

Songs of Collective Memory: Commemorating Marinduque Battles During the Philippine-American War

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ABSTRACT

The rediscovery of Philippine nationalism and the anticolonial turn in narrating national history that emerged in the early twentieth century provide the context of this study which explores how authorized cultural heritage was produced in relation to Philippine national myth-making and the history of the Philippine-American War. Civic rituals like commemorations of war have been part of the making of a Filipino nationality and through memorialization, the nation-state perpetuates a history of an imagined Philippine nation that has generally favored the elite and metropolitan center. Memorialization, however, is not simple. Using the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and close reading of songs of collective memory, this study illustrates, how Marinduque's "Awit sa Pulang Lupa" and "Pagpupugay sa mga Bayani ng Paye" both conform with and critique the imagined Philippine nation. The songs impart a local story asserting the nation's diversity. The works of composers Eli Obligacion, Miguel "Myke" Magalang, and Celeste "Pinky" Manrique-Romulo grapple with the tension between nationalism and localism, reflecting the complex process of heritage-making. By infusing local flavor, they recast nationalism, creating local ballads that resonate with the rich, forgotten backstories of "Lupang Hinirang." The study, thus, explains how songs of collective memory not only bear traces of colonial heritage and maintain banal nationalism, but also espouse an intangible heritage production both local and national.

Keywords: commemoration, intangible cultural heritage, collective memory, Philippine-American War, Marinduque battles

Memorializations of war honor and remember a particular historical past. These involve a production of intangible cultural heritage like memorials, ceremonies and rituals, wreath-laying and flag-raising, speeches and tributes, historical reenactments, and performances of music such as anthems, hymns, and songs. What

these commemorative performances as intangible heritage share is the evocation and reinforcement of nationalism, patriotism, and pride. In the Philippine island of Marinduque, the locals celebrate triumphant war narratives every year and remember the victory of their revolutionary kins in fighting against the US soldiers during the Philippine-American War. The memorialization of the Marinduque Battles – the Battle of Paye and Battle of Pulang Lupa that happened in July and September 1900 – does not only remember a victorious past, but maintains the narrative of Philippine nationalism and at the same time affirms Marinduque local identity.

This essay focuses on the local history, culture, and heritage of the island province of Marinduque, which has received little attention from scholars. This essay examines how music – the singing of songs of collective memory during battle commemorations – perpetuates a nationalist discourse. It further explores how this discourse is legitimized and embedded through a localized process of authorization. By engaging with the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) in pulling out the tensions between the national and local narratives, memory, and identity, I argue that the production of intangible cultural heritage in the form of song performances propels an authorizing heritage process at the local level.

AHD: A Eurocentric Orientation

In her book *Uses of Heritage* (2006), critical heritage studies scholar Laurajane Smith outlines influential discourses around cultural heritage. It is collectively referred to as the AHD, which “focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generation ‘must’ care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their ‘education’, and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past” (Smith, *Uses of Heritage* 29).

The AHD demonstrates the reliance of the dominant understanding of cultural heritage on the disciplines of history, architecture, and archaeology as professionals of these disciplines give premium to materiality and physical artifacts. The attention is not only on tangibility, but also most importantly, on visual appeal as well.

The AHD has a Eurocentric orientation as its definition of heritage originated from Europe and has informed the general understanding of heritage (Smith). It has governed the idea that cultural heritage can build a common identity based on a glorious past, echoing the romantic or organic nation in Europe in the 19th century

(Smith). In this sense, history, monumentality, and a “romantic” nation characterize the authorized heritage. Smith draws on the issues and debates about heritage in the United Kingdom (UK) and other countries in the Global North (USA, Canada, Australia) where operations of heritage conservation originated, placing origins of this discourse in the 19th century European conservation concerns that have been continually authorized through the intergovernmental agency United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and international professional guidelines and practices championed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). UNESCO’s 1978 World Heritage Convention has been a major international framework that has influenced national conservation policies in the Philippines and other member nation-states.

A Critical Discourse Analysis Tool

The AHD is a method that I use in revealing ideologies and power structures in heritage management (Skrede and Hølleland 81). The AHD follows the legacy of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to produce critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection (qtd. from Wodak and Meyer in Skrede and Hølleland 81). Alongside the research political agenda of the CDA, my aims of writing about the local commemoration are geared toward socially discriminated groups, the neglected, and the least recognized groups and communities (Skrede and Hølleland 80-81).

Following this activist stance of the CDA, I use the AHD as an analytical tool to examine multi-layered authorizing processes on both the national and local scales in the Philippines and Marinduque. I demonstrate this through the reactive-recursive processes discussed in the following sections of the study. First is the writing of Philippine-American War history in which the US authority established a dominant colonial narrative. This narrative was based on former US President William McKinley’s declaration on benevolent assimilation as the US’s mission in the Philippines was one of “benevolence and generosity,” aimed at teaching the benefits of democracy and self-government (Schirmer and Shalom, *The Philippines Reader*, 38). As a critical reaction, the Filipino ilustrados or elites aspired to be independent and rediscovered Philippine nationalism. As a consequence, local and regional histories and identities were overshadowed in the process of writing a Philippine history that primarily aimed at unifying the nation. The authority was

then transferred from the Americans to the Filipino elites who espoused nationalism, for instance, by instituting national heroes like Jose P. Rizal.

However, the operations or undertakings of the AHD do not end here. The local commemorations and the performances of songs illustrate the iterative character of the AHD. The AHD is then employed to unveil how the rediscovery of Philippine nationalism paradoxically redirected attention from the national scale to the local scale. This was again a critical reaction against the elite-sponsored history that has influenced Philippine nationalism. As an offshoot, a local turn in writing history paved the way for local and regional communities to commemorate their own significant historical events. What the heritage commemoration does in Marinduque is to recognize what is happening on the local level: telling their own process of making local collective memory and identity while adhering to the nationalistic aspirations of the Philippine nation.

A Nationalist Orientation of the Philippine-American War

A nationalist orientation is present in the production of cultural heritage in the Philippines and the use of narrative templates can unpack this. According to James Wertsch, the schematic narrative templates are abstract, general, and do not rely on specific information like places, times, characters, or events (141-43). The memorialization of the Philippine-American War is a prime example that demonstrates the operationalization of the AHD in imagining the Philippine nation. In remembering the history of the Philippine-American War, I consider two schematic narrative templates that have influenced and controlled the “deep memory” of Filipinos (Wertsch 142).

The first of the templates is the benevolent assimilation narrative that the US authored to justify its colonization project in the Philippines (Francisco; Schirmer and Shalom). This narrative is also related to the mainstream Philippine-American War history that underscored the successful US military operations in the Philippines until the Declaration of Independence in 1946 (Shaw and Francia). The systematic forgetting of the war among the Filipinos was accomplished primarily through the US’s public education and social engineering projects (Ileto, *Knowledge and Pacification*; May). Consequently, the teleological narrative that highlighted the Americans as providers of modernity and progress became a powerful narrative template that shaped Filipino thought for decades.

The second narrative template is the ilustrados' critique against the US colonial narrative that became the foundation of Philippine nationalism (Guerrero). This presupposed the pervasive production of authorized cultural heritage years after the Philippine-American War. Cultural historian Resil Mojares (*The Formation of Filipino*) traces the rediscovery of Philippine nationalism and the formation of Filipino nationality under US colonial rule. The American colonial state formation ironically generated a desire for a national identity separate from a colonial one. He further explains that "nation-making in the early twentieth century created a sense, space, and substance of nationhood more extensive than at any time prior to it, one that survives to the present day" (Mojares 27).

Benedict Anderson's constructivist perspective posits nationality, nation-ness, and nationalism as "cultural artefacts" and this relates to the multiple constructions of national narrative templates. In his work *Imagined Communities*, Anderson is interested in several inquiries: "how nations have become existent, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why does the notion of nationality command such profound emotional legitimacy" (4). His central argument – that national identity is a social construct, subject to change and interpretation – resonates with the diverse forms of Philippine nationalism. Various templates of nationalism have emerged, including anti-colonial nationalism rooted in colonial resistance against Spain (Constantino, *The Mis-education of the Filipino*), metropolitan-centered and elite national histories (Guerrero), and modern nationalism forged after the Philippines gained independence from the US in 1946 (Ileto). The concept of a nation as an imagined community, inherently dynamic and subject to change, is legitimized through shared emotional experiences conveyed through songs of collective memory. Music harnesses its emotive power to connect individuals, fostering a shared sense of national identity and tying them to a collective imagination.

Authorizing Heritage Institutions: Narrative Tools/Apparatuses

The nationalist orientation of the AHD is only possible because of the national authorizing institutions or apparatuses such as the Philippine nation-state that mandates government agencies to uphold nationalistic values. Philippine nationalism serves as a template for an elite national narrative which remains effective because, according to Wertsch, the abstract nature of narrative templates

typically renders the latter unnoticeable to the general population; these templates, however, are transparent to those who employ them. Moreover, this kind of collective memory is deep because the narrative tools that framed it are largely inaccessible to conscious reflection, making them difficult to critically examine (Wertsch 142). Like UNESCO and ICOMOS, the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) is one of the narrative tools or apparatuses reinforcing Philippine nationalism. It is a national authorizing institution that reinforces the projects of the national AHD, the Philippine national narrative templates, and the authorized collective memory about the Philippine-American War that has been produced over the years. The NHCP, similar to other national-colonial state institutions that were formed during the American occupation, was part of the agenda of the US to construct the Philippines as an object of knowledge and control. It was first called the Philippine Historical Research and Markers Committee in 1933 via Executive Order No. 452 from US Governor General Frank Murphy. The committee was tasked to identify and mark historic antiquities in Manila as an initial step for its conservation. These aims were indicative of the colonial projects connected to knowledge building that defined national territory, commissioned histories, established archives, and conducted censuses and inventories (Mojares 12-13).

At present, the NHCP functions as a Philippine national institution with the following mandate:

to undertake research and publication of Philippine historical works; educational activities on historical events and personages; restoration, preservation and conservation of movable and immovable objects of historical value and implementation of the National Historic Act of the Philippines (PD 260 and PD 1505); administration of historic sites, structures and memorabilia of national heroes; and blazoning of government symbols and implementation of Republic Act 8491 or “The Flag and Heraldic Code of the Philippines.” (NHCP)

The NHCP’s mandate resonates with that of the AHD in three aspects: the privileging of history as a primary discipline in its operations, the dominance of historical markers as physical imprints to legitimize such historical events, and the national ideology as *raison d’être* in the process of heritage-making or heritagization. Hence,

the NHCP, like ICOMOS and UNESCO, becomes an authorizing institution of cultural heritage in the Philippines.

I cite instances where history, monumentality, and the imagined nation coalesce in cultural heritage practice and conservation. In 2022, the NHCP installed and unveiled a new historical marker at the corner of Silencio and Societo Streets, in Sampaloc, Manila, three years after the Republic Act 1134 was passed into law, which declared 4 February of every year as “Philippine-American War Memorial Day” (Eufemio III). The new marker commemorated the location of the first shot of the Philippine-American War, sparked on the eve of 4 February 1899 (Legarda). For officials of the Philippine government, the marker also renewed the “friendship” that has been fostered since the 1900s, a residue of the benevolent assimilation narrative that the US established (Eufemio III). Another way of memorializing heroes of war, other than by erecting a figure or landmark, is by constructing a mausoleum. Grace Barretto-Tesoro (*Himlayan, Pantiyon, Kampo Santo, Sementeryo: Exploring Philippine Cemeteries*) for instance, reexamined cemeteries, mausoleums, and gravestones not just as places for the dead but as active heritage sites where the living immortalize the dead through burial adornments and expose individual and collective histories of the deceased. An example is the Mausoleum of the Veterans of the Revolution (*Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución*). Declared a National Historical Landmark on 6 April 1993, the national monument, situated inside the Manila North Cemetery in Manila, was dedicated to Filipino revolutionaries of the 1890s and the Philippine-American War.

In these examples, memorializations are not just a matter of marking important historical pasts, but signaling the dominance of AHD as well, authorizing the physical manifestations of national identity and focusing attention on the tangible emplacement of memory. It underscores the role of the nation-state in authorizing such cultural heritage practices. As a result, commemoration has been understood from the perspectives of official national elite history and national landmarks. Commemorations of war in the Philippines were based on established colonial and nationalist histories. This has been the template for remembering the “Philippine Insurrection” and, later on, both nations would celebrate the US-Philippine Friendship, further obscuring the contested history and memory of the Philippine-American War (Eufemio III; Ileteo, *Colonial Wars*).

Localized AHD: Legitimizing Marinduque Battles

Only a few encounters where Filipino revolutionaries during the Philippine-American War waged successful resistance were studied and written about. One known Filipino resistance happened in Samar. The Balangiga Encounter, known to Americans as the “Balangiga massacre,” happened on 28 September 1901, when Filipino soldiers attacked the Americans and caused the latter major damages (Borrinaga). The Americans retaliated and took the bells from the San Lorenzo church as war trophies (Holden). Since the 1950s, there were efforts to get back the bells, which were previously preserved and exhibited in South Korea and Cheyenne, Wyoming (Borrinaga).

After 117 years, the bells were returned to the Church of San Lorenzo de Martir in Balangiga on 14 December 2018. Former United States Secretary of State Michael Pompeo (2019) said the return of these bells was the latest point of cooperation between the US and the Philippines. This gesture signaled the US’s support of the Philippines as an ally and “a true friend.” However, for the locals of Samar, this was more than a repatriation; it was a “closing chapter in the history of the town whose ancestors stood up to fight for freedom” (Calesterio, Campanero and the people of Balangiga in Marquez).

By considering studies about the encounter in Balangiga in the Visayas region, established colonial histories could be challenged. Hence, collective memories of successful local resistance during the Philippine-American War are also worthy of our attention because they deepen our understanding of Philippine national history. Also, collective memories from the regions could offer other forms of nationalism at the local scale. More significantly, this kind of heritage research could unpack local and diverse occurrences of AHDs, borrowing concepts and tools from CDA (Skrede and Hølleland).

The discussion aims to illustrate the manifestations of authorizing discourse of heritage at the local scale by looking at the paradoxical intention of “Americanization” that paved the way for “Filipinization” (Mojares, *The Formation of Filipino* 12-17). The process of making culture more Filipino in order to counter the effects of colonialism and/or further a stronger sense of localized identity (Castro 33). The turn to local or regional history was a reaction against the elite-authored and Manila-centered

narrative, hence, a redirection of attention from the national to the local scale. As a result, local conditions were recognized, written, and established.

In the 1950s, interest in Philippine local history started to emerge (Mojares, *Revisiting* 225-31). This interest followed the production of local artistic expression and cultural heritage still tied to the motivations of Philippine nation-building. Filipino scholars argued for an “autonomous history that focused on the internal dynamics of particular societies” and pushed the “need for cultural preservation, scholarship, and advocacy focused on subnational communities” (Mojares 226).

The heritage commemoration of two triumphant encounters on the island of Marinduque, located in the Southern Tagalog (Luzon) region of the Philippines, is one of the many understudied local historical events of a subnational community. The Battle of Paye and Battle of Pulang Lupa, which I collectively refer to as the Marinduque Battles, happened on July 31 and September 13, respectively, in 1900, a year before the encounter in Samar. The Marinduque Battles were recorded and remembered victorious based on archive materials, some eyewitness accounts, and family memory. In local commemorations, the actual battle sites entangle with the embodied expressions of the locals’ intangible heritage, songs of collective memory in particular.

After World War 2, President Elpidio Quirino issued Executive Order No. 486 in 1951, which mandated the Division Superintendent of Schools nationwide to collect and compile data on the history and culture of each barrio, town, city, and province. According to Executive Order No. 486, the data would be “a source of inspiration and guidance for our future generations, as well as source materials for historians, investigators and researchers.” This project produced a large compilation of reports called *Historical Data Papers*, now deposited at the Philippine National Library (Mojares 226). The first recorded local account about Marinduque was *The History and Cultural Life of the Barrios of Marinduque* produced in 1953. A national directive must be enforced to facilitate the legitimizing process of local narratives.

A writing contest on the history of Marinduque led to the discovery of the Battle of Pulang Lupa. It was launched before 1965, presumably between 1960 and 1964, following the nationwide local history project. Jesus Cabarrus, president of the Marinduque Iron Mines, sponsored the writing contest (Philippine Official

Gazette). The competition produced historical monographs written by Alfonso Licaros, *A Brief Historical Account of Marinduque* (1963); Perfecto Mirafuente, *The History and Culture of Marinduque* (1963); Elizabeth N. Sto. Domingo, *The History and Culture of Marinduque* (1963); Tomas R. Dela Torre, *Marinduque: The History, the People and the Culture* (1963); and Ramon M. Madrigal, *History of Marinduque* (1963). Ramon Madrigal's monograph was the first-prize winner in the contest. In the same year, Madrigal published an essay titled "Marinduque: Its Role in the Wars for Independence" in the *Journal of History* based on one of the essays in the book. In 1964, Pedro Madrigal also published *Manga Kasaysayan ng Marinduque*.

In 1965, the Battle of Pulang Lupa was first commemorated with former President Diosdado Macapagal, the first national political figure who attended the memorial. After the civic-military parade, Macapagal conferred the rank of commander posthumously upon 16 members led by Col. Maximo Abad at the Philippine Legion of Honor Awards (Philippine Official Gazette). The nearest kin of the Pulang Lupa battle heroes received the awards on behalf of the heroes. A theater reenactment was staged at the capitol ground and became the highlight of the Marinduque Day rites. The presence of the president bolstered the legitimacy of the first commemoration of the Battle of Pulang Lupa.

In 1967, two years after the first commemoration of the Battle of Pulang Lupa, Francisco "Kiko" Labay researched and prepared the history of the Battle of Paye based on some eyewitness accounts and documents from the US National Archives (Labay). Labay, with the assistance of the Municipal Government of Boac, made a strong case to validate the history of the Battle of Paye. In 1986, the Philippine National Historical Institute (NHI, now NHCP) recognized it and was institutionalized via the historical marker that was inaugurated on the actual battle site. The first commemoration of the Battle of Paye happened in the same year.

Ramon Madrigal and Francisco Labay were the two key local figures and authorizing agents of the localized Philippine-American War history in Marinduque. Their works would eventually become the local authorized narrative template. Furthermore, the Local Government Units (LGUs) or the Municipalities of Boac and Torrijos would build this up through commemorative activities in the next decades. As a consequence, the local collective memory emerges as a credible and influential intangible heritage in Marinduque.

Local Commemoration of the Philippine-American War in Marinduque

The commemorations of the Marinduque Battles happen on two separate occasions: the Battle of Paye in Boac town on July 31st and the Battle of Pulang Lupa in Torrijos town on September 13th of every year. Republic Act No. 9749, approved on 10 November 2009, declared July 31 as Battle of Paye Day of every year as a special non-working holiday in the province of Marinduque. Likewise, on 10 February 1989, Republic Act No. 6702 designated September 13 as a special non-working holiday in Marinduque. These two declarations indicate its national recognition and local significance and will be demonstrated by the following observations based on my fieldwork in 2022.

Fieldnotes (2022):

When I arrived at the battle site in the Balimbing village on the 31st of July 2022, some of the attendees were already seated and waiting for the arrival of the marching band along with important officials and guests. At nine o'clock in the morning, the public marched through the streets of Barangay Balimbing after a mass of thanksgiving at the Mary Help of Christian Parish. Led by the Marinduque National High School (MNHS) brass band, various groups and communities participated in the procession: public officials from the Provincial Government of Marinduque including the Sangguniang Panlalawigan (Provincial Council), Municipality of Boac with the Sangguniang Pambayan (Municipal Council), Sangguniang Barangay (Rural Council), Sangguniang Kabataan (Youth Council), representatives of the national government, public and private schools, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of the Philippines, civic organizations, and the general local population. The parade signaled the 122nd anniversary of the historical battle that happened in Sitio Paye, Balimbing, Boac, Marinduque.

The parade led up to the actual site of the battle, along the riverbed in the village Paye, where a *bantayog* (monument) was erected. The monument called *palagsak* in the local language (see Fig. 1), symbolized the bamboo signal device used by the revolutionaries in coordinating their attacks against the American soldiers. The masters of ceremonies began the commemorative gathering and uttered the following opening statements:

Ang mga gawaing ito, simula noong una pa, ay pagpupugay sa kabayanihan ng ating mga ninuno, mga martir ng Paye, at bayani ng lahi. Pagpupugay bilang diwa ng pasasalamat ng ating mahal na bayan na naging gabay at pandayan ng ating kalinangan at pagtamasa sa ating kalayaan. (Jerson Manahan and Nikka Mae Adling).

[These undertakings, since time immemorial, are a tribute to the bravery of our ancestors, martyrs of Paye, and heroes of our lineage. The tribute serves as the town's gratitude to those who guided and shaped our culture and secured our sovereignty.]



Fig. 1. The *palagsak* monument of the Battle of Paye in Boac, Marinduque.

The statements signal a continuation of a commitment from the past in honoring the war heroes; hence, the commemoration was a patriotic, nationalistic, and celebratory program. It began with the ceremony of flower offerings spearheaded by the Community Defense Center, Regional Community Defense Group, and the Philippine Army, with local officials and the brother of the guest, Danilo Ledesma Mandia.

Likewise, the offering of wreaths of flowers on a stand to the heroes of Pulang Lupa battle was led by the kin, Jonmar Vida Literal and Boyet Milambiling, from the town of Buenavista. Officials and guests walked through the pathway towards the monument of the fallen heroes to the tune of “Bayan Ko” (My Country), a public ritual in remembrance of the 122nd year of the Battle of Pulang Lupa held on 13 September 2022.

Local State, Communities, and Individuals

The commemorations are widely attended at the provincial level. The LGUs in Marinduque are mandated to attend these public historical events in *Filipiniana* which is a traditional Filipino type of clothing for formal occasions. For women, it includes *baro’t saya*, a combination of a blouse (*baro*) and a long skirt (*saya*) or a *Maria Clara* dress, a formal, floor-length dress with intricate embroidery and butterfly sleeves. For men, *barong Tagalog*, a traditional, embroidered shirt made from *piña* or *abaca* fabric. Public officials from the Provincial Government of Marinduque including the Sangguniang Panlalawigan (Provincial Council), Municipality of Boac with the Sangguniang Pambayan (Municipal Council), Sangguniang Barangay (Rural Council), Sangguniang Kabataan (Youth Council), educational institutions such as tertiary, secondary, and elementary public and private schools, civic organizations such as Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of the Philippines, and the regional units of Philippine National Police and Philippine Army are expected to attend. Also, the Catholic religious sector begins the occasion through a public mass with the general local population. Sometimes, national officials and politicians grace the event with their presence and speech.

The national and local directives present during these occasions signify the pivotal roles of the LGUs in coordinating, directing, and organizing the commemorations every year. Each town in Marinduque, Boac and Torrijos in these cases, leads the celebration through their Municipal Council for Local History, Culture and the Arts. These councils are in charge of the overall flow of the program, the content or theme, public information dissemination, invitation, selection of the distinguished guest, and the actual implementation or the logistics of the program.

As described in my fieldnotes, the commemorative events start with a public mass, followed by a jubilant parade with all the participating individuals, groups, and

communities in the province traversing the road toward the actual site of the battles: by the river in Paye and in the mountain in Pulang Lupa. The masters of ceremony, usually public teachers, greet everyone. Special recognition is given to local, sometimes national, officials. Speeches from the congressman, provincial governor, and mayor of the town are constant elements in the program where they provide socio-political updates, occasionally pronounce new promises, and renew political commitments with constituents. In other words, the commemoration becomes an avenue for the reinforcement of their political authority.

A guest, who usually comes from the lineage of a local revolutionary hero, leads other commemorative ceremonies and rituals such as wreath-laying. The distinguished kin speaks in front of their fellow locals, reiterating the bravery of Marinduque's ancestors, martyrs of Paye and Pulang Lupa, and heroes of our lineage. Together, they continue the heritage commemoration that serves as the town's expression of gratitude to those who guided and shaped local culture and secured national sovereignty.

Every year, the feeling of local pride and honor is evoked, reaffirmed, and sustained, together with national aspirations and patriotism. Marinduque's heritage commemoration, therefore, becomes another authorizing narrative template at the local scale. The legitimacy of Marinduque Battles develops a deep memory among the locals that is a fundamental part of claiming and asserting local identity (Wertsch).

Anthem of Philippine Nationalism: “Lupang Hinirang” (Beloved Land)

I extend the discussion about songs of nationalism, the Philippine national anthem in particular, and how songs of collective memory can illustrate the authorizing processes on both a national and local scale. As Christi-Ann Castro observes, the nation-state in the Philippines has long harnessed music as a powerful tool for promoting nationalism (*Musical Renderings of the Nation*). The nation-state affects and imposes authorized heritage in local commemorations via the performance of the Philippine anthem. In doing so, the narrative of nationalism is not only bolstered but also reshaped by the push-and-pull dynamics between the national and the local.

As in many other public occasions, commemorative events in particular, the singing of the Philippine national anthem and raising of the flag are necessary. In remembering the Marinduque Battles, the Philippine national flag was raised together with the flags representing the six towns of Marinduque province: Boac, Mogpog, Gasan, Buenavista, Torrijos, and Sta. Cruz (see Figure 1). On some occasions, the Philippine flag was waved together with the flags of the Katipunan, invoking the vital role of the Filipino revolutionary movement in building the nation since the 19th century. Similarly, the singing of the Philippine national anthem was performed along with the singing of the provincial anthem, municipal anthems, and memory songs of the Battles of Paye and Pulang Lupa.

The current version of the Philippine anthem, which is in Filipino, traces its beginnings to the 1896 Philippine revolution against Spain. Mojares (*Time, Memory* 270) considers the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and the establishment of the Malolos Republic in 1899 as the “foundational event” of Philippine national history. For Mojares, collective and individual stories can be traced back to these foundational events as sources of narratives, signs, and representations about the birth of the Philippine nation. He cautions, however, that these signs are highly manipulable and used either to confirm or interrogate what Filipinos are or have become.

Jocelyn Martin examines the visible and official facets of the anthem via the translation process, its evolution from archive to canon, and its status as a site of memory (145). She points out the complex history of “Lupang Hinirang” from the revolutionary leader Andres Bonifacio who first commissioned Julio Nakpil to compose an anthem (Martin 138-45). Nakpil wrote the music and lyrics of the “Marangal na Dalit ng Katagalugan” (Honorable Hymn of the Katagalugan) in November 1896, but when Emilio Aguinaldo replaced Bonifacio as leader of the Philippine Revolution, Nakpil’s anthem was forgotten. Instead, Julian Felipe’s commissioned composition, “Marcha Nacional Filipina,” accompanied the reading of the Act of Proclamation of Philippine Independence on 12 June 1898 by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, War Counselor and Special Delegate designated by E. Aguinaldo (Castro 28). In 1899, when the Philippine-American War broke out, Jose Palma’s poem “Filipinas” in Spanish was added as the lyrics to Felipe’s composition (Martin 141).

With Palma's lyrics, the anthem served its symbolic purpose when the Philippines fought for independence from Spain and, at the same time, struggled against another colonial rule under the United States of America. Though the singing of the Spanish anthem was short-lived, it still provided a sense of patriotic love, with the Philippines as the "adored land, daughter of the Eastern sun," as described in the first line of the poem ("Tierra adorada, hija del sol de Oriente"; Castro). For Castro, the anthem itself expressed an anti-colonial message where Palma envisioned an image of the mother country as a place of heroes and love which invaders should never tread and for whom the children of the land may die with glory if necessary (29).

The Spanish version of Palma took another direction when it was translated into English. Camilio Osias, a known Filipino senator, and M.A. Lane, an American, provided the English-language version of the anthem on the eve of the declaration of the Philippine Commonwealth (Martin 144). The US-sponsored translation of the Philippine anthem, I argue, was contradictory and ambivalent to the spirit of the Philippine Independence Act (i.e. Tydings-McDuffie Law) which was supposed to empower and transition the Philippines to its independence from 1935 to 1945. Instead, the language of the colonizer was used. The anthem appeared officially in 1940 (Martin 144).

National politics pervaded in the manipulation, direction, and eventual Filipinization of the anthem as a cultural symbol of the Philippine nation. This coincided with the issues and problems facing the nation about national language. The Institute of the National Language produced the first Tagalog translation of the anthem during the Japanese-sponsored administration of Jose P. Laurel in 1943-1945 (Martin 144). In the process of promoting the national language, Tagalog became the basis of Filipino because of its prevalence and dominance (Martin 144). Of the many different Filipino (i.e. Tagalog) translations that have been produced, Felipe de Leon's "Lupang Hinirang," became the official anthem via Presidential Proclamation #60 in December 1963 (Martin 144). Designating it as the official anthem meant the use of Filipino as the national language (Wikang Pambansa) in all public ceremonies. The anthem, with other heraldic national symbols such as the flag and pledge, was further codified via the Republic Act 8491 in 1998.

The act of singing the Philippine national anthem and raising of the flag have rich backstories that have been forgotten over time. Despite the anthem's aim to express national pride and identity, which has resonated with most generations of Filipinos, these stories remain overlooked. The Philippine anthem carries "spectres of the past: traces of regimes, colonizations, plots, renditions, forgotten composers and musical scores, victories, regionalisms" (Martin 149) that testify to political maneuverings and power plays at the national level in the midst of colonial interventions. The birth of the Philippine nation was about the battle for hegemony, hence, the battle for cultural heritage authority (e.g. official national language). Martin also notes that Nakpil's anthem did not survive because his patron Bonifacio died. Former presidents of the Philippine Republic like Aguinaldo, Jose Laurel, and Ramon Magsaysay had the political power to influence and control the direction of the anthem. The country's history of colonial rule, under the US and later under Japan, also impacted the anthem's development.

The story of the national anthem not only reveals the lingering effects of the colonial past. Its legacy is also observed in bodily stances and gestures. Filipinos are expected to sing with their right palm placed over the left side of the chest. This demonstration of nationalism inherited from the American heritage of nationalism is still learned and practiced today, most often in educational institutions. Moreover, House Bill 5224 mandates the proper rendition of the "Lupang Hinirang" in accordance with the musical arrangement and composition of Juan Felipe: 2/4 beat when played, within the range of 100 to 120 metronome, in 4/4 beat when sung. The "Oath of Patriotism" (Pangatang Makabayan) must be recited after the singing of the national anthem in basic education institutions.

Other Filipino Nationalist Songs

Aside from the Philippine national anthem, songs with nationalist sentiments are also performed in the commemorations of the Battle of Paye and Pulang Lupa. In the virtual commemoration of the Battle of Paye in 2021 during the Covid-19 pandemic, several nationalist songs were played and sung.

One of the young composers and performers in the concert, James Noriel Reyes, remembers how the nationalist songs helped him understand the essence of the Battle of Paye when he was still in school. His sister urged him to watch the

commemoration and, in these memorials, he was able to hear songs like Kuh Ledesma's rendition of "Ako ay Pilipino" (I am a Filipino). In the 2021 commemoration, Reyes rearranged the Battle of Paye song and infused some changes, while still adhering to the similar affection that the nationalist song imply.

The singers, natives of Marinduque, led the singing of "Bayan Ko" (My Country) as a finale in a virtual concert that was produced to commemorate the 121st year of the historic Battle of Paye on 31st of July 2021. Originally written in Spanish as a poem to express opposition to the American occupation of the Philippines, the song was composed in 1928 by Constancio de Guzman using the Tagalog translation of Jose Corazon de Jesus (Castro 176).

The meaning of the song is layered and loaded because it has been performed in various occasions during different periods of Philippine history, from the US colonization in 1898 to the post-martial law period in 1986 (Castro 178-81). Nevertheless, every time the song is performed, the spirit of revolution comes alive and the memories of the struggles of the Filipinos in the past are revived and remembered. Also, the song is a reminder of how Filipinos have protested against various forms of domination in the past, endured, and achieved victories.

Local Songs of Collective Memory

Following the intricate and complex history of the Philippine national anthem, I explore in this section how musicians in Marinduque infused their music with local flavor, revealing the ways in which local cultural context shaped their creative work. Specifically, the local songs of collective memory that I refer to are "Awit sa Pulang Lupa" (Song for Pulang Lupa), words and lyrics by Eli Obligacion and "Pagpupugay sa mga Bayani ng Paye" (Tribute to the Heroes of Paye), words by Miguel "Myke" Magalang and music by Celeste "Pinky" Manrique-Romulo. As Obligacion, Magalang, and Manrique-Romulo embedded local stories of the battle and their own sensibilities in the songs, I argue that they grappled with the desire to be included in the national heritage-making, whereby their composition's narrative, symbols, or tropes also reflect nationalist authorizing discourse. Consequently, the local songs of collective memory are caught in the push-and-pull process of creating Marinduque's local identity alongside recasting nationalism to become more familiar, palatable, and accessible in Marinduque through music.

In examining the background of the local composers and their own positionalities as authorizing agents, it is critical to note how the composers deviated from the march musical style, which mostly dominated the musical expression of nationalism in anthems and hymns (Bowen and Pickering; Mayo-Harp). Instead, they used Original Pinoy Music or Pinoy pop to dedicate memory songs to the heroes of the local battles. According to Felicidad Prudente, Pinoy pop, or P-pop, is a broad term encompassing various song types, including ballads, novelty songs, and inspirational songs (36). I tie this with the local socio-political contexts and cultural conditions that warranted their compositions to be performed in the heritage commemoration.

Composers, Local Socio-political Contexts, and Cultural Conditions as Authorizing Processes

Locals of Marinduque Island, Eli Obligacion, Myke Magalang, and Pinky Manrique-Romulo are considered influential personages in the commemoration of Marinduque Battles. They established themselves as a provincial culture and arts officer (Obligacion), a local legislator (Magalang), and a music educator (Manrique-Romulo). Hence, they served the province in their own capacities and backgrounds. Their cultural, political, and educational stature made them authorizing agents as the local state solicited their expertise. Their collaborations with the local government significantly influenced the direction and eventual legitimization of the songs as cultural symbols of the Marinduque Battles.

Obligacion was a self-educated local cultural organizer who grew up in Marinduque. He worked in Manila in the 1970s, eventually returned to the province in 1990, and established the community theatre group *Teatro Balangaw* (Theatre Rainbow). The group has been on and off the spotlight of Marinduque war memorial activities since its inception in 1992. Obligacion would later find himself serving the former Provincial Governor Jose Antonio “Bong” Carrion as a private secretary in 1992. Carrion’s term of office as the provincial local state chief had intervals from 1995 to 1998 and from 2007 to 2010. According to Obligacion, Carrion left him alone in organizing cultural activities in the province. During these years, *Teatro Balangaw* enjoyed Obligacion’s close relationship with the local government as a non-governmental organization. In other words, Obligacion managed *Teatro Balangaw* in close proximity to the provincial culture and arts affairs during his tenure as a

tourism and arts officer. Obligacion, Teatro Balangaw, and its youth members have worked within this socio-political context.

Magalang started his career as a Public Information Officer of the Municipality of Boac from 1986 to 1988. He was a member of the Municipal Council, the local legislative branch of Boac for several years (2001-2004; 2013-2016). As a local history, arts, and culture advocate, he authored the Heraldic and History Code of Boac, Tubong as Intangible Cultural Heritage Ordinance, Gusaling Luis Aliño Hidalgo Ordinance, and the Butterfly Propagation Ordinance that launched the Bila-Bila Festival in the town, among others. It must be noted that he also championed environmental concerns in the province and was the Executive Director of the Marinduque Council for Environmental Concerns from 2004 to 2013. In 2000, Magalang invited Manrique-Romulo to compose a song for the centennial celebration of the Battle of Paye. On 25 April 2000, Magalang wrote a poem that was transformed into the lyrics of the tribute song. When he died on 22 May 2016, Magalang bestowed his fellow locals with a song that would always commemorate the local heroism of Marinduque that was the Battle of Paye.

Manrique-Romulo established herself as a music educator at the Philippine Women's University, a researcher, choir conductor, composer, and arranger. She was the choir conductor of Koro Municipio, a choir ensemble consisting of Municipality of Boac employees. Her first music composition for the province was the "Pagpupugay sa mga Bayani ng Paye" (Tribute to the Heroes of Paye), which was launched by the Koro Municipio. Afterwards, she composed the "Boaceño Hymn," "Sulong Boac" for the neo-centennial celebration of Boac town, and "Mogpog Hymn," among others. What is important to stress here is that both Manrique-Romulo and Magalang paved the way for strengthening localized Filipino-American war history that Labay initiated in the 1960s via their music compositions.

"This is not a hymn or an anthem": Pinoy Pop/Ballad as Local Dedication Songs

National music, like anthems or hymns, has aims in enhancing the sacred qualities of the nation (Bohlman 26). These sacred qualities, as elaborated in the earlier sections, most often focus on the elite, the center, or the mainstream. And the music associated with the mainstream, as exemplified by the "Marcha Nacional Filipina"

using the musical style march, represents the nation. However, the local songs of Marinduque Battles demonstrate otherwise as Pinky and Eli used OPM, particularly Pinoy pop. For Pinky, ballad is an accessible type of song to use for memory songs. I argue that this was a way of owning their story and localizing nationalism, thereby signifying the “nebulous qualities of the nation” (qtd. from Dalhus in Bohlman). As explained by Bohlman, nationalism can be experienced in any music at any time (5).

Not aware of the local battle, Pinky entrusted Myke to write a poem that tells the story of the Battle of Paye since he was a writer and knew the historical context of the battle. She then combined her music with the lyrics, or poetic story. The story, its content and context, the poetic form, and the melody were her considerations in composing the music of the song. Manrique-Romulo explains the composition process:

I contextualized the poem, meaning I thought of the sequence of the poem: what would be the first one, what could be the chorus part. I looked at the highlight of the poem, and contemplated it. After identifying the highlight, I made it as the chorus, so it could be repeated, my way of reminding the local people about the core story of the battle, the momentum of victory. The core tells about the struggle of our local people to attain national independence. (online interview)

The song starts with the setting of the battle, when and where it happened, and mentions Paye as the local battleground for national independence (see 1st stanza).

Tribute Song for Battle of Paye 1st stanza:

(English translation by Rex Nepomuceno)

Mapula ang umaga,
No'ng araw ng Hulyo,
Nang inyong harapin,
Dayuhang sundalo,
Hindi alintana, buhay at dugo
Sa Paye, bansa'y ipinagtanggol nyo.

Red was the morn, on that day in July
When you faced the foreign soldiers
Taking no heed of your life and blood
In Paye, you defended the country.

The chorus (see 2nd stanza) part describes the local revolutionaries as martyrs of Paye and heroes of the Filipino race that everyone should be proud of. This section signifies a generalized nationalist trope that celebrates heroism: the use of “kayo” (“you”, collective or plural form) as heroes who suffered and struggled for the nation.

Tribute Song for Battle of Paye 2nd stanza (chorus):

Kayo ang Martir ng Paye
Kayo ang Bayani ng Lahi,
Kaunlara’y kaakibat,
Sa atin ay pag-asa,
Ipinagmamalaki lagi sa t’wina.

Your are the martyrs of Paye
You are the heroes of a race
Progress comes; to us, a hope
We take pride, always.

Pinky deliberately used “Pilipino” instead of “Marinduqueño” because the song does not only talk about Marinduque, but also the struggles of the whole nation (see 4th stanza). She further explains:

Myke requested me to include “Marinduque” in the song, but I told him no, because for me Marinduque was just the battle ground. Based on the story he told me, the local guerrillas in Marinduque were instrumental in achieving the victory. For me, they were not fighting for Marinduque alone, but they were fighting to live their rights as a Filipino. So the way I contextualized the poem was to include all. I included the whole nation. So, if you listen to the lyrics, it mentions “Pilipino”, which means we are not only referring to Marinduque, but it also talks about the whole nation. (Manrique-Romulo)

Tribute Song for Battle of Paye 4th stanza:

Mabuhay Bansang Pilipinas
Mabuhay ka Bayang Pilipino
Magpugay ka bayan,
Sa ating mga ninuno,
(Karangalan mo, Kalayaan ko)
Karangalan mo’y aming kalayaan.

Long live the Philippines
Long live the Filipino nation
Long live the nation of our ancestors
(Your Honor, Our Freedom)
Your Honor, Our Freedom.

The decision of Pinky to incorporate the local in a larger national entity echoes the nationalist templates and obscures the intricacies and nuances of the Marinduque Battles, specifically the details of the Battle of Paye. Similar to the Philippine anthem with rich backstories that were remembered and forgotten, the composition of local songs also involves the process of getting into the local heritage commemoration; it reveals who are marginalized or excluded. What was silenced in the Paye song were local heroes like Teofilo Roque and other ordinary soldiers who were identified in the historical narrative (see Birtle; Labay; Madrigal; Magalang). By invoking a generalized image of the Filipino rather than naming specific local revolutionary figures, Pinky maintained the national myth while producing a localized Pinoy ballad or pop song.

While Pinky was thinking about the nation in the local battle, she contrasted her composition to anthems using march as a musical genre expressing the ideals of a nation. Contrary to the usual municipal hymns, she argues that her composition is not an anthem, but a ballad, a dedication song for the Battle of Paye; it is, therefore, an expression of her own local sensibility.

The apparent nationalistic tone of the Paye song somehow differs from those of Obligacion's "Awit sa Pulang Lupa" (Song for Pulang Lupa). In the first section, Obligacion uses a nostalgia trope to express longing for the past (see section 1.1). The speaker remembers and invokes the spirit of patriotism that was born in the past (see section 1.2). Obligacion is caught between invoking a romantic past (a nationalist trope of AHD) and making it meaningful to Marinduque's present generation so they will remember their collective story.

For Smith and Campbell, nostalgia is not necessarily negative or irrational, but "an important phenomenon in understanding how the past is both brought to bear on the present and on the development of social and political agendas for the future" (612). Obligacion's nostalgia is not the same as that of dominant elite nationalism. His sense of nostalgia is an enabling gesture to remember the local heroes of the

Pulang Lupa battle. The song's trope of nostalgia is a form of affective practice that could inspire the present generation in imagining a better future (Wetherell).

Song for Pulang Lupa

(English translation by Eli Obligacion)

- Section 1.1: May isang kahapong nagdaan
 Kasaysayang di malilimutan
 'Sang kahapong di maiwawaksi
 Diwang Makabaya'y naisilang.
- There's a yesterday gone by
With a story that couldn't be forgotten
One yesterday that couldn't disavowed be
When the Filipino spirit was born.*
- Section 1.2 May isang kahapong nagdaan
 Kasaysayang di malilimutan
 May kahapong di maitatanggi
 Ang kahulugan ay Tagumpay ng Lahi.
- There's a yesterday gone by
With a story that couldn't be forgotten
A yesterday that couldn't be denied
For it spelled Victory for the Race.*

Nostalgia becomes more meaningful as local heroes of the Pulang Lupa battle are identified: Captain Maximo Abad and a popular soldier called "Kang Alapaap" in the second section (see section 2.2). As Bohlman suggests, "nationalism may build its path into music from just about any angle, as long as there are musicians and audiences willing to mobilize cultural movement from those angles" (5). Eli builds this path from a local angle and presents Abad and Alapaap as significant figures in the Battle of Pulang Lupa.

Song for Pulang Lupa

- Section 2.1: Sa Pulang Lupa, kawal na bayani
 Gubat ay tinahak ng buong sidhi
 Ang mahal sa buhay, inalo't iniwan
 Nang ipagtanggol ang ating bayan.
- At Pulang Lupa, our heroic soldiers
Forests they trod with all their might
Loved ones, they comforted and left behind
To defend our land.*

- Section 2.2 Dito na namuno si Kapitan Abad
Kapitang namuno ng buong lakas
At naging kasama si Kang Alapaap
Siya na mapusok at puso'y marahas.
- And there took charge Kapitan Abad
A Kapitan who led with all strength
And with him was Kang Alapaap
He who was fierce, and with a heart violent.*
- Section 2.3 Isang madaling araw
Sa buwan ng Setyembre
Sinagupa nila ang kaaway
Sa gitna ng kabundukan.
- One break of day
In the moon of September
They attacked the enemy
In the midst of the mountain range.*

The use of Pinoy pop in the style of ballad in retelling, remembering, and interpreting the story of the battles has significant consequences. Pinoy pop, particularly local ballads, demonstrates that the march anthem is not the only music genre that has the potential to define, crystalize, and bind the members of a collective and has the emotional charge to motivate collective action (Mayo-Harp 18). As Garrido and Davidson explain, “[P]opular ballads [also] provide a useful way of exploring emotions in their cultural contexts across different time periods because of the way they change and are appropriated for a variety of purposes in diverse settings” (67). This was the original intention of Manrique-Romulo: “to give the best melody for the poem that was simple, a generalized type of melody that everyone could sing, a song that they could easily remember, a song that could be changed in different styles, a song that could be sung as a ballad.”

There are significant points to underscore here: that local songs in the form of ballads signal the malleability of both music and nationalism. Music, as Bolhman puts it, “is malleable in the service of the nation because musics of all forms and genres can articulate the processes that shape the state” (5). Also, music pushes the potential of recasting nationalism to be more familiar, accessible, and palatable through its affective or emotional dimension. The local songs of collective memory,

therefore, are interpretations of a battle story that create and authorize a local flavor or version of Philippine nationalism.

Consequently, the nation's accessibility through the local authorizing process makes nationalism banal. The locals use the songs as intangible heritage that prompts what Michael Billig refers to as "banal nationalism" (40), which is underpinned, not only by nostalgia as an affective practice (Smith, et al.; Wetherell), but also by the emotional resonances that strengthen the local narrative template (Wertch). These songs are "waved signals" (Billig 40) during the local memorializations accompanied by other ceremonial-like flower offerings, where guests march towards the monument to the tune of other nationalistic songs like "Bayan Ko," and are most often performed side by side with the Philippine national anthem. Signals of banal nationalism act together with "a pageant of outward emotion, that if it is to be effective, must pass into the conscious awareness of its recipients" (Billig 40). Hence, building on Anderson and Wertsch's ideas, the emotional resonance that the songs create is a powerful coauthor in the collective storytelling about the Marinduque Battles and the Philippine nation.

In 2021, James Reyes rearranged the Paye song and further amplified the popular music style. This made the song even more relatable to the younger generations. The song was also interpreted as a movement or dance piece. In 2022, I witnessed how the young dance group MobsterXclusive used the song for their choreography. Obligation's composition was also featured in the memorialization of the Battle of Pulang Lupa from 1995 to 2007 (with intervals). He directed a dance-drama, a historical reenactment of the Battle of Pulang Lupa, and used his own composition as its dramatic structure. The song was sung by the Marinduque Provincial Capitol Choir. Although there is an existing "Imno ng Pulang Lupa" (Battle of Pulang Lupa Hymn), Obligacion's composition has also enjoyed prominence and legitimacy in the local heritage commemoration.

Lastly, the potential for adaptation of the local memory songs into different music styles and various media like dance and reenactment is a testament not only to the mnemonic quality of the song, but also to the composers' ingenuity to secularize the elitist or sacred character of nationalism. This means that the composers were able to reconstruct a peculiar expression of nationalism that was created from the

local, or the regional, and then expanded this to the national. This is only possible through the local authorizing agents, institutions, and processes that operate Marinduque's local heritage commemoration.

Conclusion

Greg Bankoff examined the processes of selective memory and collective forgetting that were evident in the official historiography of the Philippine centennial celebrations. He noted that "certain key dates or figures were chosen for commemoration and others were quietly overlooked, while little reference was made to the central role played by the United States in overthrowing the First Republic or to the subsequent Philippine-American War" (547). Bankoff was also critical of Brian McAllister Linn's book *The Philippine War 1899-1902* which he considered an apologia for American actions in the Philippines (*Review*, 530-531). Both accounts resonate with this study's aim to question the Philippines' "official historiography" or elite nationalism associated with the national AHD. Consequently, this study gives proper attention to overlooked local historical events like Marinduque's heritage commemoration of the Battle of Paye and Battle of Pulang Lupa. It also reveals how the US's act of colonizing the Philippine archipelago during the first half of the twentieth century contradicted the narrative of benevolent assimilation.

By redirecting attention from the national to the local, I found that authorizing processes also happen at the local level as heritage commemoration, via the LGUs, local institutions, and individuals/music composers, legitimize the localized Philippine-American War history of the Marinduque Battles. Composers Obligacion, Magalang, and Manrique-Romulo engaged with a tension between nationalism and localism evident in the songs of collective memory they composed. The composers were oriented towards the local. They understood better the contexts and conditions of heritage commemoration in which they mainly operated. However, the nation has inevitably influenced them as nationalism most often uses heritage to validate and reinforce the positions of power, privilege, and education. This extends to authorizing agents like local historians Madrigal and Labay, who played pivotal roles in localizing the Philippine-American war history, thereby solidifying local memory and history. Also, extending the local battlegrounds of Paye and Pulang Lupa to the national imagery is an indication of what Bankoff observed as the local's desire to be included in the national: "local histories need to be incorporated within

the larger nationalist account so as to present them as part of the ‘natural past’ of the archipelago, one whose boundaries match those of the modern nation-state” (*Selective Memory* 543). Commemoration of the Battles of Paye and Pulang Lupa, or the Marinduque Battles as intangible cultural heritage, has meaningful use in Marinduque as it continues to deepen the locals’ relationship with the past and the Philippine nation.

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