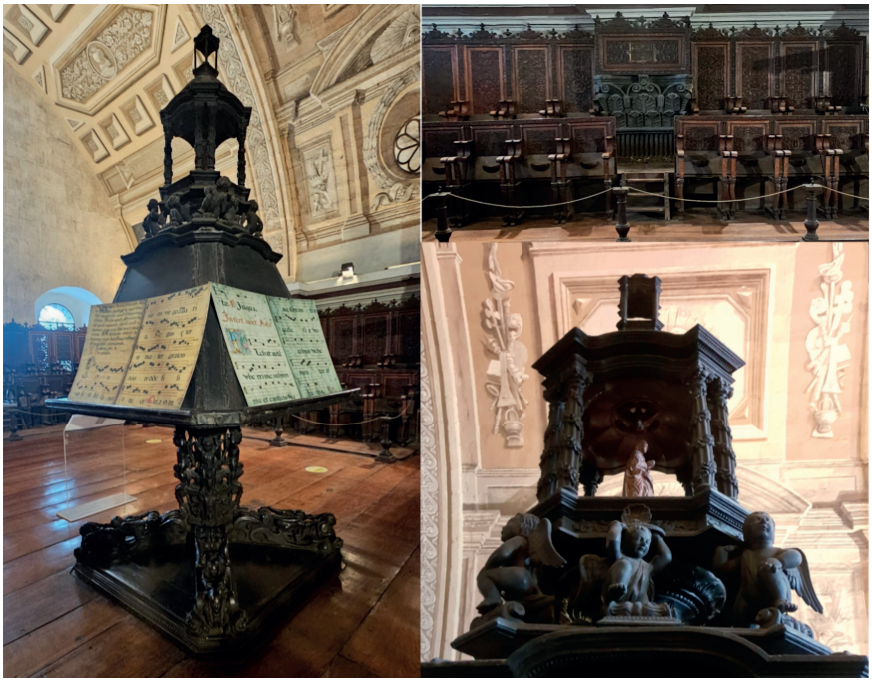


Fig. 3. 17th Century San Agustín Church *facistol* and choir stalls (Fadriquela, 2023)

At the center of the choir loft floor stands the *facistol*. It is an exquisite lectern embellished with exquisitely carved statuettes and griffons, sphinxes, and winged angels, commissioned by Fray Felix Trillo in Macao.[31] Despite its Macao provenance, the *facistol* is an assembly of timbers with carved components entirely made of *tindalo* based on the wood identification conducted by the same team. As *tindalo*[32] trees are only distributed in the Philippines, Eastern Sumatra, and the northern half of Borneo, tindalo timbers were probably sent to Macao for hewing the *facistol*.

3.3 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY RETABLOS

San Agustín Church has several *retablos*, the oldest of which is the 1617 four-story *retablo* carved by Juan de los Santos of San Pablo de los Montes in Laguna, who worked for Fray Agustín María de Castro.[33] It is currently

31 Galende, *Angels in Stone*, 29-30.

32 Soerianegara, and Lemmens, *Plant Resources*, 72.

33 Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton, *Philippine Religious Carvings in Ivory* (Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1983), 18; Galende, O.S.A. and Regalado Trota José, *San Agustin*, 104.

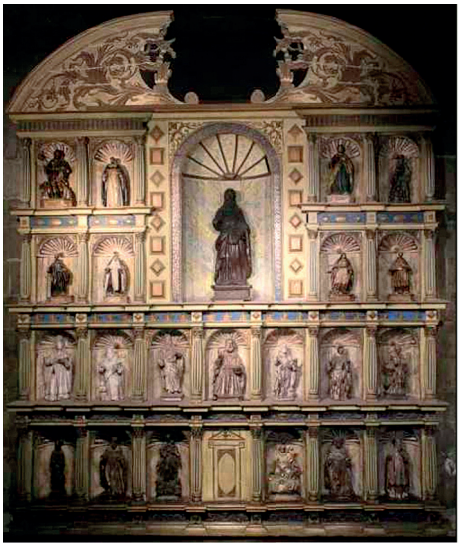


Fig. 4. 1617 Juan de los Santos *retablo* at San Agustín Church (RDG Ecclesiastical Architecture, 2020)

installed at the old sacristy or *antigua sacristía*. Juan de los Santos was also responsible for constructing the three-story *molave retablo* in the church in San Pablo.[34]

Moreover, there are four 18th-century *retablos* along the cloister. These are the *retablos* dedicated to *Santo Tomás de Villanueva* at the west corridor, *San Juan de Sahagún* at the north corridor, *San Guillermo el Ermitaño* at the south corridor, and *San Nicolás de Tolentino* at the east corridor. Wood identification of these five *retablos* by the author yielded a hundred percent *molave* wood utilization. It also underscores the preference of Juan de los Santos to *molave* in constructing *retablos*.

3.4 18TH CENTURY DOOR ROCOCO APPLIQUÉS

Under a 2017 project sponsored by the Tourism Infrastructure and Enterprise Zone Authority (TIEZA), the author was able to examine the wood species utilized in the doors with mid-18th century rococo appliqués in the main façade and along Gen. Luna St. José suggests that rococo in the Philippines appeared as early as the 1750s and disappeared by the first decade of the 1800s.[35]

Both sets of doors have a *molave* frame and panel construction with *postigos*, which are small pedestrian entrance doors. The rococo appliqués are nailed on these *molave* panels, and these could have been later additions on the said panels. The results of the investigation showed that the rococo appliqués on the front façade doors utilized *narra* while those on the left side doors along Gen. Luna St. used *tindalo*. It remains a conundrum why two different species were used instead of one given the fact that *narra* is less durable than *tindalo*.[36]

34 Espreranza Bunag Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints: Colonial santos in the Philippines* (Manila/Hong Kong: Esperanza Bunag Gatbonton and Editorial Associates Ltd., 1979), 167.

35 Regalado Trota José, "Bubbles and Tongues of Fire: Rocalla in the Philippines," *Transpacific Engagements: Trade, Translation, and Visual Culture of Entangled Empires (1565-1898)* (Makati City, Los Angeles, Florence: Ayala Foundation, Inc., Getty Research Institute, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, 2000), 130-131.

36 Reyes, *Philippine Woods*, 466.

Based on the above discussion on the diversity of wood species at the San Agustín Church, the periodic table of wood utilization for woodcarvings in the Philippines during the Hispanic period shown below is proposed.



Fig. 5. San Agustín Church main façade doors. (RDG Ecclesiastical Architecture, 2020)

4. The Periodic Table

4.1 HISPANIC PERIOD WOODCARVINGS

During the early years of Iberian contact, evangelization and colonization in the Philippines, the conquistadores and missionaries brought religious images from Spain and Mexico, such as the images of the Sto. Niño in Cebu from Pigafetta in 1521, *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*[37] *by the* Franciscans in 1577, *Nuestra Señora de la Visitación*[38] in Piat, Cagayan by the Dominicans, most likely in 1604, *San Nicolas de Tolentino*[39] in 1608 by the Recollects, and *Nuestra Señora de Monserrat*[40] in 1620 by the Jesuits, among others. These religious images have inspired local sculptors to carve sculptures for two primary purposes of official (ecclesiastical) and informal (domestic) use.[41]

TABLE 1. Periodic Table of Wood Utilization in Ecclesiastical Wood Carvings

	HISPANIC PERIOD							
	16th C	17th C		18th C		19th C		
WOOD	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	Earliest account
Molave								Chirino (1604)
Narra								Alcina (1668)
Santol								Careri (1700)
Tindalo								Alcina (1668)
Batikuling								Juan F. San Antonio (1738)
Manipnip								Vidal (1874)
Acle								Francisco San Antonio (1620)
Kalantas								Le Gentil (1779)

37 Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 71.

38 Regalado Trota José, "Extant Artifacts from the First One Hundred Fifty Years of the Dominicans in the Philippines (1587-1750)," *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. LVI, No. 170 (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2021), 1053.

39 Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 73.

40 Gatbonton, *A Heritage of Saints*, 75.

41 Zobel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 258.

It is tempting to define the woodcarving styles in each century to date religious objects during the Hispanic period. However, Zobel[42] cautions against the danger of dating *santos* by style for several reasons, and Castañeda[43] agrees that the period of style transition for the development of Philippine sculpture during the Hispanic period may be difficult to determine. Nevertheless, both scholars proposed styles for various forms of Hispanic period sculptures, which are mostly religious in nature.

Zobel proposes the popular, classical, and ornate classifications.[44] Philippine popular sculptures are small, intended for private use, made of the softest wood for easy carving, have strong colors, and combine oriental features and proportions with Spanish iconography and strikingly original colors. In contrast, classical sculptures, encompassing all sizes and materials, were made by skilled sculptors who had preserved much character of the Spanish and Latin American archetypes according to the styles ranging from the late renaissance to the rococo, with the baroque prominently figuring in this style. Classical statues are often an assembly of separately carved hands and heads pegged into their bodies. Primarily different from the classical style with its elaboration, the ornate style heavily infuses Spanish baroque and romantic realism. Zobel wrote that this style can be dated with certainty from the middle of the 18th century, with the majority of extant artifacts fabricated mostly in the 19th century.[45] In an attempt to simulate high realism, ornate images sometimes use wigs, glass eyes, and a high polychromy finish on mostly softwood species.[46]

Similarly, based on levels of realism, Castañeda suggests the primitive, early, realistic, idealized, and decadent.[47] Primitive sculptures were hewn with a plain or hollowed back, bulging eyes, and extending from ear to ear.[48] In the primitive form of realism, the hair and folds of the dress were crudely executed, while in the early level, these hair and folds were no longer stylized but with incorrect proportions, and the images were usually undersized about seven

42 Zobel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 257.

43 Dominador Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Office of Research Coordination, 1964), 40.

44 Zobel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 257.

45 Zobel, "Philippine Colonial Sculpture," 261.

46 Zobel, 261.

47 Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines*, 40-41.

48 Castañeda, 40.

heads or shorter.[49] The 18th-century bas reliefs in Tanay Church are examples of this style, where the figures are no more than five to six heads.[50] This style transitioned to fully realistic with anatomical features proficiently carved in correct proportions. The idealized, which incorporates the Filipino style, and the decadent, which features artificial hair and glass eyes, and the *estofado* technique are prominent forms of realism in the 19th century.[51] Developed in the 1800s, the Spanish *estofado* technique emulates expensive golden brocade with polychromy on the carved robes of the statues.[52] The proportion of idealized sculptures was a little over seven and one-half heads, which was the style the sculptors of the *Gremio de Escultores de Manila* adapted.[53]

Despite the hesitation of the two scholars to date religious images according to style, their classifications, in addition to studies of other researchers, can somehow delineate the styles to a certain period, especially those of the official images. The 16th and 17th-century images can be described as figures with primitive to early realism due to what Santiago describes as "more than a hundred years of apprenticeship and improvisation in Christian art under Spanish tutelage."[54] The *molave* Virgin Mary from Minalin, Pampanga, in the Pagrel collection[55] is an example of early realistic carving with "bulging eyes," which is characteristic of 17th-century images.

Santiago calls the 18th century the formative period of Philippine art when the *indios* and *mestizos* were not only equipped to build stone churches but also embellish them.[56] In spite of the early form of realism in this century, as Castañeda suggested, the latter half transitioned from the classical style to the ornate style with the introduction of rococo, as José proposed. The rococo style was greatly manifested in a number of carved ecclesiastical furniture from its introduction until the first decade of the 19th century. From the rococo style of woodcarving, the 19th century transitioned to full realism with the opening of the *Academia de Dibujo y Pintura* in 1855, which eventually

49 Castañeda, 40-43.

50 Castañeda, 43.

51 Castañeda, 41.

52 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery*, 25.

53 Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines*, 46-47.

54 Luciano Santiago, "The Loom of Colonial Art (1521-1890)," *Art Philippines: A History: 1521-present*. (Pasig: The Crucible Workshop, 1992), 17.

55 Sta. Maria, *The Carmen Zaragoza Araneta Gallery*, 28.

56 Santiago, "The Loom of Colonial Art," 19.

evolved into a school that offered sculpture in 1879.[57] This allowed sculptors to carve with good anatomical proportions. Accordingly, ornate style and full realism achieved in the 19th century were predominated by baroque sculptures characterized by well-incised features, stirred folds that evoke mobility, and hair that effects a moving pattern of light and shade.[58]

Interestingly, despite his reservation in dating religious images, Zobel[59] comments on the chronology that large and small images entirely executed in ivory or hard woods appear early. He defines hard woods as those that can achieve very high, almost metallic polish, are scratch resistant by ordinary tools, and sink in water. These are *kamagong*, *molave* and *balaon* (or *balayong* which is also called *tindalo*). This is the earliest account that correlates Philippine wood species and their properties to the period of utilization in religious carvings. Both *molave* and *balaon* are legacy wood species identified in the San Agustín Church wood carvings.

4.2 LEGACY WOOD

In the field of information technology, a legacy product or system is one that is no longer available to buy or used very often, but is still used by some people or companies.[60] By the same token, the author would like to refer to *molave*, *narra*, *santol*, *tindalo*, *batikuling*, *maninip*, *acle,* and *kalantas* as legacy wood from extant Hispanic period woodcarvings. Historical accounts and modern scientific studies have described their properties and suitability in various woodcarving applications.

Molave is a Spanish corruption of the Tagalog *mulauin*, and the root word *mulau* means "yellowish" which denotes the yellowish character of the wood.[61] Widely distributed in the Philippines, *molave* is a medium to large tree that reaches a height of 30(-38) m and attains a diameter of up to 125(-200) cm.[62] The earliest mention of this wood species was made by Chirino[63] in his 1596-1597 account

57 Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines*, 50.

58 Castañeda, 47.

59 Zobel, *Philippine Religious Imagery*, 25.

60 "Legacy," *dictionary.cambridge.org dictionary*. (Cambridge University Press & Assessment, 2025), https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/legacy?q=legacy.

61 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 435.

62 R.H.M.J. Lemmens, I. Soerianegara, and W.C. Wong, *Plant Resources of South-East Asia* 5 (2) *Timber trees: Minor commercial timbers* (Bogor, Indonesia: Prosea Foundation, 1995). 508.

63 Pedro Chirino, S.J. *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de D. Esteban Balbás, 1890), 6.

of Manila published in 1604 (*Relación de las Islas Filipinas),* which recorded that a tabernacle for housing the relics was made of *molave*.

The preferential use of *molave* can be attributed to its physical and structural features. It belongs to the moderately high strength group with an average density[64] of 770[65] kg/m3, which means it has good mechanical properties. But most importantly, it has profuse tyloses, which are present in all heartwood pores, and these tyloses prevent water incursion. *Molave* is equivalent to oak (*Quercus* sp.), which was utilized in most of the heritage structures in temperate region counties due to the presence of tyloses.

Narra is a large tree with an irregular fluted trunk attaining a diameter of up to 2 m and a height of up to 40 m.[66] It has a heartwood, which may be pale yellow to blood red in color, crossed, wavy, or interlocked in graining, with a moderately fine texture. It belongs to the moderately high strength group with an average density of 550 kg/m3.[67] Alcina wrote that out of this wood, they make very beautiful writing tables and chests.[68]

Santol is a small to medium-sized tree with a diameter of up to 70 cm.[69] Its trunk is cylindrical or slightly irregular, seldom straight 5 to 7 m to the first branch, has a heartwood which is vinaceous fawn to fawn in color, slightly crossed but sometimes wavy graining, and comparatively fine texture.[70] It belongs to the moderately low strength group with an average density of 380 kg/m3 at green conditions.[71] According to Carreri, it is an excellent wood for carving, and the tree is like walnut but has larger leaves.[72]

Tindalo, also called *balayong*, is a very widely distributed tree from Luzon to Mindanao that can grow as high as 30 m and a diameter of 60 to 80 cm but occasionally up to 1.8m.[73] Its heartwood turns to wine red with age or exposure

64 Unless otherwise indicated, the density is at 12% moisture content.

65 M.A.Alipon and E.O. Bondad. "Strength Grouping of Philippine Timbers for Various Uses," *FPRDI Trade Bulletin Series* No. 4. (College: Forest Products Research and Development Institute, 2008), 20.

66 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 143.

67 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 20.

68 Alcina, Ignacio Francisco. *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*, Vol 1., trans. Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. and Lucio Gutiérrez, O.P. (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2002), 467.

69 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 182.

70 Reyes, 182.

71 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 20.

72 Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage to the Philippines*, (Naples, 1699-1700), trans. Awnsham and John Churchill (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), 85.

73 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 137.

from light reddish yellow when fresh. It has crossed graining and a moderately fine texture. It belongs to the high-strength group with a density of 800 kg/m3 at green conditions.[74] According to Alcina, *barayong* (or *balayong*) is suitable for carving and also suited for posts in houses and churches.[75] It is regarded as one of the finest cabinet timbers in the Islands.[76]

Batikuling is a medium-sized tree reaching a diameter of about 80 cm.[77] Its trunk is straight cylindrical with no prominent buttress. Its wood has a golden yellow color, slightly crossed graining, moderately coarse texture, and a faint, pleasant odor that fades out upon drying. It belongs to the moderately low strength group with an average density of 490 kg/m3.[78] The earliest mention of *batikuling* was by Fr. San Antonio, who wrote that it is equivalent to pine.[79] According to Vidal, it is easy to carve and polish and used in civil constructions.[80]

Manipnip or *manicnic* is a medium-sized to large tree reaching a height of up to 35 m.[81] It is common in forests at low and medium altitudes in Luzon, Mindoro, Masbate, and Mindanao.[82] Its wood density is 500[83] kg/m3, and the wood is similar[84] to *nato* (*Palaquium luzoniense* (F. Vill.) Vid.) in structure and general appearance, which has reddish-brown heartwood, straight and occasionally wavy graining, and moderately fine texture. According to Vidal, *manipnip* is greyish red or greyish purple, and it is prevalent in Bataan and other provinces of Luzon.[85]

Acle or *akle* is a tree up to 1.25 m in diameter with a short, often crooked trunk (Reyes, 1938).[86] It has no buttress. Its heartwood has a dark brown color, crossed and occasionally crossed graining, and comparatively fine to

74 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 12.

75 Alcina, *History of the Bisayan People*, 439.

76 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 139.

77 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 98.

78 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 42.

79 Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.F.M. *The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio* (1738). trans. Pedro Picornell (Manila: Casalinada and Historical Conservation Society, 1977), 34.

80 Sebastián Soler Vidal, *Memoria sobre El Ramo de Montes* (Madrid: Imprenta, Esteriotipia y Galvanoplastia de Aribau y C, 1874), 152.

81 Soerianegara and Lemmen, *Plant Resources*, 318.

82 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 397.

83 Gisel Reyes, et al., "Wood Densities of Tropical Tree Species," *General Technical Report SO-88* (New Orleans, Louisiana: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southern Forest Experiment Station, 1992), 7.

84 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 397-398.

85 Vidal, *Memoria sobre*, 165.

86 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 116.

comparatively coarse texture.[87] It belongs to the moderately high strength group with an average density of 660 kg/m3.[88] Fr. Francisco San Antonio[89] mentioned *akle* as a type of wood while Fr. Juan Francisco Antonio[90] characterized *akle* as a strong wood for house structural parts.

Finally, *kalantas* is a large tree reaching a diameter of 150 cm, usually smaller with a bole that is generally straight and cylindrical, 15 to 20 m long.[91] Its heartwood has a light red to dark reddish brown color, crossed or interlocked graining, comparatively coarse texture, and a strong and lasting cedary odor.[92] It belongs to the low-strength group with an average density of 330 kg/m3.[93] Le Gentil described *calantas* as as cedar in red or white.[94]

From a single wood species in the 16th century, the number of wood species increased to three in the 17th century and nine until the 19th century. With the use of *batikuling*, *manipnip* and *kalantas*, there was a trend to look for more wood species that are lighter for ease of work and odorous, most likely for insect attack prevention.

The FPRDI published the list of wood species best suited for fabricating novelty products in the form of flower vases, clip and pen holders, paperweights, table nameplates, jewelry boxes, etc.[95] The criteria considered were density, stability and shrinkage, texture and grain, drying or seasoning, machining, gluing or bonding with adhesives, finishing and coatings, and tendency to exude resin and corrode metals. The suitable wood species were classified into preferable and acceptable levels of performance. The former refers to long-life performance under exacting conditions of use, and the latter is still adequate performance under many conditions of use.

Preferable wood species have a fine to moderately fine texture, 400-600 kg/m3 density, moderately low shrinkage (7.9 to 10.5%), light or dark color,

87 Reyes, 116.

88 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 14.

89 San Antonio, Franscisco de San Antonio, O.F.M.,*Vocabulario Tagalo* (1620) (Quezon City: Pulong Sources for Philippine Studies, 2000), 4,

90 San Antonio, *The Philippine Chronicles*, 34.

91 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 183.

92 Reyes, 183.

93 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 14

94 Guillaume Joseph Hyancinthe Jean Baptiste Le Gentil De La Galaisière, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas* (Paris, 1779-81), trans. Frederick C. Fischer (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964), 32.

95 A.P. Moistero and J.P. Carandang, "Philippine Woods for Novelty Products," *FPRDI Trade Bulletin Series No. 2*. College: Forest Products Research and Development Institute,1993).

and no tendency to exude resin and corrode metals. Furthermore, in terms of technological properties, the wood species is easy to dry and defect-free enables fabrication of the desired shape and dimension with requisite accuracy and surface quality in the most economical way and allows bonding with adhesives and application of finishing and coatings with its numerous and bigger pores or unobstructed openings. In this category are *akle*, *almaciga* (*Agathis philippinensis* Warb.), *banuyo* (*Wallaceodendron celebicum* Koord.), *batikulin*g, *igem* (*Dacrycarpus imbricatus* (Blume) de laub.), *kalantas*, *malakauayan* (*Podocarpus rumphii* Blume) and *narra*.[96]

On the other hand, the acceptable wood species has a moderately coarse texture, 601-750 kg/m3 density, medium shrinkage (10.6 to 13.2%), light or dark color, and no tendency to exude resin and corrode metals, as well. Moreover, the wood species is moderately difficult to difficult to dry and has minimal to moderate defects, as well as good machining, gluing, and finishing properties similar to the preferable wood species. The acceptable wood species are *batino* (*Alstonia macrophylla* Wall ex. DC.), *bok-bok* (*Xanthophyllum excelsum* (Blume) Miq.), *dao* (*Dracontomelon dao* (Blco.) Merr. & Rolfe), *malasantol* (*Sandoricum vidalii* Merr.), *palosapis* (*Anisoptera thurifera* (Blco.) Blume ssp. *thurifera*), *santol*, *tanguile*, and *yemane*.[97]

Five of the wood species in the periodic table, namely *narra*, *santol*, *batikuling*, *akle,* and *kalantas,* belong to the wood species identified by FPRDI as preferable and acceptable wood species in wood carving. *Molave* and *tindalo* did not make it in the list probably due to their high densities and poor bonding properties with their small pores and blocked openings. However, despite its physical properties within the range of preferable species, *maniknik* was not included in the listing. A possible reason is its scarcity[98] that FPRDI may have deemed it not viable for commercial purposes of fabricating novelty products.

After the Bohol earthquake in 2013, the NHCP collaborated with the FPRDI to conduct wood identification not only on damaged heritage structures but also on important shrines and landmarks in the provinces of Cebu, Bohol, Iloilo, Batangas, and Laguna.[99] The results of the five-year partnership yielded a

96 Moistero and Carandang, "Philippine Woods for Novelty Products," 8.

97 Moistero and Carandang, 9.

98 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 397.

99 Ramiro P. Escobin, et al., "Scientific Restoration of National Shrines and Landmarks in the Philippines by the Forest Products Research and Development Wood Identification Technique," *International Journal of Conservation Science* Vol. 10, Issue 1, 25-38. http://www.ijcs.uaic.ro/public/IJCS-19- 03_Escobin.pdf.

listing of 50 wood species and groups identified in 1,911 items of movable and immovable wood elements investigated. All wood species in the periodic table were also identified except for *akle* and *manipnip*, and with *molave*, *batikuling*, and *tindalo* as the top three most number of species identified in this order.

5. Evaluation Of The Periodic Table

To test its validity, the above periodic table was utilized in three case studies since its inception in 2019[100]. With a special focus on galleon-era woodcarvings, these studies include a *santo* from a private collection and a church patron saint image to all carved timber elements of a church complex.

5.1 THE TINDALO PROBABILITY

The first case study is an examination of Christ's corpus. During the pandemic in 2020, the author received a request from a conservator to identify the wood species of an image of Christ's corpus from a private collection. Access to the image was not possible, and he was only given several photos taken from the image's feet. The estimated date of fabrication is between the 1700s and 1800s. Aware that the features needed to identify the wood species can be found in the vicinity of the carved feed, the conservator partially removed the coating to reveal the structural features of the wood.

Based on the photos sent, the presence of aliform parenchyma and aliform confluent parenchyma were evident. From these features, the probable wood species could belong to the Fabaceae family (*tindalo*, *ipil* (*Intsia bijuga* (Colebr.) O. Kuntze), *kakauate*), etc.) or Meliaceae family (*bayanti* (*Aglaia rimosa* (Blanco) Merr.)) of trees. Since the wood is not dark as it can be perceived from the photos, there is a big probability that it is not *kakauate*. Furthermore, since there are no yellow deposits observed, ipil can be eliminated as probable wood species. *Bayanti* is not known to be utilized in wood carvings. Hence, *tindalo* was the most probable wood species to render the image. To express this probability of *tindalo* as the wood species quantitatively, a point system was devised in which three factors were considered with assigned weights.

100 This periodic table was first presented at the 11th Biennial National Convention of Church Heritage Workers of the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines held in Cebu in 2019. It spans from the Hispanic period until the 21st century wood species utilization.



Fig. 6. Feet (top) and toes (bottom) of the Christ Corpus (Revilla, 2020)

The physical features factor was given a weight of 20%, which is further subdivided into three categories of color, graining, and odor. Each category was assigned 1 point if physically observed, 0.5 points if observed only from the photo, and 0 if not observed. For this factor, the total category points were only 0.5 points due to the color observed in the photos sent. By dividing the total category points with the maximum category total of 3 points and multiplying the result by the weight, the total percentage for this factor was computed at 3.33%.

The structural features mainly determine the wood species such that this second factor was weighted at 60%. The *tindalo* structural features factor refers to the structural features of aliform parenchyma, aliform confluent parenchyma, boundary parenchyma, and red deposits. Except for the red deposits feature, which was given 0.5 points due to its rarity as a defining structural feature, 1 point was given to each feature if observed. A total of two points were given to this factor due to the aliform and aliform confluent parenchymas observed. Performing a similar operation, this factor's total percentage was 34.3%.

The third factor with a weight of 20% was periodization, which determines whether the probable species is within the period of utilization based on the periodic table. One point is given if affirmative. *Tindalo* falls within the period of utilization such that for this factor, the total percentage was 20%. Adding all factor total percentage, the probability that the Christ's corpus is made of *tindalo* was around 58%. This case study has shown that the periodic table can be used as a factor to ascertain the wood species identified.

5.2 THE SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ OF QUISAO

In an undertaking to better understand the church's patrimony, the author was consulted by the parish priest in November 2021 to conduct a wood species investigation on the wooden patron saint image of *San Diego de Alcalá*. Although the exact age of the image cannot be identified with this activity, the period in which it was fabricated can be indirectly narrowed down based

on the historical context of the town and the studies of wood species used in Catholic Church wood carvings.

The Franciscans came to the Philippines in 1577, and as they evangelized the country, *San Diego de Alcalá* became the titular patron saint of several mission areas. In the 16th century, the churches of Silang in the province of Cavite, Ibalon (currently Libmanan) in the Bicol Region, and Gumaca in the province of Quezon were dedicated to *San Diego de Alcalá* in 1581, 1583, and 1599, respectively.[101] In the 17th century, the churches in the port of Cavite, Polo, and Dumanaog, were erected under the patronage of *San Diego de Alcalá* in 1608, 1623, and 1628, respectively.[102]

Since the 18th century, there has been no mention of churches dedicated to *San Diego de Alcalá* in Jose's list. However, José wrote that San Diego, which was administered from Pililla and now called Quisao, was separated in 1853 from the province of Laguna together with Angono, Baras, Binangonan de los Perros, Jalajala, Morong, Pililla, and Tanay to form the *Provincia de los Montes del Mateo* which was later renamed *Distrito de Moron* in 1858.[103]

In a chapter of his 1865 book regarding the foundation of Pililla, Huerta reported that the *rancherias* in Monte Tanay, Sitio Tigbi, Quisao, Monte Yakat, and Rio Dolo, originally constituted the *visita* of the town of Morong, which was named Pilang-morong until it separated from Morong in 1583.[104] Here, Huerta already used Quisao instead of San Diego. Huerta commented that one can infer that a resident minister was only assigned in the 1590s due to the insufficient number of missionaries in the islands. In 1599, a license was given by the supreme government to build a stone church. In 1632, the stone church of Pililla was gutted by fire, and so was the rest of the town. Another conflagration ravaged the town in 1668. With the distance of San Diego or Quisao from the *población* of Pililla, the former may not have suffered the same fate.

Based on the sources cited, neither the foundation year of the *visita* called San Diego nor the erection date of a church dedicated to *San Diego de Alcalá* in Pililla can be established, but it could have been established after a resident minister had been assigned in Pililla. Further archival and physical investigations can probably establish these dates.

101 José, *A Chronology of Mission Arrivals*, Unpublished work.

102 José, Unpublished work.

103 José, *A Chronology of Mission Arrivals*, Unpublished work.

104 Felix Huerta, O.F.M. *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico- religioso de la santa y apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio Magno* (Binondo: Impr. de M. Sanchez y ca., 1865), 106-107.



Fig. 7. *San Diego de Alcalá* image in Quisao Church (Fadriquela, 2021)

The polychromed *San Diego de Alcalá* image is an assembly of several wood components. The head and hands are separately carved. The left hand replaces the lost original component. The body is hewn from a log that had been hollowed out at the back but covered by a manually sawn plank. The body stands on a base enclosed by a rectangular wooden frame.

The wood species identified established the components that were carved during the same period. The removable body parts are made of *tindalo*, while the body and base component, as well as the cross attribute, are made of *molave*. As informed by the Parish priest, the *batikuling* left hand is a replacement of the lost component, which could have also been made of *tindalo*.

Based on the periodic table, the image could have been fabricated between the 18th and early 19th century, when both *molave* and *tindalo* were utilized in Catholic Church woodcarvings. There is a possibility that it is older than the 18th century if all the body parts were made of *molave* or even ivory if there are records showing that the current detachable parts were actual replacements. Further archival and oral investigations were recommended.

5.3 THE ROCOCO CHURCH IN TANAY

There is no other church in the Philippines that embodies the exuberance of the rococo style than the church in Tanay. At present, Tanay is the municipality before reaching Pililla in Rizal province from Manila.

After the conquest of Tan-ay by Captain Juan de Salcedo in 1572, the Franciscan missionaries Fr. Juan de Plasencia and Fr. Diego de Oropesa established missions around Laguna de Bay and the neighboring mountain villages of Sierra Madre.[105] After Pililla separated from Morong in 1583 as an independent parish, Tan-ay was a *visita* until it also became an independent parish from Plilla in 1606. Completed in 1783, the current church is the fifth iteration after earlier

105 Diocese of Antipolo, "Journey of Faith: Historical Background of San Ildefonso de Toledo Parish," *The Quadricentennial Journey with Christ* (Baras, Rizal: San Ildefonso de Toledo Parish, Tanay, Rizal, 2011), 11.

churches were abandoned or replaced due to transfer, the desire to have a stone church, and damages caused by natural calamities. On July 13, 2001, the National Museum declared the San Ildefonso Church in Tanay a National Cultural Treasure. Recognizing the importance of a conservation management plan to protect the significance of the church, the newly installed parish priest commissioned the author through an architectural firm in August 2023 to investigate all wooden elements of the church and convent.



Fig. 8. Tanay Church main *retablo* (Fadriquela, 2023)

From the six rococo *retablos* of Tanay Church, two *retablos* have been investigated. The main *retablo* and all its images are made entirely *molave* except for the dog of San Roque, which is made of *tanguile* (*Shorea polysperma* (Blco.) Merr.). It was later found out from a parishioner that it was her family who had recently donated the replacement of the lost dog image. Furthermore, the *retablo,* with its images depicting the baptism of Jesus Christ by St. John the Baptist and a tabernacle at the baptistry, are all made of *molave*.

Castañeda wrote that bas reliefs in Tanay Church are carved out of *batikuling*.[106] However, the fourteen stations of the cross yielded *ipil* for stations 1 to 12, and these are the first church objects made of *ipil* encountered by the author. *Batikuling* was used for station 13 and *molave* for station 14. The reason why these two stations utilized two different species carved with a classical style as compared to the 12 *ipil* stations that were carved in folk or early realist style is currently under investigation. There is no doubt that the last two stations were carved in the 19th century due to its classical style of carving.

The truss system was also investigated. The ends of the rafters and corbels are carved in both church and convent, and these are all made of *molave*. Based on the findings from the Tanay Church wood identification campaign, a revision of the periodic table to include *ipil* is proposed, as shown below.

Ipil is a large tree that can attain a diameter of 1.2 m and a height of up to 35 m.[107] Its trunk often forks but is cylindrical and straight, 10 to 15 m in length.

106 Castañeda, *Art in the Philippines*, 43.

107 Reyes, "Philippine Woods," 131.



Fig. 9. Tanay Church bas relief stations 12 (left), 13 (upper right) and 14 (lower right) (Fadriquela, 2023)

It is widely distributed from the Babuyan Islands to Mindanao.[108] It belongs to the high-strength group with an average density of 700 kg/m3.[109] Alcina wrote that the Visayans prefer *ipil* when fabricating their coffins called *longon*.[110]

TABLE 2. Revised Periodic Table of Wood Utilization in Ecclesiastical Wood Carvings

	HISPANIC PERIOD							
	16th C	17th C		18th C		19th C		
WOOD	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	1st Half	2nd Half	Earliest account
Molave								Chirino (1604)
Narra								Alcina (1668)
Santol								Careri (1700)
Tindalo								Alcina (1668)
Batikuling								Juan F. San Antonio (1738)
Manipnip								Vidal (1874)
Acle								Francisco San Antonio (1620)
Ipil								Alcina (1668)
Kalantas								Le Gentil (1779)

108 Reyes, 131.

109 Alipon and Bondad, "Strength Grouping," 16.

110 Alcina, Ignacio Francisco. *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*, Vol 3., trans. Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. and Lucio Gutiérrez, O.P. (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2005), 308.

6. Crossing the Pacific

The discovery of the eastward route or *tornaviaje* from the Philippines in 1565 and the founding of Manila in 1571 ushered in the era of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, which lasted for 250 years. Aboard the wooden galleons that plied the transpacific route were exquisite Asian goods, including luxurious fabrics, premium spices, fine house ornamentations, valuable gemstones, and well-crafted furniture.[111]

Among those that sailed during the galleon era was the wooden *facistol* at the Mexico City Cathedral. It was a gift from Manila by Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo del Río, who commissioned it in 1762.[112] After this *facistol* was packed in several crates containing its various sections, each carefully numbered. It was ready for shipment in 1762, but the galleon carrying it had to return to Manila due to the impending threat of enemy fleets on the horizon.[113] The British invasion of Manila was imminent.

Two years after the British occupation of Manila, there was an intention to ship the *facistol* components in 1766 aboard *San Carlos*, which was bound to Acapulco but failed again.[114] Loyzaga posits it could have encountered the same fate as the first attempt.[115] In this second shipment, the *facistol* was accompanied by a drawing of the piece and a guide to assemble it, the latter signed by José de Núñez in the same year of 1766.[116] It finally arrived in Acapulco in 1770 aboard the frigate *San José*.[117]

Occupying the central part of the choir, this huge wooden lectern made of *tindalo* and *ébano* (*Diospyros ferrea* (Willd.) Bakh.) is embellished with carved rococo cartouches and ivory figures and topped by an ivory crucifix.[118] The use of *tindalo* and the year of completion validate the proposed amended periodic table. However, despite the absence of *ébano* wooden artifacts in

111 Celestina B. Boncan, "The Tornaviaje: Setting the Course of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade," *Kabarkadahan: La Ruta del Galeón Manila – Acapulco: Ang Galeong Nag-uugnay sa Manila at Acapulco* (Pasay City: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 2016), 30.

112 Galende and José, *San Agustin Art & History*, 137.

113 Jorge Loyzaga, "La Presencia del Oriente, La Reja y El Facistol de la Catedral de México," *La Catedral de México* (Mexico: Fundación BBVA Bancomer, 2014), 243.

114 Loyzaga, "La Presencia del Oriente," 243.

115 Loyzaga, 243,

116 Loyzaga, 243.

117 Loyzaga, 243.

118 Loyzaga, "La Presencia del Oriente," 243.



Fig. 10. México Cathedral *facistol* (Fadriquela, 2023)

the Pagrel collection, one cannot discount the fact that San Antonio[119] cited *ébano* was used in wood carvings. As the *facistol* was damaged during a fire in 1967[120], wood species identification was perhaps conducted during the course of its restoration. Proof of such identification is needed to further amend the periodic table to include *ébano.*

According to Loyzaga, apart from the *facistol* at the Mexico Cathedral, the Guatemala Catedral has an equally spectacular wooden *facistol* inlaid with a mother-of-pearl shell, supposedly brought from the Philippines in colonial times.[121] Of similar interest by the author hereafter, is the validation of the proposed periodic table by this *facistol*.

Another galleon-era export is the tabernacle at the Mission Dolores in San Francisco. Destined for the California missions, this tabernacle was part of the supplies that arrived in San Francisco in 1783 aboard the frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* (otherwise known as *La Favorita*).[122] These goods were sent to Franciscan priest Fr. Junipero Serra Ferrer, who established the California missions of San Diego, San Francisco, San Juan Capistrano, and San Buenaventura, among others.[123]

The tabernacle described in the inventory as "one large painted and gilt tabernacle of carved wood with its half case that opens and closes instead of the usual curtain," was packed in crate number 12 together with gilt and painted *ciriales* (processional candlesticks), painted and gilt cross and *ramilletes*

119 San Antonio, *The Philippine Chronicles*, 34.

120 Loyzaga, "La Presencia del Oriente," 245.

121 Loyzaga, 245.

122 John Galvin, "Supplies from Manila for the California Missions, 1781-1783," *Philippine Studies* vol 12 no. 3 (Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University, 1964), 494.

123 Galvin, "Supplies from Manila," 494; Rene Javella, S.J. "In the Wake of the Galleon: The Diffusion of Cultural Artifacts in the Pacific Rim," *Kabarkadahan: La Ruta del Galeón Manila - Acapulco: Ang Galeong Nag-uugnay sa Manila at Acapulco* (Pasay City: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 2016), 32.

(bouquet-like candleholders), and painted and gilded carved wooden *sacras* (altar cards), among others.[124]

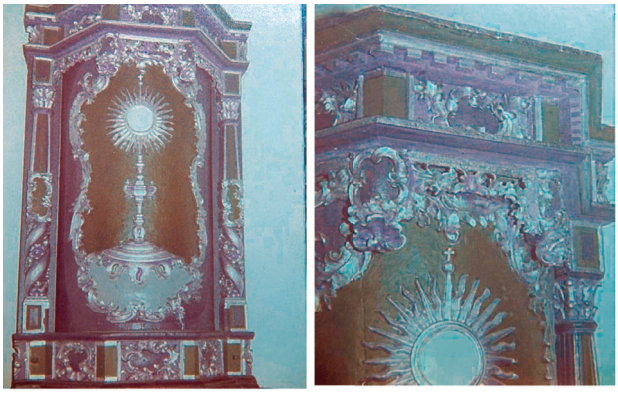


Fig. 11. Mission Dolores tabernacle (José, 1990)

Given the late 18th century period of fabrication, the most probable wood species are *molave*, *narra*, *santol*, *tindalo*, *batikuling*, *manipnip,* and *acle*. However, with the preferential use of *santol* for carving images carved in the round, and with the rarity of *maninip* and *acle* extant artifacts, one can further narrow down the selection to *molave*, *narra*, *batikuling,* and *tindalo*. One can also consider the existence of 18th-century *molave* and *batikuling* tabernacles from Pakil, Laguna, at the Pagrel Collection.

Although not an ecclesiastical nor a carved wooden object, hence, the proposed periodic table may not be applicable, the *arcón* or chest from Puebla in México deserves special mention in this paper. Its period of construction remains a conundrum as scholars propose the period of late 16th century to early 17th century based on the painting of the walled city of Intramuros at the underside of its top cover. Certainly, the painting depicts Intramuros as places and churches are labeled with minuscule texts of *Bagumbayan*, *Parian de los Sangleyes*, *Quiapo*, *Tondo*, *La Compania de Jesus*, *Santo Domingo* and *La Iglesia Mayor*.[125] There are other texts that eluded clearer images for scrutiny.

A thorough materials analysis of the *arcón* may shed light on the period of construction. The tests may include identification of the types of wood, metal and paint pigment utilized in its fabrication. Of particular interest is the wood species pid assessment[126] of the transverse section of the wood used in the lid yielded a ring-porous species that is not characteristic of

124 Galvin, "Supplies from Manila," 500; Javellana, "In the Wake of the Galleon," 37.

125 Michael Manalo, former Chairperson, Culture Committee of the Philippines National Commission for UNESCO brought the attention of the author to these labels while Regalado José deciphered most of the text.

126 As there was no formal permission to obtain photo of the chest and its transverse section, the guide at *Museo Bello* in Puebla, México graciously allowed the author to rapidly view the transverse section using a portable microscope. Bereft of time to fully identify the other structural features, the author only remembers the ring-porous topography of the transverse section.



Fig. 12. *Museo Bello* chest (Fernandez, 2023)

lauan. The possible ring-porous species are *narra*, *bagalunga* (*Melia dubia* Cav.), *kalantas*, teak (*Tectona grandis* L. f.), *banaba* (*Lagerstroemia speciosa* (L.) Pers.) and *batitinan* (*Lagerstroemia pyriformis* Koehne) forma *batitinan* (Vidal) Furt. & Sris.). However, historical accounts for both *banaba* and *batitinan* indicate their use in civil and naval constructions.[127] Furthermore, teak is an exotic species introduced in the Philippines during the American period.[128]

With great luck, the author had a chance to conduct further investigation of the *arcón* after the Manila Galleon exhibit at the Asian Civilization Museum in Singapore in March 2024. The cross-section examined indeed exhibited a ring-porous topography which is that of *kalantas*. Although the *arcón* did not exude any odor, probably due to its age, since *kalantas* is a known odorous wood, one can infer that the maker of the *arcón* was a Chinese artisan who could have been familiar with fabricating camphor (*Camphora officinarum*) chests in China.

The tendency to misidentify the wood species, such as in the preceding cases (*sillería* in San Agustín Church, bas reliefs in Tanay Church, and *arcón* in Puebla, Mexico), is often due to the propensity to associate the color with the known natural color of the wood, disregarding the patina or coatings that have aged, and the lack of knowledge on the diversity of wood species utilized during the Hispanic period. Jamir wrote that the first cabinets in the early 17th century in the Philippines were huge, *kamagong* (ebony wood)-made, *enconchado* (with mother-of-pearl inlays) cabinets such as the one that was sent to Lima in Peru as a wedding gift to the granddaughter of one of the Viceroys.[129] As *kamagong* and ebony (or *ébano*) are two different species, the wood species identification was mostly likely based on the color of the wooden components of the furniture.

127 Fadriquela, *Kahoy*, 256, 262.

128 Baguinon et al., "Country report," 109.

129 Jamir, Milagros Covarrubias. "Domestic Furniture of the Philippines," *Arts of Asia*, vol. 13 no. 4. July-August 1983, 76.

Similar to the methodology discussed above in configuring the periodic table for legacy wood in Catholic church wood carvings, future researchers may look into creating a separate one for domestic furniture. This is done by finding a repository or a collection that can represent Philippine domestic furniture during the Hispanic period, which has been well researched by various scholars.

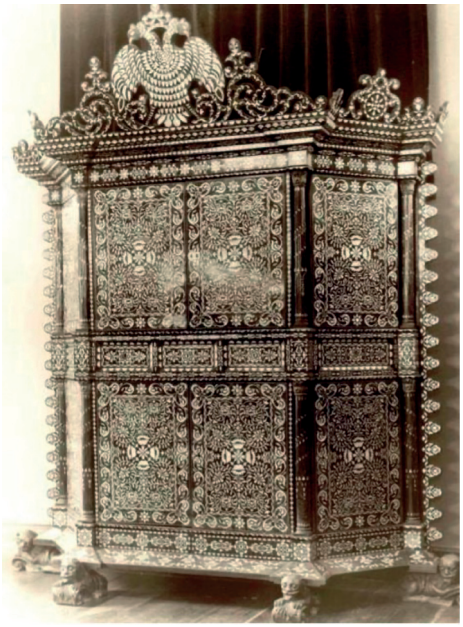


Fig. 13. Pereda *armario* (Callo, 2023)

7. Conclusion

As one of the megadiverse countries on the planet due to its biogeographical location and waves of migration and colonization, the Philippine forests have contributed to the diversity of wood species that have been harnessed in sculpting ecclesiastical woodcarvings during the Hispanic period. The extant carved timber elements at San Agustín Church in Intramuros, Manila, attest to this high floral diversity, and from the Pagrel collection, *retablos*, *sillerías*, *facistol* to the *doors* of this church that have been thoroughly studied by art historians and wood anatomists, a periodic table of wood species utilization was configured as a tool for identifying the wood species and dating Hispanic period of other ecclesiastical artifacts, in particular, objects from the galleon era.

The study showed that during the Hispanic period, *molave*, *narra*, *santol*, *tindalo, batikuling*, *manipnip*, *acle and kalantas* were the preferred wood harvested in building and adorning churches. Based on density, stability and shrinkage, texture and grain, drying or seasoning, machining, gluing or bonding with adhesives, finishing and coatings and tendency to exude resin and to corrode metals, an FPRDI study has proven the viability of these legacy wood as the preferrable and acceptable wood species in woodcarving. However, probably due to the high densities of *molave*, and *tindalo* and the scarcity of *manipnip*, these wood species were not included in the list of suitable species.

To validate the periodic table's applicability on galleon-era artifacts, three wood identification case studies ranging from individual *santos* to the entire carved timber elements of a church complex were examined. These case

studies showed that for the two wooden *santos* investigated, in the absence of written records, the periodic table can be a tool to ascertain the wood species identification and narrow down the period of fabrication. Furthermore, in the Tanay Church complex, it was found that *ipil* was also utilized in ecclesiastical woodcarving. As a result, the initial period table was amended accordingly to include this wood species.

The validity of the period table was also verified on the commissioned 18th-century ecclesiastical objects that crossed the Pacific during the galleon era. The *tindalo facistol* at the Mexico City Cathedral demonstrates the accuracy of the tool. On the other hand, the periodic table can be used to narrow down the wood species utilized in constructing the revolving tabernacle in Mission Dolores to *molave*, *narra*, *batikuling*, and *tindalo*.

Apart from determining the authenticity of Philippine-made ecclesiastical artifacts, the study has established that the legacy wood species can be utilized in periodizing these artifacts, corroborated by the style of execution that corresponds to the period of fabrication. Although there were numerous domestic furniture made during the galleon era, the current periodic table configured for ecclesiastical woodcarvings is not applicable. The creation of a similar chronological graphical representation is recommended for domestic furniture.

The determination of wood species cannot be overemphasized as it also highlights the Filipino perspective on the best wood to use for making exceptional wooden objects that characterize his legacy throughout the Hispanic colonial era not only in the country but also across the Pacific. From the utilization of wood species with high to moderate strength, the incorruptibility of the material for adorning the sacred structures was paramount. It is an enduring testament to his devotion to his eternal Creator.

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La Zarangola
The Kite-Fighting Legacy of the Filipinos in the Coast of Guerrero, Mexico during the Period of Acapulco-Manila Galleons

La Zarangola: El legado Filipino de la batalla de cometas en la costa de Guerrero durante la era del galeón de Acapulco-Manila

Ricardo Pinzón de la Cruz
Universidad Nacional Rosario Castellanos

Abstract

The sixteenth century witnessed the materialization of the Spanish crown's more effective grip on the silk and spice trade. The Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade[1] was established when the return route from Cebu in the Philippines to Puerto de Navidad was completed in 1565. The galleon trade, which plied the Pacific Ocean, provided imperial Spain with an oceanic bridge that was more effective than the old terrestrial silk route used to secure goods from Asia and to plant the seeds of Catholicism in the Far East. During the two-and-a-half centuries of the transpacific adventure, the cargo ships that connected Latin America to Asia from 1565 to 1815 achieved more than just trade and the evangelization of the pagan Orientals. Of the variety of products from all over Asia that the galleons transported to México, and of those that show fine Filipino craftsmanship, the artistic and ludic manifestation in the form of a kite was brought into Mexico's Pacific coastal people with a singular passion. This paper explores the legacy of Malay-Filipinos who came to Mexico

1 The Manila-Acapulco galleon was known by a few other names. Depending on the docking port, the galleon was also called the Acapulco-Manila galleon, the La Nao de China, el Galeón del Pacífico, and Nao de Acapulco. A Nao is the previous version or previous model of a galleon.

on the galleons and taught the local costeños[2] how to make strong and aerodynamic saranggolas,[3] which continue to fly in Guerrero in the most inspiring artistic "Chinese paper" designs.

Keywords

zarangola; saranggola; Costa Grande; papalote; cometa; Galeón Manila-Acapulco

Resumen

El siglo dieciséis atestiguó como la corona Española vio materializados sus esfuerzos navales para asegurarse con más efectividad el comercio de la seda y las especias. El sistema de el Galeón de ManilaAcapulco establecido al lograrse el tornaviaje en 1565 de Cebú al Puerto de Navidad, proveyó a la España imperial un puente oceánico más eficaz que la antigua larga y costosa ruta por tierra para asegurarse los bienes de Asia y para plantar la semilla de el Catolicismo en esta parte de el lejano oriente.Durante los dos siglos y medio que duró la aventura transpacífica, los barcos de carga que conectaron a América y Asia de 1565 a 1815 lograron mucho más que el jugoso aspecto comercial o la evangelización de los orientales paganos. De la gran variedad de productos de Asia que los galeones transportaron a México, de el abanico artesano de los Filipinos llegó una manifestación artística en la forma de un cometa. Este juguete y manifestación de arte, fue incorporada al gusto de la gente costera del Pacífico Mexicano con una singular pasión y calidad artística similar a la del Sudeste Asiático. Este trabajo discutirá el legado de los Malayo-Filipinos que vinieron a México en los galeones quienes enseñaron a los locales costeños como hacer saranggolas (palabra en Filipino para cometas) resistentes y aerodinámicas y las cuales también se decoran las zarangolas con los más inspiradores y artísticos diseños en papel de china.

Palabras clave

zarangola; saranggola; Costa Grande; papalote; malayo; Galeón Manila-Acapulco

2 Costeños is the word in Spanish to refer to the inhabitants of towns established along a coast. In the case of this essay, the referred coast is the Pacific Ocean coast of the state of Guerrero.

3 Kites have dozens of different names around the world. These names depend not only on the regions or languages but on particular communities within countries. For this reason, a kite will be called zarangola, as this name pertains to the Costa Grande of the State of Guerrero and its Filipino legacy, and Culebrina, Cocol, Cometa, and Papalote throughout this article as kites were called in other parts of Mexico and Latin America. In a subsequent section, the term zarangola will be explained.

1. Introduction

The first great globalization in history was established between the ports of Seville in Spain and two of its overseas territories: Mexico in America with its connecting ports Acapulco facing the Pacific Ocean and Veracruz facing the Atlantic Ocean, and the Philippines with its connecting ports of Manila and Cavite. The Pacific galleon trade impacted the whole world. The fact that this first globalization lasted two centuries and a half and involved several dozens of countries on all the continents speaks of the great amount of cultural exchanges amongst various groups. Genetic admixture was another consequence of the new silk route, and this shaped the makeup of the people involved as traders, sailors, friars, bureaucrats, soldiers, slaves, and servants. The many social scientists around the world who are attracted by the Pacific galleon system have not sufficiently covered in their research every single cultural aspect that resulted from the Manila-Acapulco trade. Therefore, little is still known about the many legacies left by the extended exchange of goods, traditions, knowledge, and DNA. The silver-silk route through the Indian, Pacific, and Atlantic oceans not only had effects in Mexico, the Philippines, and Spain, but the cultural and genetic impacts will, for many years to come, lead historians, anthropologists, biologists, and social science researchers to write about the many legacies resulting from this amazing historical and commercial venture.

Since my teenage years, I have done field research. I began as a disciple of the late journalist and social researcher Floro Mercene, with whom I traveled half of the Costa Grande and Acapulco in the 1990s. We interviewed locals and observed their ways of living in towns like Bajos del Ejido, Atoyac, Tecpan de Galeana, and Coyuca de Benítez, much in the same way as those ancient adventurers and their Malay-Filipino ancestors had done more than two centuries ago.[4] Today, I acknowledge the guidance of Dr. Fernando Zialcita, who introduced me to some ancient ethnographic traces in cosmopolitan Manila; Chef Maestro Ige Ramos, who accompanied me as we interspersed Cavite to taste culinary samples displayed in a colorful and lively local market; and the cultural tour I experienced around the side streets of Manila and Makati

4 There is a good amount of research papers and thesis today regarding the presence of about 50,000 Asians who arrived in Mexico during the era of the Galleons from the Orient. My doctoral thesis based on testing DNA on the Mexican population confirms the conclusions on such extensive work. Furthermore, my research also includes the names and location of the Filipinos living in Mexico during the Census taken at the end of the eighteenth century.

led by the Mexicana-Filipina and Maestra Gemma Cruz-Araneta. The city expedition through Metro Manila was enriched by using all the different public transportation available. Such a trip gave me a chance to interact with both the environment and the Filipino people at a personal level, and it served as confirmation of how much Filipinos and Mexicans are similar and how strong our genetic-historical bonds are, too.

During my field research in the southern state of Guerrero, immersion was the main ethnographic method implemented to gather evidence for this article. Considering that I grew up in Acapulco, I spent approximately forty years of immersion with Filipino descendants of those who came via the galleon trade. Included among the descendants are kite-fighting communities in Acapulco and Costa Grande. Four decades were dedicated to experiencing and learning firsthand the process of kite-making, kite-designing, kite fighting, and kite-running. Since childhood, I experienced the careful process of mastering kite-designing and felt the full adrenaline sensation of kite-fighting and kite-running by participating in these ludic activities in the region. Other qualitative methods were also employed to provide substance to the body of this article: first, several interviews were conducted with kite-fighters belonging to the generations of the 1930s, 1960s, and 1990s who were all natives of the towns mentioned earlier.[5] While a few interviews were conducted during the past ten years, the majority of the interviews were conducted in December of 2023 and November of 2024. I have known most of the respondents since childhood. They all practiced kite fighting since they were young, and now, most of my former schoolmates have their children flying kites and learning the trade. Second, literature about the history of kites around the world was revised, selected, and included, as well as a small but very rich literature on the history of the galleon trade and how its culture impacted and enhanced the Mexican Pacific coast and its interior land.

The two hundred and fifty years of the early modern transpacific trade was a golden era for many countries, including Mexico. The several dozens of products (material and living species), food recipes, and knowledge exchange between both sides of the oceans transformed the cultural DNA of everyone associated with the Acapulco-Manila Galleon or Nao de China. While

5 Costa Grande also included smaller kite fighting towns such as Corral Falso de los Pinzón, Boca de Arroyo, San Luis de la Loma, San Jerónimo, Los Arenales, El Zapote, Tenexpa, Coyuca de Benitez and Pénjamo, but it is Acapulco that got the greatest influence of the Costa Grande's Zarangola.



Fig. 1. Traditional hexagon Zarangola in Acapulco with the colors of the Filipino flag. One difference between most Saranggolas and Culebrinas is that the first are flown without a tail.

Deborah Oropeza[6] and Tatiana Seijas[7] provide the most conservative numbers on the Asian diaspora to Mexico during the period of 1565 up to 1700 at no more than ten thousand, this does not take into consideration the thousands of Asians who came as contraband and have no records. Maestro Marcelo Adano, founder and director of the Navy Museum in Acapulco, has always claimed that there were over 50,000 people from Asia who came on the galleons and spread throughout the country while fleeing the threat of getting back on board the ship of death. According to Dr. Edward Slack Jr.,[8] however, between 40,000 and 60,000 "indios chinos"[9] had set foot in New Spain, while a figure double these amounts would be more probable, considering each galleon passenger illegally carried more "slaves" than they were allowed by the rules established by the Mexican viceroyalty. The fact that ancient records held in the national archives in Mexico City, Seville, and Manila tell the story of about ten to one hundred thousand people from the Far East arriving on the galleons as seamen or slaves to the ports of Salagua, Navidad,[10] and Acapulco and settling in Mexico. This introduces a view of all the cultural baggage and DNA that came to New Spain and infused the nation in the early stages of its multicultural inception.

6 Oropeza K. Deborah, "Los 'indios chinos' en la Nueva España: la inmigración de la nao de China, 1565-1700" (México, El Colegio de México, Phd-Dissertation, 2007), 78, 107, 188, and 204-252 (Appendix C).

7 Tatiana Seijas, "Transpacific Servitude: The Asian Slaves of Mexico, 1580-1700" (Yale University, PhD Dissertation, 2008), 72, 149-151.

8 Edward Slack, "The Chinos in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image," *Journal of World History* 20 (2009): 35-67.

9 Indios Chinos was the term given to all the Asians who arrived to Acapulco on board the Galleons and settled in Mexico. Most of the Asians were Filipinos hired in Cavite, but there were also a few Chinese, Indians and Malays. The term "indios chinos" will be interchanged for Filipinos, Malays, Indians or Chinos throughout the article.

10 Acapulco was the only official port in Mexico where the galleons were authorized to dock and to disembark all merchandise and slaves, however, it is well known that the galleons, after a very long tortuous journey desperately needed help, so it always stopped at auxiliary ports before reaching its final destination in Acapulco. While resupplying water, food and taking care of the sick at the ports of Salagua, now Colima, and Navidad in today's Jalisco, some merchandise and people were "removed" from the ships to evade taxes, fees, and/or confiscation in Acapulco where official authorities were waiting to inspect every single item on board.



Fig. 2. Traditional Chinese Dragon kite, a modern single-line kite made of dyed nylon and fiberglass airframe.[11]

2. Early History of Kites

When humans transformed from hunters to sedentary clans, they started spending quality time looking into the universe and trying to figure out a way to lift themselves into the skies. Hot air balloons were the first structured flying objects invented by mankind in the Far East corner of the planet to reach the clouds. However, their later invention, kites, attracted the most attention from Western cultures during the sixteenth century. Kites allowed mankind to have an extension of themselves aboveground. Once tied to large kites, people felt they were the ones flying like birds.[12] While hot air balloons satisfied the long-sought possibility of seeing man-made objects ascending into the skies, these balloons lacked the ability to be better controlled from the ground and the flexibility to be adjusted in altitude and azimuth. It only included the feature of resisting different wind forces during windy or stormy conditions. Eventually, larger kites and improved air balloons made it possible for fearless humans to reach the skies.

Almost every expert on the history of kites refers to Asia, specifically China, as the birthplace of kites and neighboring Japan and Korea as the immediate recipients of this kite-flying enthusiasm. Vietnam, Malaysia, Polynesia, and Thailand followed as well. The oldest kite records on Chinese soil go back to the 5th century B.C. Ancient Greek records show they knew about the making and use of kites a little after that time, too.[13] Many decades later, thanks to the original silk route, which ran mostly through land, ideas and traditions migrated to northern India, where kites became another piece of the heart and soul of the land, as can be seen at the turn of the nineteenth century in Kolkata.[14] As in the case of the countries neighboring China, India's

11 Figure 1 and 2. Traditional Dragon Kite flown in the Concord, California Forest. Kite and photos owned by the author.

12 Tom D. Crouch, *Wings: A History Of Aviation From Kites To The Space Age* (England: W. W. Norton & Company; illustrated edition, 2004), 19-24.

13 Parashuram Krishna Gode, "Some further notes on the History of Kite Flying in India and Outside -Between B.C. 500 and A.D.1956," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 37, no. 1/4 (1945): 116-119; Ann Bay, *Kitting Up the Sky: The Vehicles of Understanding. Art to Zoo. News for Schools from the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington USA, September 1991).

14 Sudipto Sanyal, "The decline of the kite flying in Kolkata," *The Hindu*, February 2, 2019, https://www.thehindu.com/society/the-decline-of-kite-flying-in-kolkata/article26160256.ece.

neighbors Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan were strongly influenced by the kite-flying culture with a particular passion of their own and became the epicenter of the kite-fighting throughout time.

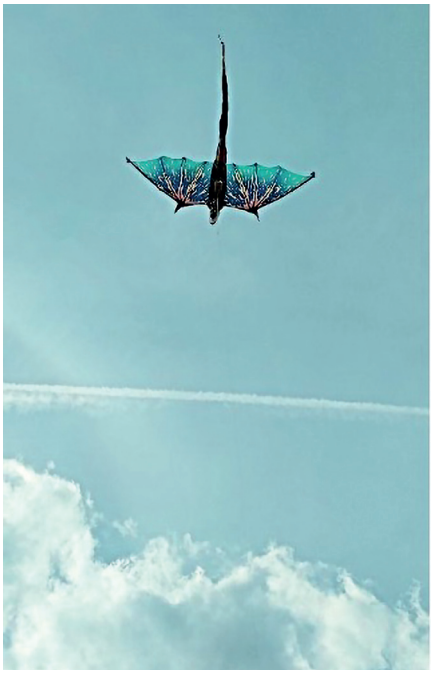


Fig. 3. Traditional one-string Chinese Dragon kite in the air.

Based solely on the earliest ancient records, it has been widely accepted that the area where China sits today is the birthplace of kites. However, most researchers are also open to considering the region encompassing India as a dual birthplace of kites. From China and India and following the common old silk route to bridging along the new silk route established in the late 16th century by the Spanish crown and crossing the oceans from Seville to Acapulco and Manila, the tradition of kite designing spread all throughout Europe, Southeast Asia, Polynesia and America.[15] Nora Chadwick was among the early researchers of the 19th century who turned their focus to kite flying. Other nineteenth-century scientists like Berthold Laufer and Chadwick agreed that kite-designing and kite-flying were a form of art and a sensitive part of the culture of a region. Chadwick, for instance, ponders on the rich oral tradition in Polynesia, which provides much enlightening history on the early kite designers in Oceania half a millennium ago.

The early history of kites goes hand in hand with its utilization in war and science. Historians who have researched and written the history of aviation inevitably turn to the history of kites. In several instances, kites were the precursors of airplanes. Anthropologist Berthold Laufer wrote one of the broadest researches on kites and their use in war during the early ages of pre-modern history as precursors of aeronautics.[16] In China's ancient records, which

15 Nora Kershaw Chadwick, "The kite: A study on Polynesian tradition," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 61 (July-December 1931): 455-460.

16 Berthold Laufer was a great 19th century researcher and historian who traveled the world documenting, among many cultural aspects of the countries and regions he lived in to later on write an important book on the history of aviation, the history and the use of kites in those places he extensively traveled. Berthold Laufer, *The Prehistory of Aviation* (Vol. 18, no. 1) (Field Museum of Natural History, 1928).



Fig. 4. Dual line stunt kite made in China of dyed nylon and carbon fiber airframe.



Fig. 5. Dual line stunt kite in the air.[20]

illustrate the military feat achieved by General Han during the Han Dynasty Era, kites were useful in the calculation of distance and in determining the position of the enemy.[17] In India, kites were critical during a clash with Muslim invaders during Shah Shiva'stime. Kites were flown during a pitch-black night to help his men secure strong ropes over the enemy's fortified walls to enable his warriors to climb over the fortress, catch the enemies by surprise during the night, and defeat them. On the science front, kites' early history shows their use as meteorological instruments, as in the case of the world-known event where the scientist Benjamin Franklin discovered electricity properties by flying his kite during a thunderstorm.[18]

Kites have a long ancient history in the battlefields of the world; however, their entertainment use and symbolism as they gracefully sail the skies make kites more popular and enjoyable during peacetime. Nowadays, amazing, artistic, and community-building festivals draw crowds in the thousands to celebrate kites and everything good in life they represent. For instance, China and India, which claim to be the birthplace of kites, annually host two of the best kite festivals: the Weifang Festival in China and the Uttarayan in India. Weifang is considered the birthplace of kites, and for this reason, about 70% of the kites sold online are made in Weifang. Even the largest world museum of kites is located here. The flying of kites at the Uttarayan Festival symbolizes emerging into the light after the darkness of the winter months as participants engage in activities for good health and sunshine.[19] There are other great kite festivals that take place year-round in

17 Laufer, *The Prehistory of Aviation*, 14-17.

18 Laufer, *The Prehistory of Aviation*, 35.

19 Nikita Desai, *A Different Freedom: Kite Flying in Western India; Culture and Tradition* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 25.

20 Figures 3 and 4. Dual line stunt kite flown in Martinez, California shoreline forest. Kite and photos

Europe as well as in Japan, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, Mexico, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and the United States, and they all attract kite masters and kite enthusiasts from all corners of the globe competing to showcase the most artistic kite or to celebrate life and the human spirit.

3. Mexican Cometas or Papalotes

Central Mexico adopted the kite-flying tradition with singular enthusiasm when the Spanish colonizers introduced it as the cometa during the seventeenth century. Today, there are several major kite festivities where the magnificent talent of Mexican artists can be displayed for locals and tourists alike. The main public square in downtown Mexico City, where the president of the country resides and the main cathedral sits, has a kite festival that falls on April 30th of every year to celebrate Children's Day. Gone are the days when kites were officially prohibited in this mega-metropolis. Back in colonial times, several children died every year in the capital of Nueva España (today's Mexico City) because kite-flying was a very popular yet dangerous pastime. To fly a kite in the middle of a great city, as it was the capital of New Spain, a boy needed to find open areas with the least obstacles to avoid getting the kite stuck in the trees, buildings, or other high structures typically present in big cities. Some boys defied the odds and flew their kites near plazas and wider streets, but by doing so, several were injured by the passing passenger carts or wagons pulled by horses. Other more fearless boys climbed to the roofs and balconies of buildings and houses to fly their kites. These spots, high on the roof of buildings, presented an area free of obstacles and usually had the advantage of stronger winds. However, these areas also presented the most risk for serious injuries and deaths occurred when kite flyers fell after losing track of where they were standing. For this reason, local authorities prohibited this leisure activity in 1774.[21] In a recent article published by

owned by author

21 Those lucky readers who have experienced firsthand the excitement of kite flying know very well that a kite flier gets so caught up in maneuvering the kite that they very often lose the notion of where on the balcony or roof, or the boundaries between safety and danger, they are standing on. Flying kites is a beautiful and exciting outdoor recreation that has a risk of death under certain circumstances as sometimes happened in Mexico's eighteenth century. The risk of a potentially serious accident while flying a kite was as high two centuries ago as it is nowadays. A boy named Carlos Cervantes Romero set to fly his kite one afternoon in Acapulco in 1977. He was known as a good kite designer in his neighborhood on Comonfort Street in Colonia Morelos. It was a very sunny and windy afternoon. When school was barely over, he got on top of the roof of his house and started flying

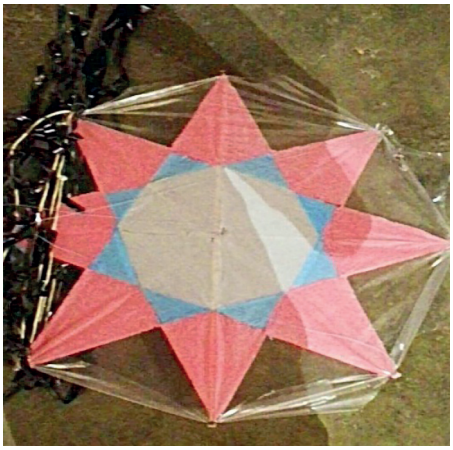


Fig. 6. Original Zarangola from the Ex Hacienda de San Luis in Costa Grande. The basic frame of three sticks from the palm leaf is tied in the center of each "varilla" by a regular sewing thread. When each tip is tied to the other, the traditional hexagon is formed.[26]

Arqueología Mexicana, details about the oldest official record dating back to 1774 in the Mexican National Archives are shared. It describes an event when Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Urzua issued the first royal prohibition against kite-flying, which ultimately was not fully enforced.[22] Other prohibitions were also issued but were not obeyed either, such as the one signed by the Virrey Don Felix Berenguer de Marquina in 1802[23] and the one issued by the Virrey Felix Maria Calleja in 1814.[24] It was not until November 5, 1817, that Lieutenant Juan Ruiz de Apodaca sent to print the new ordinance prohibiting the population from flying kites in order to avoid any more injuries or fatalities.[25]

During the second Saturday of every August, the people of Chilcuautla in the State of Hidalgo celebrate the grand kite festival. This festival provides a major showcase for social scientists and sociologists among many other festival enthusiasts since, at this gathering, one can witness the vast creativity of the local kite designers who make all kinds of kites comparable to those in China, India, Korea, or Japan. Another Mexican kite festival of the same caliber occurs yearly in Tequisquiapan, State of Queretaro, and is called the Feast of The Kites. Between March and April of every year, the best kite designers in Central Mexico get together in this fiesta to brag about their superb talent in decorating and making sophisticated kites that, once in the air, amaze all

one of his best kites. He was so focused on a rapid maneuver of pulling away his culebrina (or kite as it was also known in Acapulco) from the attack of another menacing culebrina that he did not notice that the roof had ended under his feet. He fell to the ground, barely missing the metal spikes traditionally welded on top of the main entrances of houses like his. Another kite flier present in the neighborhood at the time of the accident, Ramiro Domingo Suastegui Romero assisted him among other relatives and bystanders. Carlos was rushed to the hospital, where he was treated for minor head and back injuries, and later recovered within a month of the accident.

22 AGNM. Impresos Oficiales, Vol. 29, 1774, Exp. 26, 158-159.

23 AGNM. Impresos Oficiales. Vol. 24, 1802, Exp. 37, 266-267.

24 AGNM. Impresos Oficiales. Vol. 37, 1814, Exp.64, 338-340.

25 Enrique Tovar Esquivel, "Prohibido Volar Papalotes. Cuando la Ciudad pendía de un hilo. Relatos e Historias en México," *Arqueología Mexicana* 104 (2017).

26 Figures 6 and 7. Traditional hexagon shape of the zarangola from Costa Grande. Images are part of the Abarca Radilla family archives and of the author.

the attendees. Puebla is a great colonial city that dedicates time off its music and arts calendar to celebrate kites. Volarte is the name of Pueblas' kite festival. Another city south of the capital, San Andres Cholula, hosts the giant kite festival, which takes place every first week of March. In this region, kites are known using the native word *papalote*, which means "butterfly" in Nahuatl, the main language of Aztec-Mexica, and it is still spoken by close to two million inhabitants in Central Mexico. Thirty thousand people gather around this gorgeous colonial town of San Andres Cholula for three days to celebrate happiness, family, and community and to admire the Mexican kite masters. One characteristic that stands out in this festival, besides the point that the kites are of monumental sizes, is that the kite designers manage to incorporate neon-like lights into the cometas, so it is during the night when this kite festival is most cherished. Teotihuacan is another site that has recently started to exhibit its cometas. It organizes a grand kite festival in July, where hundreds of kite makers participate with their giant kites. To continue being in tune with the national kite designers, spectacular lights are attached to the cometas for the night shows. Visitors and kite lovers can enjoy this important festival, visit the monumental ancient city of Teotihuacan, and marvel at the grand pyramids of the sun and the moon, which are only a fifteen-minute drive from the kite festival arena.

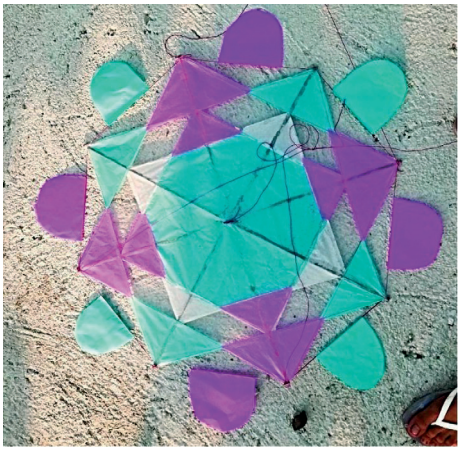


Fig. 7. Based on the hexagon shape there are endless geometrical designs that costeños make on their zarangolas.



Fig. 8. Third-generation kite-designer and kite-fighter Genaro Abarca Vargas from the ex-Hacienda de San Luis. This young man built the zarangolas shown on Figures 6 and 7.

Even though the Spanish colonizers brought the cometa to Mexico, some have insisted on naming this flying toy after a native butterfly. Thus, "papalote" became very popular during colonial times in many cities across the country. However, because of micro-culture dynamics, the inter-migrations between communities, and the broader relations among natives with people brought by the Manila-Acapulco-Seville galleons, there are regions in Mexico where the term papalote is the more common name to use. In other areas, kites are still better known as cometas. Surprisingly, it is because of the power



Fig.9 Traditional hexagon-shaped culebrina in the air with the Filipino flag colors.

of interculturalism that some areas in Mexico call a kite, papagayo, and other regions call it barrilete or culebrina as it is currently widely known in Acapulco. Furthermore, the Nahuatl term papalote (butterfly) is also used in other countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Honduras.

4. From the Papalote to the Zarangola

Once kite flying spread throughout Europe, it was easy for this exciting pastime to make it to America through its colonizers. The Spanish brought a few leisure activities, with playing cards being the most popular among adults during colonial times. Men gathered everywhere to play cards at any time, whether during a pause at the battlefield, after a long day at work in the city, or around a bottle of cheap aguardiente at the local cantina. Kite-flying became very popular among children in the big city of Mexico and the surrounding urban towns to the east and north. However, toward the Mexican Pacific, a different story developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly in one of the two coastal regions of today's Guerrero State, better known as Costa Grande. This region became a perfect habitat for the constantly growing number of Filipino sailors and slaves who arrived thanks to the many decades of transpacific trade brought by the Manila-Acapulco galleons. The kite-fighting saranggolas of northern Filipinas made it to Acapulco and became "la zarangola."[27] In the sixteenth century, Mexico's continental land witnessed the arrival of Europeans, Africans, and Asians who, in the following years and with intense admixing,

27 It is important to point out that further investigation is needed on the broader kite culture in America since there was a constant exchange of ideas and costumes among merchants, slaves, and soldiers all over the continent that caused the names, shapes, and activities within the kite flying communities to interchanged in multiple and surprising ways. For instance, the famous Indian fighter kite: the patang in its traditional two stick diamond shape can be found in Veracruz, Mexico and main cities in Brazil, to name a few, but the name papalote or papagayo can be found in Dominican Republic where the hexagon shape of their chichihuas is also the same as the culebrinas in Acapulco and the zarangolas in Costa Grande and also in San Juan Veracruz. While cometas are flown in central Mexico using different shapes, the same name is used in some parts of El Salvador, and in others, they are known as piscuchas, but the shape is that of the Indian patang. In many cities throughout the continent, kite flying communities also make a variety of kites which include the hexagon shape and the patang diamond shape with tail and tailless.

consequently formed the Mexican people. It is important to point out that before the arrival of Filipinos via the Manila-Acapulco galleon in Guerrero, back in the Philippines, they also experienced immigration arrival of Chinese, Malay, Indian, and other southeastern people with whom they also mixed and adopted some of their traditions and customs.[28]

Costa Grande is the only region in Mexico where the word zarangola was adopted and has remained in use up to recent times. This peculiar situation helped point the research in specific directions and obtain some conclusions. By costeños adopting the word zarangola, there is confirmation that the bulk of Asian seamen and slaves who made the Costa Grande their new home came from the Luzon region in the Philippines. The word saranggola is part of Luzon's primary language, Tagalog, and largely forms the basis of the current Filipino language. Other languages spoken in the Luzon region are Kapampangan and Ilocano, each with a particular word for kites. Filipinos in Luzon also name kites after birds such as milanos, guryones, buladores, and papagayos. In the Visayas or particularly, in Cebu, kites are called buladores or tabanogs. In the Pampanga region, a kite is known as burarul. There are other names for kites in the Philippines, considering that over one hundred languages are spoken in the islands. A very interesting fact about the impact of sea migrations prior to the transpacific galleon trade is how cultures, traditions, and, in many instances, words were carried from one corner of the world to others. While interviewing friends at a favorite Indian restaurant in a neighborhood owned by Krishna Dumpa, where they have employees from Nepal and Sri Lanka, the employees commented that one of the meanings of "sarang" is "colorful," and one of the meanings of "gola" is an object in the heavens or sky. This finding leads one to assume that the migration of people from India, Nepal and Sri Lanka to the Philippines serves as the possible influence for the use of the word Sarang Gola (or colorful flying object) to refer to a kite.

28 For a broader coverage of Eastern India's direct influence in the Philippines or through Malaysia and Indonesia, please refer to Juan R. Francisco, *Indian Influences in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines); David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (Indianapolis: The Bobs-Merrill Company Publishers, 1905); and Ray Dhirendra Nath, *The Philippines and India* (Nabu Press, September 2011).



Fig. 10. Dazzling display of Culebrinas from the Kite-Flying club in Acapulco. Every year the club organizes two to three tournaments along the beach to maintain this magnificent tradition among the locals and visitors. Over sixteen thousand members are subscribed to this group and many are skilled kite fighters and other more are awesome kite designers.



Fig.11. Map of the Costa Grande in Guerrero, Mexico, pointing out some of the towns heavily populated by Chinese-Filipinos.

Anybody who has flown a kite has felt the lovely sensation that runs from the kite in the sky down through the silk thread held in one's hand. Costeños learn to make their zarangolas in grammar school, so the first feeling they get is the joy of seeing one's creation or masterpiece up in the sky and then the freedom and peace it transmits when it hovers many feet above ground. The joy of being in harmony with the skies is why kite-flying is the leisure activity enjoyed the most worldwide, second to playing with a ball. However, the following sensations that arise from experiencing the aerodynamics of the kite and sharpening the skill of the flyer are needed to compete.[29] Thus, a different kite culture was born in the Orient, and the kite fighting competition was planted in Acapulco via the Asian diaspora that arrived on the galleons. Kite-fighting is a pastime full of adrenaline, and every local boy participates. By the way, never in my kite-fighting experience have I seen a girl or woman participate. There may be some female kite-fighters somewhere in Guerrero, but I have never seen one yet. Kite fighting is a very exciting game and competition that even non-skilled flyers rush to join. Kite-fighting may be seen as a violent and rude activity, but in reality, there is an accepted respect among all the participants. There is a code of honor among culebrina fliers. The air fight usually takes the form of a one-on-one duel or a one-against-the-world game. These are the reasons why kite-fighting has become a passion in very specific regions in the world where the tradition was inherited.[30]

The costeño kite makers of the Costa Grande region in Guerrero, Mexico, did not have the strong and flexible bamboo sticks used in the Orient, but they had the palm tree. Coconut palm trees provide similarly thin but resilient sticks of wood. From the stems of the coconut palm tree, the costeños cut very thin, light, but strong stems from which they make the frames. The hexagon frame is the popular shape nowadays, and with the proper symmetry among all six sides, costeños have their sky warriors ready for aerial battle. The traditional wooden skeleton always consists of three "varillas" or sticks, all tied to the center to form an asterisk. When the six tips are bonded together at

29 Faisal Hossain, Nafiul Khalid, and Rafia Rahman, "Perception and Practice on Flying Kite as a Traditional Cultural Game: A Study in Bangladesh," *London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences* 22, no. 13 (2022).

30 The Kite Runner is an extraordinary novel by Afghan-American Khaled Hosseini, published in 2003. The compelling story of a wealthy boy and his friendship with his father's servant turned into an internationally acclaimed drama film in 2007 by director David Benioff. The movie is an important vehicle to tell the story of a country and the richness and troubles of its recent history. Above all, it delivers a rich visual and audio platform for the interested and the general audience to discover the world of kite fighting. In this same essence, the kite was also the inspiration of writer Somerset Maugham, who in 1946 wrote the short story "The Kite (A Man and His Kite).



Fig. 12. Felix Mendoza Fajardo wearing a hat to protect himself from the scorching sun of the Costa Grande. He is the commissary of the legendary town of San Nicolás de los Chinos and a great enthusiast of the local history of the region.

the center with the same silk thread, then the tips of each of the six sides are tied together to form the traditional hexagon. Once the structure is made, the wide gamut of brilliant colors and figures of stars, checkers, or fancier geometrical kaleidoscopes are designed on thin multicolor Chinese papers, affordable in Acapulco and the rest of the country.[31] The final product, after gluing the paper to the structure, becomes a wonder of technique and art.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the majority of the people in certain Costa Grande towns like Coyuca de Benitez, Cahuatitán, El Espinalillo, San Nicolás de los Chinos, Las Lomas, El Carrizal, Bajos del Ejido, Tenexpa, San Luis and San Jeronimo were from the orient and their influence were felt economically, culturally, and politically.[32] The Malay-Filipinos, Chinese, and Indians who started settling in Guerrero by the hundreds were able to adapt quickly to the environment and culture as the temperature and landscape were very similar to that of their motherland. As with any encounter between peoples from different backgrounds, cultural exchange was a two-way avenue during the colonial period in coastal Mexico. During the eighteenth century, Acapulco had three trained regiments to defend the region from pirates and foreign foes. The influence and size of the "indios chinos" towns were so important that one of these regiment's reserves was entirely made of these "indios chinos."[33]

While the European-style cometas in central Mexico were made larger and with fancier shapes and structures at the turn of the twentieth century, the cocoles (another local name for cometas) in Acapulco and zarangolas in Costa Grande remained relatively small, and their corded tails were embedded with tiny sharp pieces of glass. According to older accounts, men in the 1920s used

31 Chinese paper can still be found in local office supply stores in the barrio. There are up to twenty different Chinese paper colors. A great variety of colors for any highly creative design, however, new generation of kite-fighters are more practical these days and tend to use the plastic of recycle bags to cover their zarangolas. Plastic bags are easier to find in present day Mexico and are also water resistant.

32 Jesús Hernandez Jaimes, *Elites, Reformismo e Insurgencia en las Cordilleras y Costas de la mar del sur (1777-1810)* (Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. Jose María Luis Mora, 2010), 54.

33 Jose Antonio Villaseñor y Sanchez, *Teatro Americano. Descripción General de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva España* (México: Imprenta de la Viuda de Don Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1746), 187.

to find old glass bottles and carefully break them on rocks to get the correct, tiny pieces of glass, which were then embedded or tied to the tail of the zarangolas. The kites in Guerrero's coastal air are hardly ever stationary since different winds are always blowing all year round, but the dynamic aerial pattern remains constant as it hovers and soars. It is up to the kite fighter to control the kite in a steady area in the sky or to signal the neighboring culebrinas that the fight is on (which is the usual purpose of lifting a zarangola in the air in the first place).



Fig. 13. Three young boys showing off their zarangolas-culebrinas in the Filipino founded town of Cahuatitán. These boys are from an even younger generation, born some 12 years ago, and carry the ancient tradition brought to Costa Grande by the people from India, Philippines, Indonesia and China. November 2024.

Once the zarangola was up in the air and the opponent spotted, the kite fighter started maneuvering the line to bring the zarangola closer to the opponent's line. When the zarangola was in position, the kite fighter would pull hard and fast on the line to elevate their kite, and its tail, with its sharp pieces of glass, would brush against the other zarangola's line and cut it. The victorious zarangola was the one who cut the opponent's line first. The sole action of kites being maneuvered to get closer to each other with the intention to cut the other's silk thread did not always produce this outcome. On the contrary, almost half the time, two kites combating in the air end up tangled. In this instance, another kind of offensive move takes place. Once the zarangolas get tangled in the air, they start to fall. Both skilled kite fighters then start pulling the string with all their strength and agility. The victorious kite fighter is the one who, adding to his potent pulling skills, owns the silk thread that withstood the opponent's pull and did not break.

5. From the Zarangola to the Culebrina

The word zarangola is a legacy of the Filipino immigrants who made Acapulco and Costa Grande their home from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Since Acapulco was an attractive place for immigrants coming from all over Guerrero and Mexico even after the early transpacific trade ended in 1815, other names for kites like culebrina, cocol, and barrilete rivaled the name zarangola in Acapulco. This latter word for kites was forgotten by

the generations after the 1950s, only to be used in parts of Costa Grande by those born in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century who still remembered how their ancestors called kites in the region. Among these are men like the late historian Luis Hernandez Lluck,[34] who always mentioned zarangolas and other Filipino legacies during his public lectures to crowds of neighbors and teenage students in his San Jeronimo de Juarez home and nearby communities. Another historian of the same generation, Alejandro Gomez Maganda, fond of history and anthropology, left a written testimony of the many legacies costeños inherited from the Manila men, including the zarangola culture.[35] After Gomez Maganda and Hernandez Lluck, three generations of kite fliers treasured the passion for zarangolas in Costa Grande and culebrinas in Acapulco. The only difference between zarangolas and culebrinas is the name. They are a galleon-era legacy and are still air fighting as their siblings are in India and Las Filipinas.

To gather firsthand information on the zarangola culture in this Pacific coast area of the state of Guerrero, several interviews were conducted. I divided the kite fighters and kite runners I interviewed into three generational groups. Let us not forget that there were kite fighters here as far back as the seventeenth century. I only considered interviewing for the first round those very old kite fighters who can still provide their testimonies. There is a "first" generation very familiar with the zarangola era, born between 1930 and 1955, a "second" generation born between 1960 and 1980, and a "third" generation born sometime between 1985 and the year 2000. Members of these three generations have been interviewed to get intimate narratives of the culture of kite fighting in Acapulco-Costa Grande Guerrero and to complement the substantial fieldwork already done in the region. Today, the first generation of kite-fighters is between the ages of seventy and ninety-five. The second generation is between the ages of forty and sixty-five years old, and the third generation is between the ages of twenty-five and forty years old. Most kite fighters were re-interviewed in December of 2023 in the port of Acapulco and the towns of San Luis de la Loma and Corral Falso de los Pinzón. From the

34 The late Luis Hernandez Lluck is considered the father of all modern chroniclers in Costa Grande. Local historians such as Graciela Guinto Palacios, Ramón Sierra Lopez, Arturo Rios Ruiz, Wilfrido Fierro Armenta, Victor Cardona Galindo, Rubén Rios Radilla, René Cristobal García Galeana, Octavio Augusto Navarrete Gorjón and Anituy Rebolledo Ayerdi have benefited from the vast genealogical and traditional knowledge of Maestro Hernández Lluck.

35 Alejandro Gómez Maganda, *Acapulco en mi vida y en el tiempos* (México: Libro Mex Editores, 1960), 303-305.

first generation, Marcial Calderon Godoy provides a very detailed recount of his childhood memories in Costa Grande:



Fig.14. Marcial Calderón Godoy. First generation kite fighter and main chronicler of Corral Falso de los Pinzón. His family's DNA carries the blood of the Asian Diaspora of the colonial transpacific system.

> First of all, kites were known in Costa Grande as zarangolas, not as culebrinas. My friends and I used to go to the coconut plantations to look for old palm leaves and then strip the leaves to get the fine and flexible stems to build the structure of our zarangolas. Our specialty was the rezumbadores on the zarangolas since these extra Chinese papers on the tips of the sticks would make a particular sound when the zarangolas up in the air were given a hard pull on the line. Each zarangola had a very particular and beautiful design of different Chinese-colored papers. The Chinese paper was the preferred cover for zarangolas since it was very light, cheap, and colorful. As we learned from our ancestors, our zarangolas were always made of three sticks. We were always competing with other boys from other streets or nearby towns. We competed to see who could fly the zarangola the highest, and we also competed when we strapped a small square of paper to the line and had it climb by physical inertia to the top of the line; whoever had the most pieces of paper on the top of the line in a set period of time was the winner. However, the pastime most sought after by all the boys in the region was kite fighting. Some made the upper segment of their line coated with cutting glass power (the very old school), but most of us used broken pieces of glass tied to the tail of the zarangolas. Once the zarangola was in the air and a challenger signaled all to be ready for a fight, we started to maneuver our zarangolas to position so the tail could cut the adversary's line. Whoever was able to cut the other's line was the winner. Those were the happiest days of our childhood.[36]

Even though it seems very few people nowadays remember how culebrinas used to be the Asian kite-fighting zarangolas, there is a young entrepreneurial woman in the heart of Costa Grande, Tecpan, who currently makes zarangolas in her woodshop. Chio "La Cocolera,"[37] as she is known in town, designs

36 Marcial Calderon Godoy, chronicler, musician, and historian of Corral Falso, Atoyac County. Interviewed March 11th, 2024. For a more ethnographic approach to the focal culture of the Atoyac municipality, the site of some Malayo-Filipinocommunities refer to Victor Cardona Jacinto, *Atoyac mi matria blog,* https://atoyacmimatria.blogspot.com/

37 Rocio Hernandez Galeana, Chio La Cocolera as she is known by the kite fighting enthusiasts in Costa Grande was interviewed by Canal 6 TV of Tecpan de Galeana on March 8 and uploaded the same day on YouTube. Canal 6 Tecpan "15 años elaborando cocoles y zarangolas," Youtube, March 8, 2019, 8.06 minute, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g206PVFsNNY&t=134s



Fig.15. Saúl Pinzón Cortés. Second generation kite fighter from El Suchil, Tecpan de Galeana. His family's DNA carries the blood of the Asian Diaspora of the colonial transpacific system.

and makes all kinds of zarangolas of different shapes and sizes of a special framework that does not rely on the coconut palm tree but on other reliable wood sticks, such as pine wood.

A second-generation kite fighter is Saul Pinzon Cortés from Costa Grande, now living in Xochimilco, Mexico City. He recalls very vividly his involvement in the kite-fighting tradition of Costa Grande:

> Kites were known as zarangolas, and even though we could lose ours during the very first minutes of an aerial fight, we put a lot of passion into decorating our zarangolas with very intrepid and unique designs, which usually involved the checker design, or stars, or kaleidoscopic forms made out of Chinese paper. In my childhood, glue was hard to get since there were no hardware stores nearby, and when there was any at a local shop, it was expensive, so we used the pulp of a little fruit locally called sasanil. This little round fruit was sticky when squeezed onto the paper and wood sticks, so it worked perfectly on our zarangolas. Kite fighting was the best part of flying a kite, and there were good times when I was victorious and many times when I lost my dear zarangolas.[38]

From San Luis de la Loma, a former colonial hacienda where African and Filipino slaves settled and worked for the hacienda of the Soberanis caciques, Genaro Abarca Radilla[39] and his son remember their elders mentioning the word zarangola: "Me traes como zarangola" (you have me swirling like a kite) and another local expression "Andas como zarangola" (You are all over the place and can't stay still). Interestingly, the same understanding of such an expression is known in San Nicolas, formerly "de los Chinos," and surrounding towns within the Coyuca municipality. Felix Mendoza Fajardo, the commissary of this town and chronicler of the region, helped out by interviewing Don Baltazar Fajardo de los Santos, one of the main elders in San Nicolas. Mr. Fajardo reiterated that even if by the 1950s, locals in the port of Acapulco had no solid account of the word zarangola as the official name for their kites, the tradition of Asia's kite fighting inherited from the transpacific galleon years was imprinted in the population forever. Guillermo

38 Saul Pinzón Cortes, Saul is from El Suchil, Tecpan County and now a professional photographer in Mexico City. Interviewed December 11, 2023.

39 Genaro Abarca Radilla, from San Luis La Loma, Tecpan County. He is a major mango and coconut producer in the region. Interviewed February 2023.

Casarrubias Martinez, a second-generation kite fighter, remembers those sweet old days as if they just happened yesterday:

> I made the culebrinas in a traditional way. I used three stems or "varillas" from a coconut palm tree leave, and tied them with regular thin sewing thread as in the standard hexagon shape. My specialty was to make rezumbadores (humming or buzzing kites), and I loved it when they buzzed up in the air, ready for the kite fight. I equipped my culebrina with sharp razor blades tied to the tail, and I enjoyed it a lot when I sent the adversary's culebrinas to "la yumba" after cutting their line. Some boys called their kites papalotes, but culebrina was the standard word.[40]

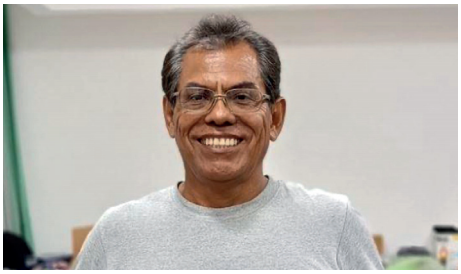


Fig. 16. Mario Ortega Marriscurrena. Second generation kite fighter born in Mexico City but grew up in Acapulco.

Other second-generation kite fighters interviewed for this project provided extra details on their cherished times of kite fighting during the so-called golden years in Acapulco of the 1970s and 1980s.[41] Guillermo Mandujano Balbuena[42] recalls he was not sharp at making the "tirantes" (guiding triangle line) on the culebrinas. His designs were very basic and used no more than two colored Chinese papers. What stands out in Guillermo's experience was the fact that he enjoyed cutting his own line and sending his culebrina to "la yumba."[43] Salomón Espino Zamora confesses he was not good at making culebrinas but that he enjoyed flying them and was excited about kite fighting. He remembers how dangerous it was to be on the roof flying culebrinas, so his parents never knew he sneaked on top of the roof to fly his kites. Mario Ortega Mariscurrena,[44] a Mexico City-born kite fighter who moved to Acapulco in the 1970s as a child, recalls those glorious days flying culebrinas:

40 Guillermo Casarrubias Martinez, He grew up in Acapulco during the 1960s. He is currently an entrepreneur and restaurateur residing in New Mexico. Interviewed December 11, 2023.

41 The 1970s and 1980s have been considered the golden years of Acapulco due to some factors like the fact that during these two decades, tens of thousands of tourists from all over the world visited this tourist resort. This was the era when taxi drivers, restaurant waiters, and hotel lobby receptionists, to name the lowest-ranking tourist jobs, became rich with just all the tips and money that circulated during these prosperous years. It was also the time of disco music and discotheques, an epoch described as the best in club dancing history.

42 Guillermo Mandujano Balbuena. He was born in Acapulco during the 1960s. He moved to Mexico City where he currently works as a business manager. Interviewed December 11, 2023.

43 A La Yumba is an expression of a still unknown origin. I believe it has African roots. A la yumba which kind of means to be sent to hell or to perdition. A la yumba is when the line of a kite is cut and the kite is set loose to fall to a far and unknown or rugged spot in the neighborhood.

44 Mario Ortega Mariscurrena, a kite fighter from the 70s and 80s when he moved to Acapulco from Mexico City. Mario is currently an Air Conditioner Engineer at Acapulco. Interviewed December 11, 2023.



Fig. 17. Oscar Martinez Jaimes wearing glasses when I interviewed him in Acapulco. Second generation kite-fighter from México. His family's DNA carries the blood of the Asian Diaspora of the early colonial transpacific system.

I remember making and flying culebrinas in my childhood. I loved it when my culebrina flew way up high in the sky. Flying high was also a competition I enjoyed, especially when I was the winner. The design of the culebrina was very important. My older brother made culebrinas in Mexico City, but back then, they were known as cometas or papalotes. We made very artistic designs and used to insert a little piece of paper with our names on it just in case we lost it in the aerial commotion. We found a different scenario when we got to Acapulco: culebrinas are flown for the fight with razor blades attached to the tail, ready for the encaramadas.[45] The decoration of our culebrina was crucial as it was its structure so it could withstand the wild encaramadas in our neighborhood on Calle Sinaloa, Colonia Progreso. It was fascinating, especially the flying and fighting during the culebrina season.

Other local interviewees provided many similar accounts and other interesting details, such as that flying culebrinas was and still is a dangerous activity. Salomon Espino Zamora[46] recalls flying culebrinas from the roof without his parent's knowledge. Porfirio Martínez[47] pointed out that the simplest flying kite was the cocol, which was made of a sheet of paper from any notebook: the longer sides of the sheet were folded inwards about an inch wide, and a little piece of paper was glued to the bottom of the sheet as a tail. The cocol was pulled by a sewing thread tied in the upper center of the paper. These cocoles delivered fun for the little kite fliers even though cocoles only went up no more than fifteen feet high on average.

Oscar Martínez Jaimes[48] remembers how important it was to fly them high. He said bringing a culebrina back down safely was as important as flying them highest in a competition. To provide a better picture of the culture of

45 Encaramadas is a very important part of the kite fighting culture in Costa Grande. It is actually the "collision" or the tangling on purpose of lines on an offensive maneuver of two kites. Once two kites are encaramadas, then, the next key maneuver takes place, which is the sudden or speedy pull of the line, string, or thread with a very particular swing of the arms left and right as a mechanism to pull faster and longer segments of the silk line. The winner is the kite fighter who gets closer to the tangled kites and whose silk thread resists the most in order to snag the other kite.

46 Salomon Espino Zamora. His family grew up in Acapulco and he is a second-generation kite fighter. He has been a long-time concierge manager in the hotel industry in Acapulco. Interviewed February 2, 2024.

47 Porfirio Martínez is a second-generation kite fighter from Acapulco who moved to the east coast in the United States and who currently owns a print shop. Interviewed December 11, 2024.

48 Oscar Martínez Jaimes is a second-generation kite fighter who is currently a social service worker and counselor in Acapulco. Interviewed December 11, 2023.



Fig.18. Rubén Mendez. Second generation kite-flyer born in Sinaloa.

kite fighting in coastal Guerrero and the kiting culture in other parts of the country, other kite fliers were interviewed, such as Juan Trinidad[49] from Tapalpa in the State of Jalisco. Juan remembers he made his kites in a rectangular shape and loved to fly them very high. To add fun to kite flying, he also recalls attaching "little letters," little squared papers hooked to the line, which by physical inertia started ascending through the line until each paper or letter reached the top. Angel Valdez from Apan, Hidalgo, recollects making his kites in a diamond shape, and that the community enjoyed flying them in the countryside, but was unaware of any kite fighting. Benjamin Avendaño García from San Juan Teotihuacan in the state of Mexico also cherishes the good old days of kite flying near the majestic Teotihuacan pyramids of the sun and the moon, but denies that kite fighting was a tradition in the region. Ruben Mendez, from a very rural part of the State of Sinaloa, remembers vividly those long-gone days of his childhood flying cometas:

> Kites in my town were known as papalotes. My older brother was in charge of building the structure or skeleton, which is the most sensitive part of a kite because a perfect symmetry is needed for the kite to fly flawlessly. I was in charge of finding bimbo bread wraps to cover the structure and cloth material for the tail. We were poor so for our papalotes we used all the materials from the municipal trash ground. We were so poor and, at the same time, efficient that we could not afford to buy the materials for our papalotes. At first, I was very afraid of being in control of the thread. I could see other kite fliers making several maneuvers to control the kites due to unexpected wind currents; we were afraid to lose our kites in the trees or damage them in the bushes. Flying kites during harsh wind conditions was the best moment to have a kite in the air and accept the challenge of controlling the apalote, despite the hurricane's strong winds. Flying papalotes with my brother are the memories I treasure the most, and I wish I could rewind the clock and go back to those marvelous years of flying papalotes.[50]

49 Juan Trinidad was born in Tapalpa Jalisco and is a second generation kite flier. He lives in Bay Point, California and works at a local print shop. Interviewed February 2, 2024.

50 Ruben Mendez grew up in a rural small town known as Ejido Jesus Maria in the State of Sinaloa about an hour away from the main city and capital of Culiacan. Ruben moved to the United States, where he married a Japanese woman with whom is raising two pre-teens. Interviewed February 2, 2023.

Kite flying culture has impacted almost all countries, and how each community manifests the traditions and legacies exchanged globally deserves the trained eye and mind of local and international researchers. While kite flying is one of the most popular activities in countries where kites are very much appreciated, kite fighting culture draws a surprising yet inquiring sense of attention from social researchers and the general public. According to the available data about the history of kite fighting presented here, one can easily discover that much research is still needed to understand the history of kite fighting in America. There is, for instance, the case of the major cities in Brazil and the Dominican Republic where kids and adults are pretty fond of kite fighting "pipa" in Sao Paolo, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, and the "chichihua" in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Although kites in Brazil and the volantines in Chile resemble those of the Indian war-design kites, the ones in the Dominican Republic look like the hexagons flown in Acapulco. The following unanswered questions are still left for the next generation of historians and anthropologists: How did Brazilians and Chileans develop a passion for kite fighting in continental America but countries in Central America such as Colombia and Peru did not? The same question applies in the case of the Dominicans in the Caribbean who love kite fighting but their neighbors, the Puerto Ricans and their chiringas, do not. Where did they learn the design to make the shape of their kites? Local historians in these countries only manage to say that kites were invented in China and suddenly appeared in their land some centuries later. Even an excellent TV documentary filmed by Guillerme Tensol,[51] on the favelas of Brazil was short in explaining the origin of kite fighting in this amazing country. There may be a connection between the Portuguese colonial Goa in India and colonial Brazil since the kite designs resemble the Indian "patang" and the rolls of string are almost identical, too. Another similarity is the tradition of seasoning the strings with broken glass, such as the glass as powder from the white fluorescent lamps. Brazilians have even gone to the next fighting level by substituting the glass power in their strings with the more sophisticated and lethal quartz and aluminum oxide powder.[52] Scientists are required for the task.

51 The New York Times, "Kite Fight," Op-Docs produced by Guilherme Tensol, Youtube, July 17, 2014, 5.34 minute, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sl3qWHkqfI8

52 Michael Fox, "Brazil takes its kite-fighting passion to a whole new level. Lifestyle," *The World*, USA, September 27, 2021, https://theworld.org/stories/2021-09-27/brazil-takes-its-kite-flying-passion-whole-new-level

Back in Guerrero, México, a costeño chronicler on the northern tip of the Costa Grande strip, Raúl Román, writes about growing up in the suburbs of Zihuatanejo as a first-generation kite flier: "Our childhood games were the same as the games of any kid in the world. We played baseball, soccer, and tag in the morning, and in the afternoon, we flew zarangolas."[53] Alma Verboonen, a local historian in Agua de Correa, a smaller town in the outskirts of Zihuatanejo, recalls her childhood years and describes in fine detail how exciting those years were "We got together to play with marbles of stone and glass, we played the airplane drawn on the floor and the most agile flew papalotes, which in those times were popularly known as zarangolas that raised among the clouds of our childhood."[54] Kites, such as zarangolas or cometas have endured millennia and will continue to serve as a means to enjoy defying gravity and as a bond to build community among kite-fighting artists.

6. Conclusion

There were at least fifty thousand Asian men and women who came to Mexico on the galleons during the two hundred and fifty years that the early transpacific trade lasted. Little is still known about all the aspects of the Asian way of life[55] that made its way into Mexican culture and vice-versa. Traditions and food recipes inherited from the Asian diaspora have started to emerge from the studies of very dedicated researchers. More articles are getting ready to be published about the names, whereabouts and contributions of the Malay-Filipinos who participated in the history of Mexico. Ludic activities such as kite-fighting were also influenced by what it is considered la "cuarta raiz" of Mexicans. This article demonstrates that the list of Asian influences that shaped the Mexican culture since colonial times is still adding up. The "encaramaditas,"[56] or kite-fighting described in this article, represents another

53 Raul Román, "Las huellas de la vida. Agua de Corream paraiso costeño II. Cultura. Costa Grande," *Síntesis de Guerrero*, December 11, 2019, *Síntesis de Guerrero*, December 11, 2019, https://sintesisdeguerrero.com.mx/2019/12/11/las-huellas-de la-vida-agua-de-correa-paraiso-costeno-ii/

54 Despertar Redacción, "Agua de Correa, paraís costeño," *Despertar de la Costa*, October 18, 2019, https://despertardelacosta.net/agua-de-correa-paraiso-costeno/

55 It is clear that the Asian way of life implies considering dozens of countries and regions separated in distance and in costumes as the ones pertaining to the Taiwanese, the Malabar or the Persian to illustrate the wide variety of factors that were part of this early transpacific entrepreneurship.

56 "Encaramiditas" is the local term for kite-fighting in Acapulco and Costa Grande. It literally means setting or tangling one's zarangola on to the adversary's zarangola with the purpose of cutting its line or string.

part of the Mexican culture that has been enriched by Asian influences. La Zarangola might be forgotten after this fourth generation, but the kite-fighting tradition learned from the Indian-Chinese-Malay-Filipinos or better know as 'indios chinos" will still survive many more generations to come. Even after the invasion of digital gadgets and the never-ending entertainment in big screens, kids of all ages still choose the outdoors and experience the adrenaline of kite-fighting on the roofs and hills in Acapulco and the Costa Grande. La zarangola-saranggola is another living proof of the cultural link between Asians and Americans and a perfect reason to cherish and hope that these opportunities to rediscover our past take us closer and closer towards building a solidary and harmonious human race.

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Sobre los autores

Ruel V. Pagunsan, PhD

Profesor y investigador en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Maestro y Doctor en Historia por la National University of Singapore. Además, Maestro y Licenciado en Historia por University of the Philippines Diliman. Sus líneas de investigación son historia medioambiental, historia de la ciencia e historia diplomática.

Kristyl Obispado, PhD

Profesora y investigadora en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Maestra y Doctora en Historia por el Centro de Estudios Históricos de El Colegio de México. Además, Maestra y Licenciada en Historia por la University of the Philippines Diliman. Sus líneas de investigación son historia global temprana y temas laborales y comerciales coloniales.

Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, PhD

Profesor y investigador en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Doctor y Maestro en Historia por la misma universidad. Sus líneas de investigación son la historia filipina precolonial y colonial temprana, la revolución filipina, la toponimia y la historia local de Bulacan y Pampanga (Filipinas). Entre sus libros se encuentran *The Nameless Hero: Revisiting the Sources of the First Filipino Hero to Die for Freedom* (Holy Angel University Press, 2016), *A History of the Sarangani Islands 1521-1921* (Project Saysay, Ateneo Zamboanga-Mindanao Institute, Cebuano Studies Center, 2023), *Dogs in Philippine History* (Philippine Historical Association, Project Saysay, Alaya Publishing, 2023) y *The Burning of Macabebe* (Holy Angel University Press, 2024). También es miembro de la Philippine Historical Association.

Marjorie S. Almario-Magdadaro, PhD

Profesora y investigadora en el Departamento de Historia de la Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT). Doctora en Philippine Studies por la University of the Philippines Diliman con especialización en sociedad, cultura e historia. Maestra y Licenciada en Historia por MSU-IIT. Sus estudios toponímicos sobre Iligan se publicaron en Langkit: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (2022) y Kaningningan: Journal of NEU Center for Philippine Studies (2023). Sus líneas de investigación son memoria y la historia y en la sociedad y la cultura filipinas.

Emmanuel Jayson V. Bolata

Profesor y investigador en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Maestro y Licenciado en Historia por la misma universidad. Sus líneas de investigación son historia de la cultura y la ciencia, crítica literaria e historia local de la provincia de Marinduque, Filipinas.

Shaunnah Ysabel V. Cledera

Su tesis de maestría en la University of the Philippines Diliman es un estudio de los *agui-agui* archivados, romances métricos bikolanos. Es miembro fundadora de Magpies Press, un colectivo artístico crítico dedicado a las prácticas colaborativas en la edición independiente, y también es miembro de Women Doing Philosophy. Imparte clases de teoría literaria y estudios culturales en la University of the Philippines Los Baños. Sus intereses de investigación actuales se centran en la historia literaria filipina.

Jay Rome O. de los Santos

Profesor y investigador en el Departamento de Historia de la Mindanao State University - Iligan Institute of Technology (MSU-IIT). Maestro y Licenciado en Historia por la misma universidad. Actualmente es estudiante de doctorado en Historia en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Sus líneas de investigación son la historia local de Salay, la historia religiosa, los estudios sobre la memoria y el patrimonio, y la historia de Misamis (región del norte de Mindanao) durante los periodos coloniales español y estadounidense, con especial atención a la movilidad, la negociación y las interacciones. Nacido en Salay, Misamis Oriental, es

autor del artículo "In Search of Salay in the Historical Sources" publicado en *Historical Bulletin* (2021).

Kiko del Rosario

Profesor titular de Historia del Arte en la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Filipinas Diliman e investigador en la División de Artes Visuales y Museos del Centro Cultural de Filipinas.

Jimmy B. Dillo, Jr.

Profesor y investigador en el De La Salle-College of Saint Benilde donde enseña lengua, literatura y cultura popular. Actualmente es el Jefe del Centro de Instrucción, Investigación y Planes de Estudio. Era Presidente del Programa de Estudios Multidisciplinares. Maestro en Estudios Literarios y Culturales por la Ateneo de Manila University. Es escritor de libros de texto y desarrollador de módulos de lengua inglesa en la educación básica, colaborando con editoriales locales.

Cheek S. Fadriquela, PhD

Doctor en Forestry: Wood Science and Technology por la University of the Philippines Los Baños, con especialización en la conservación del patrimonio cultural de madera. Maestro en Estudios del Patrimonio Cultural, Summa Cum Laude, por la University of Santos Tomas (UST) y recibió una beca de Riksantikvaren, la Dirección del Patrimonio Cultural de Noruega, para su formación en el Curso Internacional de Tecnología de Conservación de la Madera en Oslo. Ha participado en varios proyectos de restauración como consultor y especialista en materiales, entre ellos la restauración de las puertas de la iglesia de Malate, la sillería del coro de la iglesia de San Agustín, el bajorrelieve de madera de Virgo Pulcra de la catedral de Pasig y la Evaluación de la vulnerabilidad a múltiples riesgos de las estructuras prioritarias del patrimonio cultural de Filipinas a cargo del Banco Mundial, entre otros. Fue el especialista jefe en materiales para la Evaluación del Impacto Patrimonial del proyecto del Ferrocarril de Cercanías Norte-Sur. Su obra en varios volúmenes titulada *Kahoy*: *Wood in the Philippines*, publicada por la UST, fue finalista del Premio Nacional del Libro 2014.

Rizalino Noble Malabed, PhD

Profesor y investigador en la División de Filosofía del Departamento de Humanidades de la University of the Philippines Los Banos. Doctor en Filosofía por la University of the Philippines Diliman. Actualmente escribe sobre temas de filosofía política y sobre historia y cultura filipinas. También se interesa por la crítica indígena de la cultura europea durante la colonización y sus efectos en el pensamiento occidental y en las luchas de descolonización.

Phillip N.A. Lacson Medina

Maestro en Art Studies por la University of the Philippines Diliman. Licenciado en Arte por la Ateneo de Manila University. Actualmente es estudiante de doctorado en Historia en el Departamento de Historia de la University of the Philippines Diliman. Es director de relaciones públicas de profesión, coleccionista de libros filipiniana y profesor de Historia a tiempo parcial en la De La Salle University-Dasmarinas. Es miembro del Consejo de Administración y vicepresidente de la Cavite Historical Society; presidente de la Silang Historical Society; y miembro de ICOMOS Filipinas, de la Museum Foundation of the Philippines Inc., y del Diocesan Ministry for Cultural Heritage de la Diócesis de Imus. Es autor de la Silang Photographic Collection (2018) con la Filipinas Heritage Library Ayala Foundation and Museum Foundation of the Philippines Inc. (MFPI); In Nomine: The Iconographical Study of Silang Church (2019) con MFPI; Sanctus: The Retablos of Silang (2023) con LGU-Silang.

Mary Josefti C. Nito, PhD

Profesora y investigadora en el Departamento de Historia de la University of Asia & the Pacific. Doctora en Historia por la University of the Philippines Diliman. Su tesis versa sobre las devociones marianas en Luzón en los siglos XVII y XVIII. Sus líneas de investigación son hagiografías, las devociones populares y las historias locales en Filipinas. Actualmente es miembro de la Philippine Studies Association, Inc.

Ricardo Pinzón de la Cruz

Creció en Acapulco, el epicentro en América del comercio de los galeones Manila-Acapulco durante 250 años. Hasta su quinta década de vida pudo obtener su primer título universitario. Es Ingeniero en Telecomunicaciones.

Su principal pasión abarca todas las Ciencias Sociales y la Genética unidas en la transdisciplinariedad. Maestro en Educación por la University of the People. Es doctorando en Investigación Social desde la Complejidad en la Universidad Nacional Rosario Castellanos. Su tesis combina antropología biológica e historia para aportar nuevos descubrimientos que ayuden a visibilizar la descendencia de los miles de asiáticos que se establecieron en México durante el transcurso del comercio global transpacífico entre 1565 y 1815. En el ámbito de la sociología, la filosofía y la ciencia política, está escribiendo una disertación titulada "México ante el implacable golpeteo de Aspiracionistas, Whitexicans, Vendepatrias y Sicarios de la Información." En el terreno pedagógico y psicológico, está trabajando en un ensayo que analiza cómo la oligarquía estadounidense ha mermado el pensamiento crítico en las escuelas públicas y universidades para sostener sin oposición un sistema democrático artificial bajo una oligarquía imperial. Acaba de terminar el borrador de un libro de cuentos con pedagogía de la liberación para secundaria y preparatoria que se titula "Simón Bolívar falló el penal" el cual fomenta el pensamiento crítico en los jóvenes a través de historias bilingües cortas que entretejen la vida en comunidad y el fútbol regional.

Fernando Quiles García, PhD

Profesor de Historia del Arte, Universidad Pablo de Olavide. Especialista en cultura barroca, con más de un centenar de publicaciones relativas mayoritariamente al barroco desde distintas vertientes, sobre todo trabajos apoyados en la investigación documental. El patrimonio cultural y TICs asociadas también han sido objeto de interés e investigación. Con proyectos dirigidos al estudio y visibilidad del patrimonio en clave local y a la par con proyección americana. Con algunas líneas de investigación más firmes, como la arquitectura vernácula iberoamericana.

Caroline Tacata-Tardibone

Es doctoranda en Historia por la University of Hawaii en Manoa. Su tesis se centra en el desarrollo de los espectáculos igorot durante los siglos XIX y XX. Está especialmente interesada en la historia cultural de la región de la Cordillera y en el modo en que la cultura fue informada y moldeada por las interacciones interculturales durante los periodos coloniales español y estadounidense.

This edited volume explores Filipino artistic expressions, which include not only visual arts and architecture but also literature and everyday objects. Grounded in its local context yet deeply connected to Asia, Latin America, and Europe, the Philippines developed a rich artistic landscape through trade, migration, religious encounters, and exchanges. From indigenous culture to the 19th century, this collection offers new insights into the plurality and intricacy of artistic traditions that articulate the Filipino worldview.

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