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Reproduction of Cultural and Social Capital in Nineteenth Century Spanish Regimental Bands of the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

Band tradition in the Philippines traces its origins to the regimental bands of the Spanish colonial period. As a representation of social power, the regimental band was a symbol of Spain's hierarchical relation with the colony. The elevation of a Filipino musician to the rank of the bands' highest position, the bandmaster, enabled the accumulation of cultural capital, providing him a highly influential position in his local community that is almost equivalent to his Spanish counterpart.

This paper examines how music was used as cultural capital by some Filipinos, framed in the band tradition of the Spanish military regiments of the late nineteenth century Philippines. Using Bourdieu's theory of cultural and social capital and his concept of *habitus*, this paper aims to trace the development of a new social class and the reproduction of its accumulated cultural capital. The eventual attainment of prestige as a result of occupying the highest position in the Spanish regimental bands afforded the bandmasters significant influence in their communities that transmuted cultural capital into social, symbolic, even economic capital.

Keywords: Spanish regimental bands, bandmasters, cultural capital, social capital

INTRODUCTION

In the small town of Ibaan, Batangas, during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a boy born to a musically-inclined young couple who devotedly sang with the church choir and played with the town's brass band. This boy eventually grew up to follow his parents' dedication to music and became a church cantor and, later, was trained to play the clarinet so skillfully that he was asked to play with the neighboring city's band. Having been exceptionally guided by his uncle, who was the town band's conductor, he soon acquired the aptitude for leading the band

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on occasions when his uncle could not. In no time, his musical talent was discovered by the Spanish regimental bandmasters, who were scouting for talented Filipino musicians to become members of the various band regiments of the Spanish military. After passing the required government examination for musicians with remarkable results, he not only became a member of the band, but was also offered the prestigious position of bandmaster of one of the seven Spanish regiments stationed in the country. He served as bandmaster until the revolution of 1896 and was later offered the same position in the American artillery band of his province at the turn of the century. Upon retiring, he founded and conducted his own band and, later, his own orchestra as well as an all-female rondalla ensemble; taught lessons in playing the violin and other musical instruments; and opened the biggest supermarket in the Batangas City, which was patronized by the locals due to the high respect his former position as bandmaster afforded.

This signifies the high social status accorded to a Filipino who has attained the position of a Spanish regimental bandmaster. In his case, he was respected as a town maestro for life. His role in the community was considered the cultural equivalent of high government officials, thus influencing the cultural and social advancement of his community. Such a position also legitimated the holder's rise in the social ladder, allowing him to transform his accumulated cultural capital into other forms of capital.

Among the influential personalities of his town during the early decades of American occupation, he renounced his Catholic religion in support of the newly established national church. Nevertheless, upon his death, his remains were interred at the main Catholic church of the capital city of the province, signifying his importance in a Catholic community. Long after his death, an economic crisis hit his birth town, necessitating its division and annexation to two adjacent cities. This meant the eradication of the town that nurtured this boy into a prominent local maestro whose reputation reached the entire province of Batangas as well as its neighbors. Taking this into consideration, the provincial government opted to preserve the town of Ibaan by virtue of upholding the memory of this great maestro. This is the story of Don Lorenzo Ilustre (1866-1922), Ibaan's illustrious citizen and one of the few Filipino musicians who were able to attain extraordinary influential status in their respective communities during the colonial era (Tan 114).

This paper presents the significance of Filipino bandmasters whose identities were shaped by the band culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In particular, I will examine how music was used as cultural capital by Filipinos in the context of nineteenth century Spanish colonial culture. I shall also study band tradition as

social capital in relation to how social networks were employed and how particular associations within a specific class influenced the production and reproduction of such capital. I shall also analyze how members of a social group, particularly the families of those who became bandmasters, acquired a set of dispositions that reflect fundamental structuring of behavior and taste—what Bourdieu terms as *habitus* (Bourdieu 81)—which are later on preserved and continued. According to Nash, in a study of social and cultural reproduction in the field of education, "social groups are understood to possess bundles of real and symbolic resources and to pursue active strategies to facilitate the intergenerational transmission of physical and symbolic property" (432). Did the families of the bandmasters—representing the emergent Filipino middle class with ample cultural capital in the form of an acquired taste and aptitude for western music—consciously propagate the reproduction of their attained capital so as to legitimize their position in society? Outside of band culture, what role was played by music education for underprivileged boys in the Colegio de Niños Tiples of Manila Cathedral in their accumulation of cultural capital? Were the less structured and informal music instruction provided by the church and by family members able to contribute to the production and reproduction of this cultural capital?

I shall also analyze social ranking in the Spanish regimental bands and how those in principal positions displayed social and cultural capital that allowed them to influence those in subordinate positions. Understanding the social hierarchy in Spanish regimental bands can provide a glimpse of how those who occupied the principal tiers accumulated various forms of capital that represented social distinctions. As such, this culture is a "class signal that helps to maintain class domination and to shape individual life chances, much as economic capital does" (Erickson 217).

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital corresponds to the possession of "a set of actually usable resources and powers" (Bourdieu 114), which includes "long-standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialization process, the accumulation of valued cultural objects . . . and formal educational qualification or training" (Anheier et al. 862). Bourdieu maintains that cultural capital appears in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (1984). In its embodied form, cultural capital may appear as one's posture and manner of speaking. While in its objectified form, it may be evident in one's collection of branded clothes or investment in real property. Cultural capital in institutionalized form refers to "credentials and qualifications such as degrees or titles that symbolize cultural competence and authority" ("Pierre Bourdieu").

Examples may include the attainment of a university diploma, winning a gold medal in a prestigious sports competition, and, specific to this paper, holding the position of bandmaster in one of the Spanish regimental bands. Many of these are acquired either through exposure to one's immediate environs or class or are inherited from the family to which one belongs. Erickson maintains that,

> For Bourdieu . . . children learn the class-based cultural orientation of their parents and this . . . shapes the child's class trajectory. Children with higher-class parents are socialized "naturally" to like and know just the kinds of higher-status culture that schools teach and reward. Hence such children tend to do well in long educational careers, which in turn add still more to their cultural capital. (Erickson 222)

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital takes the "form of the prestige and renown attached to a family and is readily convertible . . . into economic capital . . . [and] is perhaps [considered as] the most valuable form of accumulation in a society" (Bourdieu 179).

Connected to cultural capital is *habitus,* which refers to "a system of embodied dispositions which generate practice in accordance with the structural principles of the social world. . . . [It also] captures the formal and informal mores, customs or rules of a society" (Nash 432-433). These embodiments are the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions that one possesses due to one's life experiences ("Pierre Bourdieu"). Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* helps explain the various "tastes" for cultural objects developed by members of a particular social class, such as their preferences in clothing, food, and music. In his book *Distinction*, Bourdieu stated that aesthetic sensibilities are shaped by the culturally ingrained *habitus* (Bourdieu 4). For example, upper-class individuals may develop a taste for western music because they have been exposed to and trained to appreciate it at a very early age, while individuals from the working-class might not have the chance to be equally exposed, thus not establishing the same taste. Members of a social group also acquire these "tastes" through socialization processes, thereby leading to social networking and the establishment of social relationships that cause the conversion of cultural capital into social capital.

In the band tradition of Spanish Philippines, the interplay of cultural capital and its transmutation to social and economic capital offer an alternative view to the study of the *habitus* of the Filipino bandmasters. Bourdieu's cultural capital is relevant in thinking about the emergence of a class of Filipinos who appropriate western musical tradition in which a colonial structure representing the Spanish colonial hegemony

is underwritten. A few of the native musicians who were able to join the Spanish regimental bands rose to an elevated position by becoming esteemed band leaders, more commonly referred to as *maestros*. Having attained a respected status in the social hierarchy of the military organization, the Filipino bandmaster—now with a voice—became a representation of what Bourdieu refers to as a "social actor" who is able to exercise calculated choices within his constraining *habitus* (Gordon et al. 37). The position affords the bearer the marks of cultural distinction within the bounds of the Spanish socio-political structure, which was deeply embedded in conservative frailocracy.[1] Once branded with this highly esteemed rank, one possessed its benefits even after retiring from the said position as this cultural capital was translated into the other forms of capital: social and economic (Bourdieu 114).

NINETEENTH CENTURY MUSIC IN THE PHILIPPINES

Band music is but one of the many musical types in nineteenth century Philippines. The continued presence of Spain since the sixteenth century fostered the widespread dissemination of western music, not only the ones heard in the churches all over the archipelago but also those played in mundane spaces. Jose Maceda reported a bourgeoning cosmopolitan atmosphere in Manila in the latter half of the nineteenth century, where music-related endeavors flourished as a result of the faster flow of people and goods between the colony and Europe (Maceda 223). This accelerated modernization in the colony, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal, which drastically shortened the voyage from Spain to the Philippines. It brought an influx of European visitors, other than the ones coming from Spain, and contributed to the rise in number of "enlightened" Filipinos called *ilustrados* (Corpuz 53-55). Maceda stressed the important role of the religious friars who trained young native boys in western music as early as the seventeenth century, asserting that missionary efforts resulted to the progressive state of musicians in the late 1800s (Maceda 221). The transmission of western music through schools in the nineteenth century also paved the way for the propagation of secular music. Music became part of the curriculum in the various levels of education, albeit not in the conservatory style but as part of general education, thus resulting to a developed "taste" or preference for western music. According to Maceda, "to a great extent, products of such an education became the supporters and listeners of European music performed by Filipinos and Europeans alike" (222).

This progressive atmosphere was conducive for the development of musical life, particularly in the capital city of Manila. Many art and literary societies were formed

and presented concerts, band contests, and operas such as the *Sociedad de Artes y Oficios*, 1869; *Liceo Cientifico Artistico Literario*, 1878; *Sociedad Musical Filipina de Sta. Cecilia*, 1888; and the *Circulo Musical*, 1893 (Maceda 223-224). A number of theaters presented opera productions and the more popular *zarzuela.*[2] Aside from these, band music at the public park in Manila, better known as Luneta, reached the largest audience, becoming the most popular form of musical ensemble in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Maceda 225). Many bands performed in public spaces, providing weekend entertainment to the local population, played for fiestas, and assisted in religious processions (Laureola 423-424). Band music was indeed the most public of all the musical ensembles in the nineteenth century Philippines.

BAND TRADITION IN THE PHILIPPINES

Band tradition in the Philippines traces its origins to the regimental bands of the Spanish colonial period. They served the official function of providing ceremonial music in the seven known stations of the colonial militia spread all over the archipelago, strategically placed to safeguard the boundaries of the colony against foreign invasion and to prevent local unrest and rebellions, particularly in Islamic communities in the Mindanao area. "The known regiments stationed in the Islands . . . were Regiments No. 5, 7, 8, 71, 72, 73 and 74" (Rubio 12). These regiments were routinely assigned to Manila, Cavite, Cebu, Cotabato, Iligan, Jolo, and Zamboanga (Manuel 1995). No regiment was assigned to a specific place permanently as the combat tactics of the Spanish military forces required them to move from one station to another.

Two regiments, stationed in Manila's Fort Santiago and Cavite's Fort San Felipe, were tasked to protect the capital city of the colony. The former was positioned near the Pasig River entrance to the city of Manila while the latter was positioned at the mouth of the bay of Cavite Harbor, through which all ships entering the city passed. The Visayan group of islands did not really require defense, but a military presence reinforced the colonial power in the region. The main station in the Visayas was in the island of Cebu, sheltered at Fort San Pedro. It can be noticed that three of the four regiments (Iligan, Jolo, Cotabato, and Zamboanga) assigned to the island of Mindanao were stationed near the border towards the island of Borneo. The Spaniards were not able to successfully penetrate the Muslim population and have constantly instigated attacks on them. There were times that the Spaniards had to defend their colonial territory against the Muslims, who, according to a description by Si Katinga (1525), kept "the fiercest warriors in the allied forces [of] Sultan Mahmud" (Scott 58). The Muslims were known for their brilliant trading technique and ferocious slaving raids. The Spanish colonizers, having to cope with food

shortages in the Visayas and possessing a deep desire for profit, maintained diplomatic cooperation with them to avoid armed confrontations (Cushner 52-53). Scott asserts that "whatever success the Spaniards enjoyed during their first fifty years in the Philippines was obtained through cordiality with Moros" (Scott 46).

Outside of their official military function, the Spanish regimental bands also provided music for communities in performances at the *plaza majores*, processional music for extra-liturgical events organized by the religious friars, and instrumental accompaniment to the more pompous masses and services at the various churches. In fiesta celebrations, "the military band enlivened the festivities by parading around the town . . . and serenade[d] important persons and business organizations" (Enverga 12). These functions afforded the Spanish regimental bands a social significance that granted their members and bandmasters prestige that allowed them to exercise a considerable amount of influence over the communities.

Each of the Spanish military regiments had their own bands, which were maintained because they were "the moral booster[s] in the armies of Spain" (Rubio 12). Originally comprised of Spanish soldiers, the various regimental bands later accepted Filipinos who had learned to play band musical instruments because there were not enough Spaniards to fill the positions in the bands. "It was a signal honor for a [native] to be[come] a member of an army band, and his glory if he were promoted to the position of a conductor" (Rubio 12).

TRANSMISSION OF WESTERN MUSIC IN THE COLONY

Filipinos learned western music primarily from the church. The "Spaniards colonized the Philippines through might and religion . . . [and] music was [an important] component of the Roman Catholic Church liturgy" (Rubio 12). Jean Mallat, a nineteenth century French traveller, reported that, during the early years of colonization, the natives were lured to the Catholic Church through its pompous ceremonies,[3] which included somber chants and gentle music (43-44). As early as the seventeenth century, Spanish missionaries had capitalized on the natives' fondness for narrative vocal practices that these "became fundamental to their attempts to control and manipulate indigenous society" (Irving 88).

The Catholic Church required music in its liturgical services and its many extra liturgical activities throughout the calendar year. The different religious orders in Manila and in the provinces groomed their own cantors, organists, choir leaders, and instrumental players to perform in the various Roman Catholic rituals and celebrations. They trained young boys from towns all over the Philippines to fulfill

the same objective of serving the church. In Lumbang, Laguna, four hundred boys from different towns were gathered in 1606 by Fr. Juan de Santa Marta.[4] They were taught to read notes, sing the Gregorian chant, and play and make musical instruments like the organ (Irving 114).

Santos (2005) provides a summary of how local musicians were regarded by the friars during the Spanish colonial period.

> From the very beginning of the colonial exercise, local talent was measured and graded by the friars according to the ability to learn, in the shortest time possible . . . It is also a given that such a talent would not have blossomed unless his gift had been discovered and cultivated from a very early age . . . Individual musicians gained prominence and respect in the local towns for their musical skills as the church *organista* as well as [being able to] play different band and orchestral instruments, and even direct whatever musical ensembles may exist in the local community. (Santos 2)

Church documents enumerate the duties of the missionary musicians of the various religious orders including the "musical training of young boys, the writing of books on music and music theory, the composing of music for liturgical purposes, the performance of music for the masses, and . . . the training of young musicians in the manufacture of musical instruments" (Mirano 37).

All these were done in informal settings. Eventually, in the mid-eighteenth century, a formal music school named Colegio de Niños Tiples de la Santa Iglesia Catedral was founded in the Manila Cathedral. The idea to establish this musical institution was from then Archbishop of Manila, Fr. Juan Angel Rodriguez XIV, who met his untimely death in 1742, leaving the idea of founding this musical institution to the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fr. Juan de la Fuente Yepez (Bañas 25). The school adopted a curriculum similar to that of the Conservatory of Music and Declamation in Madrid (Bañas 111).[5] For admission into the *Colegio*, a boy should be six or seven years old and must possess a good ear for music. In its early years, its faculty included Remigio and Apolinar Calahorra, Oscar Camps, Blas Echegoyen, Luis Vicente Arche, and Ramon Valdes (Bañas 25). Many of the prominent musicians of the Spanish period were trained in the Colegio de Niños Tiples including a number who later became esteemed bandmasters and town maestros. What the institution claims to have taught its students, and is rightfully proud about, is the proper intellectual, physical, moral, and spiritual training that prepared them to earn their livelihood independently (Bañas 26).

Some musicians studied in the Colegio de Niños Tiples, while others received music instruction informally from parish priests and relatives. Some of those who had mastered an instrument or two usually sought to advance to membership in the Spanish regimental bands when they were of age to serve in the military (C. Ilustre 2005). The minimum age required for boys to join military bands was fifteen (Moriones 84-91). In order to qualify, boys had to pass the examination usually given by the local *Directores de las Armas* (Directory of Arms). According to *Legislacion Militar: Ejercito de Filipinas*, each regiment was allowed to admit a maximum of six civilians who had passed the said examination (91). Once accepted, local apprentices were subjected to band musical training, particularly in skills needed for ensemble playing. They were exposed to a broader range of compositional styles by listening to western composers and were familiarized with band orchestration.

Spanish authorities seemed to have been great admirers of music, laying down a policy that members of a regimental band were automatically exempted from the dreaded *polos y servicio*[6] (Enverga 13). Many Filipino musicians looked forward to serving in the Spanish military as band members or band leaders since they were not allowed to organize their own bands (de Leon 39). In fact, it was considered a distinct honor for a native to be a member of any Spanish band, and even more glorious if he becomes a conductor (de Leon 39).

ORGANIZATION OF THE SPANISH REGIMENTAL BAND

According to the *Legislacion Militar: Ejercito de Filipinas (Tratado I)*, the "First Treaty on Music" presents the Organization of the Regimental Band.

> The Royal decree of May 10, 1875 states that a band may consist of a band leader, as well as first, second, third musicians and students. Top lieutenants are considered to be band leaders. It is determined by a competitive public examination for the post in the corps. They cannot be dismissed from the service unless they make a request or if there is a justifiable reason for dismissal. Post of first, second, third musicians and students are likened respectively to second Sergeants, first Corporal, and Privates. Their terms can be covered by affiliated volunteers for a fixed time and by individuals of the troops according to merit. All are subject to military ordinance. (Moriones 87-91)[7]

There were two military orders that stated the number of musicians allowed in a band, the first of which was the order of the captain general of the Spanish military of 14 March 1866. In this order, the bands of the regiments of the Philippine Army

should be composed of one band leader, three first musicians, six second musicians, thirty third musicians, and five students. The tenure of these musicians was decided by the chief of the corps, upon consultation with the band leader. Applicants were accepted with conditions to serve as first and second musicians, maintaining that, in case there will be a vacancy, they can recommend associates with a good record.

The second order came in the form of a Royal Decree dated 13 January 1877, which contained the by-laws for organizing the musicians in the infantry corps. The first article states that musicians from a battalion should be composed of one band leader, three first musicians, six second musicians, twenty-one third musicians, and thirteen students. According to this decree, they were to serve at least four years and, should they opt to continue serving after their four-year term, they should make a formal request to the department heads accompanied by a letter of authority from the regimental register of affiliation (Moriones 84-91).

The salary of the musicians was 360 pesetas, with an increase of one silver coin depending on one's position. By order of the Captain General on 5 November 1875, only the band leader and three first musicians and second musicians from each company were eligible for an increase. For third musicians and students, only the first five of each were eligible for an increase in salary (Moriones 87-91). Additional information on the salaries of bandmasters was obtained from the Royal Decree of 13 January 1877, although no specified amount was documented. Article 5 stated that the salary of bandmasters was determined by the number of years they have served in their respective regiments, battalions, infantries, and also in artillery and engineering (Moriones 87-91).

Band leaders were issued official uniforms. The uniforms for other musicians determined the rank of their troop (Moriones 239). During grand fiestas, the uniforms used by the musicians were white and bright red. Of special interest is the uniform issued to drummers, who wore cotton suits in blue stripes, straight white hats, black shoes, and strong leather belts worn across the chest for hanging the drums (Moriones 96-98).

As stated by Moriones, recruitment into the regimental band depended on the position being filled. For the position of students, soldiers and young men who applied and were musically qualified were taken in. In case the applicants were not yet over fifteen years of age, Article 8 of the Royal Decree of 13 January 1877 was followed. It stated that they should be physically well-developed and should enlist for at least six years until they reached the age required by law. In addition to this, the Royal Decree of 17 May 1876 authorized the acceptance of fourteen year old

students from charitable institutions if the regiments did not have enough students who were at least fifteen years old. First, Second, and Third Musicians were appointed by the Chief of Corps, as proposed by the band leader. Their posts were equivalent, respectively, to second sergeants, first corporals, and privates. In addition, these positions can be filled by affiliated volunteers for a fixed time and by individuals from the troops according to merit. Civilians were admitted when nobody in the service was suitable for the available post. Aside from the aforementioned number of musicians, each regiment was allowed to admit a maximum of six civilians to their respective bands as long as these six passed the qualifying examination presided by the local Directory of Arms (Moriones 87-91).

The position of the band leader was the highest and most coveted in the regimental bands. Band leaders were tasked to prepare their groups musically and to conduct them in performances. They were also the highest paid among the musicians. Their salary was determined by the number of years they had served in their "respective regiments, battalions, infantries and also in artillery and engineering" (Moriones 84-91). They were also assigned to make management judgments, evaluate their musicians, and, at times, judge the competitive examinations for vacant positions in their band or the bands of the other regiments.

Only the top lieutenants were considered for the position of band leader, except in cases when nobody was qualified to take the position. In such instances, they accepted civilians as band leaders in accordance to the provisions of Article 9 of the Royal Decree of 13 January 1877. The article specifically required that in case there was a vacant position for band leader, first, and second musicians, the public examination for the post could be taken by civilians who were band leaders by profession as well as by First, Second, and Third Class musicians who applied to the Director of the Armed Forces. This competitive examination was presided over by the local Directory of Arms. Aside from the presiding officer, a panel of judges was required in every competitive examination. Normally, it was composed of three band leaders from the locality in which the examination was given and, in other cases, the band leader and first musicians of the particular regiment or battalion. The competitive examination was an important procedure because it determined the musical knowledge and qualification of the applicants, especially so for the position of band leader. The band leader, once assigned to his post, could not be relieved of his position except in the case of death, retirement or discharge from service to overseas armies (Moriones 87-91).

The examination is comprised of three kinds of assessments. The first test required the ability to orchestrate, consisting of a piano composition from which the examinee

had to derive the parts of the other instruments in the band. The second was a composition test for which the aspirant must compose a *pas redouble* from a given musical bass.[8] The third part tested the conducting and listening skills of the aspirant. The band would play a piece that is full of errors and the examinee is expected to correct every mistake as well as lead the band through his conducting (Bañas 69-70).

FILIPINO MAESTROS OF THE BANDS

Among a small group of talented Filipino civilian musicians who passed the competitive government examination for the position of band leader were Leonardo Silos (1826-1910) assigned to Regiment No. 5, Jose Canseco, Jr. (1839-1902) assigned to Regiment No. 71, Lazaro Concepcion (ca. 1840-1891) assigned to Regiment No. 71, Jose Sabas Libornio (1858-1915) assigned to Regiment No. 7, Ubaldo Jacobe (ca. 1860) assigned to Regiment No. 7, Tereso Zapata (1860-1926) assigned to Regiment No. 2, Rosalio Silos (1862-1896) assigned to Regiment No. 74, Jose Muezo (1866-1896) assigned to Regiment No. 73, and Lorenzo Ilustre (1866-1922) assigned to Regiment No. 71 (Manuel, vols. 1: 108-110, 418-420, 336-337; 2: 227, 237-240; 4: 584-585; Tan 57).

A striking pattern appears in their early training as musicians. They either received their instruction through an elder musician in their family or town, through the church where they sang as choirboys or through the Colegio de Niños Tiples of the Manila Cathedral (Manuel, vols. 1: 108-110, 418-420, 336-337; 2: 227, 237-240; 4: 584-585). Libornio and Muezo, for instance, entered the Colegio de Niños Tiples, while Canseco, Ilustre, and Jacobe were *tiples*[9] in San Agustin Church, Ibaan Church, and Lumbang Catholic Church, respectively. Rosalio Silos's earlier musical training was provided by his father. Most of them had been conducting private orchestras and bands in their localities before they took the government examination, giving them an advantage when they applied for the position of band leaders. Although they did not attend official schools, the musical training received by these musicians was provided by quasi-institutions resembling a school with a valid student-teacher relationship.

The earliest Filipino bandmaster documented in sources is Leonardo Silos who was appointed director of Regiment No. 5, stationed in Manila in 1847, at the young age of 20 (Manuel 418). From 1870 until 1887, his regiment was assigned to Jolo, Cebu, Manila, Jolo once more, Zamboanga, Cavite, and then Cotabato (Manuel 419). Rosalio Silos, Leonardo's son, was appointed bandmaster in 1887 of Regimental Band No. 74, which was originally stationed in Manila but later moved to Jolo and

Cotabato, after which it returned to Manila. Rosalio was then re-assigned to Regimental Band No. 72 in Manila. Afterwards, he was stationed in Iligan with the same Regimental Band and, there, on December 29, 1896 he was shot to death for being implicated in the revolutionary movement as a mason (Manuel 419).

Lorenzo Ilustre was assigned to lead Regimental Band No. 71 in 1888 and was assigned to Cebu for a short while and then to Iligan, where he stayed for almost ten years from 1888 to 1897. He was summoned back to Luzon by his brother, Major Mateo Ilustre, when the insurrection in Batangas, under the leadership of General Miguel Malvar, intensified in the latter part of 1897 (A. Ilustre 150).

Jose Muezo served as a *tiple* of the Manila Cathedral and studied at the Colegio de Niños Tiples. He became the bandmaster of Regiment No. 73 and, after his early retirement from the band, he taught piano at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, together with Antonio Garcia and Blas Echegoyen (Manuel 336).

Tereso Zapata was the son of Emilio Zapata, a musician from Mexico and bandmaster of Regiment No. 2. The younger Zapata is said to have learned music from his father and, later, from Marcelo Adonay (1848-1928). He became a *tiple* and studied at the Ateneo Municipal. His involvement with the Spanish regimental bands is not firmly established, but he joined the Philippine Constabulary Band under the American regime. In 1908, he directed the Constabulary Band in Iloilo, later returning to Manila to conduct the Meralco Band while teaching violin at the newly established Conservatory of Music of the University of the Philippines (Manuel 584). He also directed several bands from Pagsanjan, Navotas, Las Piñas, Zapote, Malabon, Bacolod, and some towns of Pampanga and Bulacan (Manuel 585).

Jose Canseco was a *tiple* at San Agustin Church who later joined Regiment No. 8 to escape a marriage to a disgraced girl arranged by an Agustinian friar. He was later discharged upon the petition of his mother, which cited that he joined the band without parental consent. Canseco later became a tenor at the Manila Cathedral under Blas Echegoyen and the conductor of several orchestras and the Narvacan Band. Upon his return to Manila in 1891, he took and passed the competitive examination for bandmasters, succeeding Lazaro Concepcion in leading the band of the Spanish Regiment No. 71. Upon retiring from the Spanish regimental band, he became a teacher of piano, solfeggio, harmony, and composition at the Liceo de Manila and the Colegio Porvenir. He also ventured into composition, creating marches and sacred hymns, and completed the musical scores for the Spanish Zarzwela, *La Muerte de Lucrezia* by Ronderos (Manuel 108-110).

An account by Bañas on how Jose Canseco, Jr. became bandmaster states that on June 14, 1886, Canseco, Jr. conducted the performance of Fauconier's *Kyrie* and *Gloria* in a high mass celebrated at Pandacan Church. He was approached by a Spanish bandmaster named Manuel Garrido who told him that an examination for bandmasters will take place in the city very soon. Garrido, being a member of the examining board, urged Canseco to submit an application for the position. It was common for bandmasters to scout for possible candidates to take their places or to fill vacant leadership positions in the other regiments. When Canseco took the examination,

> In the second exercise [of writing a 'pas redouble' from a given bass], after examining the given composition, at once stood up, complaining that it had some errors and that he would derive a "Pas redouble" from it without beauty. Analytically, he proved and showed the errors before the examining board [comprising of Garrido, Villapol, Meras, and Gali]. Without any difficulty, he passed the three tests, and consequently, he was chosen as the bandmaster of the regiment No. 71. (Bañas 70)

Jose Sabas Libornio's involvement with the Spanish regimental band started when he, then still under age, enlisted and became part of Regiment No. 7, which took him to its routine assignments to Jolo, Zamboanga, and Cotabato. When his enlistment expired, he taught bands in Pateros, Taguig, Vigan, and Peñaranda. He later joined the Charini Circus Company as a musician and traveled with them to Hong Kong and Shanghai. Upon the troupe's disbandment, he sailed to Honolulu where he taught bands for a few years. Later on, he sailed to North America and worked as a street conductor in San Francisco then as a tramp musician in several states, after which he found his way to Peru in South America in 1895. Libornio immediately enlisted in the Peruvian Army and, a year after, on December 20, 1896, was appointed as *Director General de las Bandas de Musicos del Ejercito* of Peru. In 1905, he founded the music school Conservatorio Libornio in Lima. In 1913, he was promoted to sergeant major of the Peruvian Army. Aside from establishing himself as a prominent army officer and founder of his own music school, Libornio also ventured into musical composition, leaving behind more than a hundred compositions and five hundred arrangements and orchestrations of classic and contemporary composers (Manuel 238-239).

While serving under their respective regiments, band leaders and musicians carried out official duties. The official function of the bands was to provide music for the various ceremonies organized by the Spanish military government, among which was the welcoming of the new governor-general every time there was a change of command. The feast normally lasted three to five days and a brilliant reception accompanied by band music was always prepared (Laureola 430). Another function

was the welcoming of visiting dignitaries and foreigners. They were usually escorted by town officials with the band playing music continuously throughout the whole ceremony (423).

CIVIC FUNCTIONS OF MILITARY BANDS

Military bands also performed in unofficial functions such as weekly concerts in the town plazas or squares. Henry Ellis, a British diplomat from Hong Kong who visited Manila in 1856, noted that the military bands performed for an hour two evenings each week in the palace square situated in front of the residence of the Captain General, the Governor of the Philippine Islands, and the Catholic Majesty's representative (Ellis 52). Another observation was provided by Mallat, stating that the military music of the regiments of Manila and some big provincial towns had been performed to the point of perfection. Furthermore, he noted that they played by memory grand overtures from Rossini and Meyerbeer, among others, for two to three hours in the palace, usually on Thursday and Sunday evenings from eight o'clock onwards. They alternated their playing of the overtures with dance numbers and vaudevilles.[10] He claimed that he had not heard such good playing in Spain and that the instrumentalists owed their immense progress in military music to the French teachers who directed them (Mallat 436).

In the nineteenth century, "the band repertoire consisted mainly of marches and arrangements of well-known opera overtures and arias" (Hila 134). Maceda listed popular airs by Rossini, Chucca, Thomas, Oscar, Chapi, Auber, and Waldteufel, as well as the occasional inclusion of a movement from Beethoven's symphonies (Maceda 225). A program presented on September 8, 1890 at the Luneta, as reported in *El Eco de Filipinas*, featured the following works: *Gran Via, valse* by Chueca y Valverde; *Estrella del Norte, Sinfonia* by Meyerbeer; *Zambra Gitana, Capricho* by Ciana; *I Lombardi, Tercetto* by Verdi; *Danzas Cubanas* by Ortells, and *Amazona, Polka* by Roubin (Maceda 225).

As the mid-1800s saw the flourishing of social entertainment among the elite, especially in Manila, band musicians were called upon to provide the music for occasions such as balls and dances (Mallat 436). These were beyond their normal military functions, indicating that the regimental bands now fulfilled social functions that allowed them to be relevant not only to their military barracks but also to the community that they served.

The military bands also played for fiesta celebrations and helped to "enliven the festivities by parading around the town and, in some places like Manila, to serenade

important persons and business organizations" (Enverga 12). Laureola summarized in her unpublished thesis on books with musical references published before 1900 found at the U.P. Filipiniana Library that,

> During town fiestas, it is not unusual for bands of neighboring towns to come and congregate, playing all day and night throughout the streets of the town and at the town plaza. Sometimes, three or more bands play at the same time, so close to each other that there is a great deal of noisy confusion. The natives seemed to revel in the resulting musical chaos, much to the amazement of the foreigners. The players enjoyed the music as much as the listeners did, so that a band kept playing as long as the members could physically do so – with the listeners in rapt attention – sessions often lasting until the wee hours of the morning. (Laureola 423)

In the district of Pandacan, barges and bancas sailed across the river during its fiesta celebrations. Stevens noted that, "bands of music play on both sides for the whole week, sometimes crossing to the other side in bancas, playing continually while en route" (Stevens 32). Pandacan was also referred to by Bañas as the "Little Italy" of the Philippines in the nineteenth century due to the presence of many skilled musicians, musical troupes, and orchestras (Bañas 50).

The Spanish regimental bands also played at town plazas where people frequently assembled to listen to their music. In Manila, Luneta was the most popular promenade during the nineteenth century (Foreman 408) and was visited by people from every class, the highest to the lowest, who came to watch the sunset and listen to the "fine concerts given by excellent military bands composed by natives but drilled by Europeans" (Worcester 42-43). Stevens provided a more vivid picture of the place and the musical performances it has seen.

> In the center of the raised ellipse is the bandstand, and on every afternoon, from 6-8, all Manila come here to feel the breeze, hear the music, and see their neighbors . . . to hear a band of 50 pieces render popular and classic music with the spirit of a Sousa or a Reeves . . . The splendidly trained artillery band, composed entirely of natives but conducted by a Spaniard, plays half a dozen selections each evening, and here is a treat that one can have every afternoon of the year, free of charge. (Stevens 18-21)

Aside from playing in public squares, the military bands were also called upon to provide the music in various liturgical rites and extra-liturgical devotions. The band, sometimes the orchestra or a small string and flute ensemble who may not be coming from the same regimental band, accompanied choirs who sang for the mass of the Catholic Church (Javellana and Brilliantes 98). Palgrave, a nineteenth

century diplomat from Uruguay, pointed out that the brass band[11] accompanied the singing[12] of the Gloria with an inspiring air from Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, the Credo with Rossinni's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, and the elevation of the host with Verdi's *La Traviata* (Palgrave 144).

The inclusion of secular and popular tunes within the mass was a common practice in Catholic Churches all over the Philippines in the late 1800s. These tunes were comprised of lively airs such as polkas, waltzes, arias, and overtures from well-known operas, consequently surprising many foreigners who attended masses at these churches (Laureola 427). The practice of using the orchestra or the band to accompany masses was common in Spanish colonies worldwide. A favorite annual service where this was prevalent was the midnight mass celebrated on Christmas Eve where *villancicos* and carols were sung accompanied by the organ, strings, castanets, tambourines (Javellana and Brillantes 98) and, sometimes, the orchestra or the band.

Aside from the mass, there were other important occasions in the church calendar where music was performed for the extra-liturgical devotions. Among the extra-liturgical rites, "the most widespread . . . are the Marian *flores de Mayo* and the *santacruzan*, both held in May; the Easter *salubong* and *bati*; and the Christmas *panunuluyan*" (Mirano 38). In the tradition of *salubong* in Bauan, Batangas, several bands normally accompanied the singing of the *Stabat Mater* and played *balses* and *mazurkas* before and after the removal of the veil of the *Mater Dolorosa* (Mirano 38-39). In the *bati* of Ibaan, Batangas, community bands commonly played a slow march in the first part of the dance, followed by the fast polka or *pasodoble*, during which the lady captain, a civilian dressed as an officer, starts to wield the flag in front of the church. The band then follows her as she marches around the town (A. Ilustre 248). Inevitably, the practices of playing for the liturgical and extra-liturgical rites of the Catholic Church have become deeply entrenched in Filipino folk Christianity.

An important issue concerning the band tradition in the Philippines in the nineteenth century is the recruitment of Filipino musicians by neighboring Asian countries. According to Stevens, the Philippine band was one of the chief articles of export from Manila during that period, with groups of natives and their cheap instruments being shipped off to Japan, India, and the Spice Islands (now Indonesia) "to carry harmony into the midst of communities where music was uncultivated" (Stevens 31). Bickers, a modern-day British scholar specializing on China Studies, described the recruitment of Filipino musicians for the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra and Shanghai Public Band in the late nineteenth century. He posited that the most

likely reason for this was that "Spanish rule had fostered the development of a tradition of Filipino involvement in the colonial administration's military and civil bands and musical life" (Bickers 844). Moreover, he suggested that the Filipinos were already familiar with European classical music by virtue of having been immersed in it through the Catholic religion. As the Filipinos have acculturated the Spanish way of life, "they have been treated as a semi-westerner in settlement life in Shanghai" (Bickers 844) by the local Chinese populace. However, European musicians in the Shanghai Orchestra and Public Band objected to being treated equally with the Filipino musicians and insisted that engagements outside the official functions of the orchestra and the band such as playing for funerals and at public parks were best performed by the Filipinos (Bickers 850). Nevertheless, the Shanghai Orchestra considered the Filipinos easier to discipline compared to the "polyglot cosmopolitan crowd" (Bickers 852).

BANDS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY PHILIPPINES

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Philippines ceased to be a Spanish colony. The Filipino revolutionaries, including many of the band maestros, fought for independence and their nationalistic struggles culminated in the declaration of independence by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo on 12 June 1898. However, this independence was only short-lived because "the Filipinos had to fight a second war for liberty, not against their old [Spanish] rulers, but against the new [American imperialist] aggressors" (Corpuz 404). It must be noted that in the Treaty of Paris entered into by Spain and the United States of America, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States, for which the latter undertook to pay Spain 20 million dollars (426). As a result of this treaty, the Filipinos, having just won their war for liberation from Spain, were demanded to submit to the rules and imperialism imposed by the United States.

During the American colonial period, which officially began in 1902, the Philippine Constabulary Band and the various infantry bands assumed the same role as that of their Spanish predecessors. The American bands had a wide repertoire that contributed to the expansion of the repertoire of the local musicians. Aside from these, the participation of the Philippine Constabulary Band, under the baton of Col. Walter Loving, at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition exhibited a successful construction of "an image of the ideal colonized person, one who embodied an identity characterized by passivity, obedience, and perhaps gratitude through the convergence of the military and musical performance" (Talusan 499). Talusan added that,

> Through the military and the military brass band, Euro[pean] . . . aesthetics of civilization such as order, precision, and discipline imposed on and assimilated by subjugated brown male bodies were in themselves embodiments of the colonial process. Evidence of the colonial project's success and merit, in this fashion, was made not only visual but also audible. (502)

Talusan further stated that "as emblems of the nation, military bands, like national anthems symbolize modernity, sovereignty, statehood, and state power" (502). This may also be interpreted as the initial efforts of the American propaganda, which asserted to the global community that they were in control of their new colony, the civil society that was the Philippines.

Civilian bands started to proliferate in Manila and various Philippine provinces at the turn of the century. Many of the Filipino band leaders and musicians advanced to become players for the private bands and orchestras established by the wealthy members of their societies. "These wealthy families were known as *recamaderos* or patrons who were usually music lovers . . . and took care of supplying instruments, uniforms, musical accessories and food for the band" (qtd. in Hila, *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art: Music*. 137). The conductors of these ensembles were the ex-band leaders of the Spanish regimental bands. According to Hila, these civilian bands played in parades and concerts for which the players were given only small allowances and assumed a carefree and less rigid character (Hila 136) compared to the military bands.

Hila enumerates the best civilian bands as those coming from the provinces of Rizal, Bulacan, Batangas, Laguna, Cavite, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, and Pampanga (137). Among the civilian bands that became prominent were the Banda Zabat of Nueva Ecija, founded by Lorenzo Zabat; the Peñaranda Band also of Nueva Ecija, founded by Pedro Mercado (Santos 869), and the Banda Ibaan, founded by Lorenzo Ilustre (Tan 12). The Banda Arevalo of Pasig, founded by Bonifacio Arevalo, was perhaps the most famous in the city of Manila. It was called upon in 1904 by the Municipal Board of Pasig to render concerts at Luneta—alternating with the 7th and 30th Infantry Bands and the Philippine Constabulary Band—for a compensation of two thousand U.S. Dollars per month (The Manila Times, 29 Mar. 1904).

The civilian bands took over some of the social functions of the military bands, performing in balls and in social gatherings aside from the annual fiestas and various liturgical events. In fact, civilian band musicians looked forward to the yearly fiestas as these gave them, "an opportunity to join the fun . . . and earn an extra peso" (Enverga 12). The civilian bands took part in open-air concerts known as

serenata, which happened on the eve of town fiestas. "Competing bands would show off their technical prowess and dexterity, as well as their knowledge of the band repertoire, which would include marches and overtures from operas by famous Italian composers" (Mirano 34). Other western forms were also adopted by the Filipino bands such as the *habanera, polka, jota, rigodon, marcha,* and *balse* (Mirano 42) as soirées and balls became the most sought-after form of social entertainment among the elite (Mallat 352).

Filipino musicians, particularly the military band leaders, benefited from the proliferation of these balls as this gave them opportunities to earn funds for their civilian bands. Alano-Espino recalls that her father, Florencio Alano, augmented their family's income through the professional fees he received from playing the violin in an orchestra in Batangas in the early years of the twentieth century (2006). These social gatherings also gave the musicians opportunities to be creative and compose new music that catered to the local tastes of the town's citizens, particularly the members of the elite who sponsored such events. The various dance forms enumerated earlier developed because of the abundance of occasions where they were needed, compelling many composers to write in these prevailing styles.

FILIPINO BANDMASTERS AND THE REPRODUCTION OF CAPITAL

Band music in the Philippines in the nineteenth onto the twentieth century provides a case for exploring how Filipino musicians gained prestige and cultural capital that were readily convertible to other forms. As a musical institution attached to the Spanish colonial project, band culture created a *habitus* that was structured and patterned. Early on in their individual lives, bandmasters acquired high musical skills in western music, developed through exposure from their parents and immediate surroundings, which they, in turn, transmitted to their sons and daughters. For Bourdieu, "cultural orientations learned early in life . . . are powerful in shaping responses to later experiences" (Erickson 222). As early as their childhood training, Filipino musicians and bandmasters already strongly aspire for acceptance into the prominent Spanish regimental bands. The competitive government examinations specifically given for the position of bandmaster was a solid marker of social distinction to the native musician who passed it.

Many bandmasters had reached such a high status because their early exposure to music had shaped their exceptional skills in playing instruments, composition, singing, and conducting. The *habitus* for learning music had influenced their "tastes" for western music, to which exposure was not readily available to the general population comprised mainly of working-class families and farmers. The reinforcement of their developed "tastes" in music was fostered in the rigid and

strictly monitored institutionalized band system. The formal musical training of the few bandmasters who received education in the Colegio de Niños Tiples propagated a "taste" that was not available to many and contributed to the certainty of their acquisition of cultural and social capital, with the latter establishing social networks among the students.

Bourdieu treats the school as a conservative force, albeit "a passive instrument for the reproduction of family acquired *habitus* which 'objectively' certifies the dominant cultural code of society" (Nash 435). According to Bourdieu, "it may be assumed that every individual owes to the type of schooling he has received a set of basic, deeply interiorized master patterns" (192-193). Nash further elaborates that "schooling does have its own power to shape consciousness, over and above the power of the family, and it is clear that the role of the school is acknowledged as active, and not merely passive in its 'legitimation' of family acquired *habitus*" (Nash 435).

The possession of abundant cultural capital was a resource for other forms of capital: social and economic. In the nineteenth century, Filipinos were compelled to perform forced labor for the colonial government as part of their duties as subjects of the colony. One of the benefits of joining the regimental bands was the exemption from the dreaded *polos y servicio* (forced labor) for public works, church edifices, and other constructions. Connected to the desire to possess cultural capital, membership or leadership in the military band was one of the motivations of Filipino families to continuously encourage musically-inclined sons to pursue music-making and, in effect, ensure the reproduction of values and attitudes that built social worlds. In short, the band was seen as an escape from a predicament that subordinate Filipinos belonging to a different *habitus* were destined to endure. The families who could afford music training, in most cases, belonged to a higher class and, therefore, ensured the stability of their status through the constant production and reproduction of symbols, prestige, and material properties in order to maintain their position.

Concomitantly, the acquired cultural resources of the bandmasters, through investment in music training, afforded them to exercise symbolic domination that Bourdieu defines as "the control over the meaning people convey to the world. It is mediated through culturally bounded knowledge and through the symbolic dimensions in public life" (Gordon et. al 38). Having attained this symbolic capital in the form of cultural knowledge, bandmasters achieved a status that is similar to cultural elites. In a colonial society, the *habitus* of the distinguished enlarged their social network for it allowed them to access the realm of power. The established

structure of the Spanish regiments, representing the hierarchical organization of the dominating class, was penetrated by the native bandmasters by rising to the top and most prestigious position in the regimental bands. Upon exercising his musical direction over his constituents, made up of both Spanish and Filipino musicians, the band leader was afforded a status that transformed the normal social order. In their role as regimental band leaders, the Filipino bandmasters opened the possibility of natives being able to transcend racial inequality in that they became counterparts of the Spanish colonial officials inside the structure of the band and, to some extent, by gaining the respect—and, consequently, favorable social status—of the dominant Spanish friars as they were also made to play in many church-related activities. Aside from these, the frequent open-air concerts at the Luneta and the almost weekly soirées and balls were social events where the Filipino bandmasters were inevitably exposed to a socialization process that brought them closer to the dominating class, thereby establishing social relationships that converted their accumulated cultural capital into a more social one. Bourdieu emphasized that "symbolic capital which is in the form of prestige and renown attached to a family and a name is readily convertible back into economic capital, [and] is perhaps the most valuable form of accumulation in a society" (Bourdieu 179).

Conversions into economic capital are exhibited through the activities of many bandmasters who have either been employed as band leaders of civilian bands, as music teachers in the various colleges in the early twentieth century, as composers, or as businessmen. Two bandmasters are prominent in the conversion of their accumulated cultural capital into economic capital. The first is Lorenzo Ilustre, who opened a one-stop supermarket in the center of Batangas City after he retired from the Spanish regimental band in 1897. He capitalized on his esteemed status as Batangas's town maestro, which lured many citizens to frequent the only shop of its kind that sold a variety of goods in one roof. The other bandmaster is Jose Sabas Libornio, who, bringing with him only his expertise as a form of cultural capital, sailed to Hong Kong, Hawaii, San Francisco, and South America, where he finally settled. After establishing himself as a respectable musician in Peru, he ascended the Peruvian military hierarchy and eventually founded a conservatory in Lima. The conversion of his cultural capital into a tangible institution that nurtured and developed young Peruvians ensured economic self-sufficiency for him and contributed to the development of culture in Peru.

The recruitment of many Filipino musicians to other countries in Asia in the nineteenth century also indicates the transformation of cultural capital into other forms. The social network established in the elite communities during the late nineteenth century opened the possibilities of overseas connection. These were

later used as social capital that allowed for opportunities of a new life, away from the colonial grip, as well as the chance of earning higher income—thereby accumulating economic capital.

Analyzing individually the rise of esteemed Filipino bandmasters into their positions of power, it can be observed that their upward mobility also reflects the acquisition of respectability and reproduces their cultural capital, which at this point may already be converted to economic capital. As such, they were afforded a dominant position in the interplay of power-related social events by, for example, extending their musical leadership outside of the Spanish regiments and influencing their communities.

CONCLUSION

In the very active musical milieu at the turn of the twentieth century, one of the most important and influential forces was the figure of the Filipino bandmaster. Shaped by the hegemonic colonial master into "docile bodies" that could easily be subjugated to perform the necessary functions dictated by the dominant power, the bandmaster, as well as the trained native musicians, accumulated cultural capital in the process. Thus, band tradition in the Philippines reflects a modernity that allowed for the appropriation of a highly westernized form of music-making and its integration into the fabric of Philippine societies—including the recognition of the attainment of cultural capital among the esteemed bandmasters who, through their *habitus*, were able to design and shape their individual strategies, which, in turn, allowed them to exercise a symbolic domination over subjects whose lives were structured by colonialism.

Mostly originating from lower middle class Filipino families, many of the local musicians who became bandmasters in the Spanish regimental bands were already exposed to the class-based cultural orientation of their parents. Their possession of exceptional musical skills made possible—through the conscious propagation of the cultural capital accumulated by their parents—their social class, exercising the essential production and reproduction of the said cultural capital to maintain their position in the field. Such accumulation of cultural capital, converted into other forms of capital, add to the prestige and renown attached to their respective families, thus making them accrue more power in the form of social, economic, and symbolic capital. This noble distinction allowed them to exercise dominance in the community as part of their acquired status and prestige as highly regarded maestros in their respective abodes.

The Filipino bandmasters acquired their distinguished status by nurturing their *habitus*—capitalizing on their early orientation and training, eventually sealing it with the completion of the socialization process. Social networking was seen at work in the connections created with the various existing organizations and guilds of band musicians and bandmasters, both Filipinos and Spaniards, particularly those who had the power to choose possible new bandmasters and recommend to the Directory of Arms of the Spanish colonial government. Aside from the Spanish regiments, the civic functions of the bands also afforded their Filipino bandmasters occasions for enriching their *habitus* through valuable socialization processes within the community. Thus, the Filipino bandmaster, as having agency, became a representation of Bourdieu's "social actor," for he had successfully appropriated western musical tradition while sheltered in a hegemonic social structure. The authority residing in the town maestro's status had influenced the shaping of his identity and, in the process, contributed to the advancement of his community.

ENDNOTES

[1] Frailocracy is defined by O.D. Corpuz as the "pervasive domination of Filipino life by the friars" (145). Graciano Lopez Jaena, a Filipino ilustrado and one of the reformers of the Propaganda Movement who lived in Spain in the 1880-90s, delivered a speech in Barcelona on 25 February 1889 to a mixed Filipino and Spanish audience on the occasion of the Universal Exposition of 1889. He exposed the maladies suffered by the Filipino natives in the hands of the Spanish friars, declaring that the latter were the "sucking parasites in the organic, social, moral, and political life of the suffering people."

[2] *Zarzuela* is the more popular form of musical drama performed by singers, together with brass bands and orchestras in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial era. Introduced in the late nineteenth century, it is considered as the counterpart of the Italian operetta. (Santos, D*ictionary of Philippine Musical Terms, First Edition 2013*).

[3] Mallat wrote, "It felt that on simple minds and naïve hearts, brutal force had much less power than the gentleness and the prestige of religion, above all the Catholic religion with its ceremonies so full of pomp and majesty. How could these savages have resisted the sight of those rich raiments, those long and magnificent processions, those flowers strewn on the paths of the priests, those clouds of incense issuing from censers, the music and those chants so somber and so simple, while at the close of the services, fraternal meals gathered priests and neophytes at the same time?" (43-44) For more discussion on how Spain used religion and its aggrandizement in dominating its new colony in the far east, see Jean Mallat's *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce*.

[4] Irving notes that it was Fr. Juan de Santa Martha, who arrived in Manila in 1606 but shortly left for Japan, who gathered four hundred boys in Lumbang, Laguna to be taught how to sing chants and make and play instruments. His sources are Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, "Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio, Papa, El Magno,

Doctor de la Iglesia: de Religiosos Descalzos de N.S.P. San Francisco En las Islas Philipinas, China, Japon &c., Parte segunda" *Chronicas*, 2:17 and Ma. Concepcion Echevarria Carril, "La musica franciscana en Filipinas (ss. XVI-XIX)," *Nassarre* 9.2 (1993): 200. This is also reported by Mantaring in her Master's Thesis in 1983 (376), quoting Chronicas Parte segunda, published in 1741, and Fr. Domingo Martinez, "El primero compendia todo lo que toca a esta Provincia, e Islas Philipinas," 1756. In Bañas's *Pilipino Music and Theater*, he noted that the Franciscan priest who established a seminary was Fr. Juan de Garovillas (29).

[5] The official courses offered at the *Colegio de Niños Tiples de la Santa Iglesia Catedral* were vocalization, harmony, piano, violin, and organ. The music textbooks they used for these courses were: Romero for vocalization, Eslava for singing and harmony, Aranguren for the piano, Alard for violin, and Gimeno for organ. The teaching staff comprised of a director, vice director, three music professors, and an academic teacher of primary instruction (Bañas 111).

[6] Defined by Schumacher as the annual forty days of labor on public works required of indios and mestizos. It has been a subject of Lopez Jaena's articles in 1883, which attacked the *polos y servicios* as symbols of the vassalage of the Filipinos and advocated its immediate abolition in order to eradicate the distinctions between peninsular, Spanish mestizo, Chinese mestizo, and native (Schumacher 42).

[7] The First Treaty on Music presenting the Organization of the Regimental Band, taken from Legislacion Militar: Ejercito de Filipinas (Tratado I) reads: "*El Real decreto do 10 de Mayo de 1875 organizo las musicas, dispomendo que constasen de un Musico mayor y de los musicos primeros, segundos, terceros y educantos necesarios. Los Musicos mayors son consedarados como los ultimos Alfereces, prove yendosesus plazas poroposicionque anunciara el Cuerpo opotunamente; y no pueden serseparados del servicio mas que a soliciuid propia o porresultado de expediente en donde se justifique la cause se la saparacion. Los musicosprimeros, segundos, terceros y educando sestina similados respectivamente a Sargentos primeros, Sargentos segundos, Cabos primeros y soldados, y sus plazas pueden sercubiertas por voluntaries filiados portiempofijo y porindividuos de tropa, segunsumerito, sujetostodos a la Ordenanzamilitary*" (Moriones 87-91).

[8] *Pas* is a French word meaning a step or dance in a ballet. *Pas de deux* is a dance performed by two dancers. Another meaning of the word *pas* is "not" (Thompson 1367) used to negate, as in "pas trop lent," not too slow. From the musical sheets of pas redouble, this writer has inferred that it is a piece typically for wind instruments in duple meter, with a tempo similar to marches and characterized by bass line that jumps from tonic to dominant in the 1st and 2nd beats of each measure, complemented by chords in the second half of each beat. The bass is playful and signifies rhythmic movement that displays animated improvisatory technique.

[9] Tiples are boys with high singing voice. (Santos, *Dictionary of Musical Terms* 385)

[10] Vaudeville is a type of variety show that includes musical numbers, but without the common theme of a *Revue*, which proliferated in late nineteenth and early twentieth century America. (Burkholder, Peter, et al. A20)

[11] Typically, the church brass band would also mean the regimental band if the town is one of the places where the seven regiments are stationed. Otherwise, the band would be composed of musicians trained by their local maestros or priests who were adept in music.

[12] A more complete quotation from Palgrave's book reads, "Within the church, the rite and ceremonies of the day … are much what they might be in any small provincial town of Spain itself. But the music, contributed by a native brass band, is not European, merely but, the most of it, operatic. The 'Gloria' is accompanied by an inspiring air of the 'Trovatore,' the 'Credo' cheered by a melodious adaptation from the 'Barbiere' and the host elevated to a passionate outburst of the 'Traviata.' But whatever may be thought of the suitableness of the music to the occasion and place, it meets beyond a doubt all the aesthetic requirements of the worshippers, and is well executed besides; not a village of any importance throughout the length and breadth of the Philippines but has its band of carefully selected and expensive brass instruments and skilled players to match" (Palgrave 146-147). This prompted Pope Pius X to issue an encyclical in 1903, the *Motu Propio*, which discouraged the use of orchestras and brass bands to accompany masses, and return to the singing of chants, but the appeal went unheeded for half a century (Javellana and Brillantes 96-100).

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