

## The Ati-atihan as Narrative Structure of *State of War*

---

Ruth Jordana L. Pison

Critiques of Ninotchka Rosca's *State of War* have generally focused on the political implications of the novel. Not much has been written on how the novel makes use of the Festival (which I assume to be the atí-atihan festival of Aklan or Cebu) as the structural motif holding four hundred years of Philippine history together. This paper will explore the function of the atí-atihan in *State of War*; on how the atí-atihan as a folk practice is used as a device which at the same time contributes to the socio-political implications of the novel.

*State of War* revolves around three characters — Anna Villaverde, Eliza Hansen and Adrian Banyaga, whose lives happen to be inextricably linked to one another. The novel starts with the three characters on their way to the island of K- in order to attend a Festival. Divided into three sections ("The Book of Acts," "The Book of Numbers" and "The Book of Revelations"), the novel starts and ends with this Festival which happens during the Martial law years in the Philippines. *State of War* is fiction used as a means of re-writing history — a "history that forbids (or ought to) a simple relation to or a linear interpretation of the past and that insistently raises the question of how it is to be known" (Sangari 218; underscoring mine). The novel decenters traditional history by rejecting a mimetic representation of history. It can be compared to Michel Foucault's history as "counter-memory" which reads history "against its grain" by actively reading and interpreting past events (Marshall 151). Like counter-memory, *State of War* asserts its presence in history by interrogating established "facts." "The Book of Numbers," which starts with the Spanish period and ends with the liberation of the Philippines from the Japanese, takes the readers through four hundred years of Philippine history. As it re-reads Philippine history by making fun of Philippine customs and traditions, *State of War* implies that nothing is sacred in history. History cannot claim to be a

transcendental truth or a repository of undisputable "facts."

As *State of War* questions the "truths" of traditional history, it points out that "behind the always recent, avaricious, and measured truths. . . [lies] the ancient proliferation of errors" (Marshall 158). Take for example the line "The crazy old coot, took five ships and circumsised the globe" which is repeated throughout the novel by "brats who swung jumping ropes to the rhythm of an historical error" (230). Generations of children have repeated the same words – oblivious to the error in the use of the word "circumsised" as it had been embedded in history. This is a kind of error which "cannot be refuted" as it was hardened into an unalterable form in the long baking process of history" (Marshall 158). This is just one of the historical errors which bring the characters together in an endless cycle. The recurrence of historical events and errors convinces Anna that she and the rebel Guevarra are

. . . ordained to meet each other again, through time, re-enacting stories of love, of abuse, of kindness, of betrayal . . . . But of kindness above all, which enabled them to survive which in turn allowed the archipelago to keep dreaming its history (381).

Tracing the roots of martial law to our mangled past, *State of War's* use of marvellous realism as a means of presenting "historical facts" enables it to foreground events which have been glossed over by hegemonic history. It is interesting how a folk practice in the form of a festival is used vis-a vis marvelous realism to drive home the point of the novel.

As a country of beginnings, the Philippines in the novel turns out to have a hazy history; people seem to suffer from historical amnesia which dooms them to commit the same mistakes repeatedly. Yet the haziness and indeterminacy of Philippine history in the novel need not be taken in a negative light. When marvelous realism blurs history, it is in fact answering a post-colonial society's need for a means to describe and radically assess itself in order to question the "categories through which the West has constructed other cultures either in

its own image or as alterity" (Sangari 221).

It is not only by presenting a hazy history that *State of War* questions post-colonial realities. The use of the Festival is likewise a means of subverting the status quo which also contributes to the haziness of Philippine history.

Raymond Williams' theory on cultural practices is useful in analysing traditions, institutions and social formations as interrelated and variable processes, including folk practices or folklore.

It is necessary to identify the dynamics of a culture's movements and tendencies, and see how they are connected to the whole cultural process. Focusing on a selected and abstracted dominant system is not enough in any historical analysis (Williams 120) because there are other social formations. Williams identifies three major "elements" in culture: the dominant/hegemonic, the residual, and the emergent. The hegemonic is that which dominates a social structure whereas the emergent consists of new values, meanings, and relationships that continuously develop. These are not merely new elements of the dominant culture but an entirely different formation which is in opposition to the former (Williams 123).

Residual elements belong to a culture's past. But these elements are still active in contemporary cultural processes; they are effective elements of the present. In any culture, there are "certain practices, meanings and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture . . . , [ but are] nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of residue — cultural as well as social — of some previous social and cultural institution or formation" (Williams 121-2).

The important aspect of a culture's residual elements is the latter's potential to be an alternative to the dominant culture. This is the reason why the dominant culture does not allow residual experiences/practices "go out of hand." There is a constant attempt of the dominant culture to incorporate the residual through reinterpretation, dilution, projection,

discriminating inclusion and exclusion (Williams 123). This is how selective tradition operates; this is how the subversiveness of a residual practice is contained.

The Festival (Ati-atihan) in *State of War* may be considered a residual element. In considering it as such, the potential of this folk practice can be brought to light. Like other residual elements of a society, the Festival's "large part . . . relates to [an] earlier social formation and phases of the cultural process, in which certain real meanings and values were generated." Although meanings and values of the Ati-atihan had been created in actual societies of the past, they are still important to contemporary culture because they express experiences, goals, aspirations and achievements which the dominant culture neglects, undervalues, opposes, represses or refuses to recognize (Williams 124).

Most folk practices are dismissed as foolish, false and anachronistic social elements; modern societies consider these practices leftovers of earlier stages of human development. Others, however, still hold a romantic view of folklore — a view resulting from the way rationalism during the Enlightenment reacted to folk practices. Thus, the romantic view holds folk practices as the foundation of a true or authentic national culture (Bauman 31). Neither view is able to bring out the various possibilities of folk practices. By maintaining extreme views of the Ati-atihan, the potentially subversive in this social practice is glossed over.

There are claims that the Ati-atihan is not rooted in Christianity and is only a celebration of the arrival of the ten Bornean datus in Aklan (Belizon 16). However, it is common knowledge that the participants in this festival carry the image of the Sto. Niño, the Child Jesus. It is for this reason that attention will be given to this Christian icon and its meaning and significance in the cultural practice of Ati-atihan. Most history books claim that the Sto. Niño was the icon given as a token of goodwill by the Spaniards to Raja Humabon's queen.

Centuries later, we are still witnesses to the cult of the Child Jesus which consists of two components: the belief in the

Child's miraculous powers and the Sinulog festival performed in honor of the icon. A re-reading however, of Antonio Pigafetta's *First Voyage Around the World* will reveal that the Cebuanos already had their own image of a child to which they were devoted. Besides, devotion to the icon of the Child seems to have been a universal practice; it has been observed in Mesopotamia, Egypt and India, the last being the possible source of our country's tradition (Vano 144).

In 1565, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and his men attacked the inhabitants of Cebu, they found four images of the Holy Child in the burned houses of the natives. There were speculations on the origin of the image which all concurred on one fact, *i.e.*, the image was neither carrying a cross nor a globe. It is very possible therefore that one of the Spaniards who arrived with Magellan to the Philippines carved the image of the Child Jesus when he saw the natives pay respect to a similar image, or that the Spaniards discovered the image of the Child while they were searching for gold and spices. Whatever the origin may have been, the Spaniards thought it wise to present the image as that of Jesus towards convincing the queen to accept Christianity (Vano 45).

Legazpi even asked the Cebuanos about the image's origin and they informed him that it had been with them ever since and that the people revered the image so much because of the favors it had bestowed on them (Zuniga 33-4). Thus, according to the accounts cited above, the Holy Child was not given to the Filipinos; this icon which started a cult in some European societies only spread after Magellan saw the image being revered by Humabon's queen.

It is interesting to note that the Augustinian priests, when they were informed in 1960 by Cebuano scholars of the natives' belief in the Holy Child long before the arrival of Magellan, painted the black image of the Child pinkish white. They later on even hired a sculptor who "narrowed the base of the nose and heightened the nosebridge and made it very pointed to make the image look Spanish" (Tenaza 5-6).

Notwithstanding the appropriation of the Sto. Niño by the Spaniards, the Filipino masses refused to believe that only the Catholic church had the exclusive right to the child. They did not accept Spain's claim that the image was their gift to the Filipinos (Vano 47).

The discussion on the origin of the Sto. Niño establishes two points. The first is that the image is not exclusive to the Sinulog festival but is also a major part of the celebration of Ati-atihan. The second is that what has always been seen as a festival in honor of the Catholic icon has its roots in pre-Hispanic Filipino culture.

The Sto. Niño should have been totally identified with the Spaniards with the promotion of our country as a tourist haven. Tourist advertisements have identified most of our festivals with the Catholic religion and this has silenced most of our indigenous practices. As regards the image of the Holy Child, it was in fact, considered to "possess sincerity, sympathy for the weak, humanity and loveliness which made him more of a figure head to the natives than to the Spaniards" (Vano 47). Herein lies the silenced aspect of a folk practice.

It is not surprising then that the Festival in *State of War* alludes to the Ati-atihan (the chants of *Hala Bira!* by the participants established this) and uses it as a motif. Running through the entire novel, the image of the Ati-atihan builds tension and establishes the novel's atmosphere and mood; amidst this tension, the status quo is always threatened and the hegemony, always questioned.

The Ati-atihan serves as the structure of the novel. Like the festival, the novel is characterized by an opening ceremony, a ritual, a drama/contest, a feast, dance and music and concluding events which lead to an increase in intensity and greater noise (Bauman 266).

Festivals used to be indigenous religious practices but were denigrated by modern religion "to a position peripheral to the core of ritual life." Indigenous practices were able to survive

under new names and disguised their origins by claiming to be secular . Thus, in modern societies, festivals and rituals are separate events, the former generally dismissed as pagan, recreational and for children only (Bauman 262).

The spectacle associated with the ati-atihan has outdone other rituals in terms of being a symbolic text through which contemporary societies express their values, beliefs, values and self-understandings. Although spectacles are surrogates of religious rituals, the latter are more likely to be creative vehicles of change (Manning 291). The way the Festival is described in *State of War* shows this potential:

. . . Multicolored paper buntings had been strung overhead, straddling roads and gaps between house roofs, while at every street corner bamboo stalls had been set up and piled high with necklaces of boars' teeth, death masks, spears and shields . . . . Each intersection was guarded by a panoply of bamboo . . . and flowers. . . . In the midst of this riot of equatorial hues and smells, the townpeople walked, themselves arrayed in palm fronds, flowers, feathers, and seashells . . . the crowd pranced, hopped, and ululated to the alternating fast and slow rhythm of pagan drums whose beat seemed both distant and near, coming now from one end of the mainplaza, now from the sky overhead . . . radiating from the town's center (14-5).

The participants of the festival are warriors marching to the beat of the drums, "hurling war cries and chants at the crowd." There is also a flock of transvestites followed by soldiers.

There is a major shift in focus of subject matter when festivals communicate meaning to the mass audience — there is a move from the attention given to everyday experiences to practices which are transformative of social life. "Such a frame shift does not rule out the mundane or the dangerous; commercial transactions flourish in many festivals and mask and costume have on occasion disguised bloody violence" (Stoeltje 263).

This disguised violence is subtly interwoven in the events in the novel. Upon learning that his grandson is attending the Festival at K-, Old Andy Banaga exclaims: "A fiesta? The October harvest must be in. Does blood still stain the rice?" (134). A sense of conflict is also felt when the movements of those attending the Festival are described:

A phalanx of young men, legs scissoring, arms on one another's shoulders, scattered the crowd near the Town Hall. *Hala, bira! Hala bira! Hala bira!* On the sidewalk, a band of women ran alongside, one or two breaking off from time to time to dart across the street, daring the men to trample them underfoot. "Off, off," the young men shouted in harmony . . . We'll crush you! Hey! Slam into you! . . . (74).

Even Anna Villaverde, upon learning about the bomb planted by the rebels to kill the President, and upon witnessing the frenzy around her, mutters: "We've lost our minds. Remind me never to go to another fiesta " (60). It is this frenzy and maniacal mood of the festival which pervade the novel.

Another aspect of the novel which makes it potentially seditious is the *Ati-atihan's* orality. Its medium of transmission and the social configuration of the learning situation of a festival enable it to be flexible and variable; as a symbolic text, the *ati-atihan* becomes open to more meanings and values. This structure proves to be a powerful social force; the *ati-atihan* is continuously informed by tradition, ideology, social notions and other practices of everyday life.

The *Ati-atihan* turns out to be a polyphonic text with several centers. The fact that everybody is welcome to join the festival and dance to the beat of the drums adds to the power of the celebration. This can be related to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of a dialogic text. The work's (in our case, the *Ati-atihan's*) unity cannot be monologic because of the presence of many voices not governed by a single authority (Bakhtin 254). The presence of many participants in the festival breaks down the monologic unity of the symbolic order.



Bahktin's discussion of the dialogic text is significant because it is able to bring out the latent meanings of cultural practices which have been silenced or incorporated within the dominant system by hegemonic social forces. The Ati-atihan as dialogue involves

a constant redefinition of its participants, develops and creates numerous potentials "in" each of them "separately" and between them "interactively" and "dialogically" . . . no single interaction could exhaust the potential value of future exchanges. Both dialogue and the potentials of dialogue are endless . . . . The final word has not yet been spoken and never will be spoken (Bahktin 52).

The shared experiences of the participants in a festival gives the latter multiple meanings and values. Adrian, upon musing on the experiences of Anna and Eliza wonders if "anyone, anywhere in the world, had created a story for the two. Or for the three of them — for there was no doubting his own role as fairy-tale prince. Perhaps the Festival would weave it for them . . ." (13).

Anna also senses the Festival's ability to constantly create meanings. Like Adrian and Eliza, Anna feels that her feet have "found their niche in the drumbeats; . . . she had the disquieting thought that she was dancing the pattern of her life and though the young man followed his own choreography, somehow, they managed to keep in step by obeying the drums" (17). The multiple codes and channels of the Ati-atihan somehow link the lives of the characters who find themselves in the midst of a state of war.

Relating the dialogic to Raymond William's discussion on the hegemonic, residual and emergent, it becomes more apparent how residual elements are potentially subversive. Cultures are not closed semiotic systems because in each of them "lie immense semantic possibilities that have remained undisclosed, unrecognized, and unutilized throughout the entire historical life of a given culture" (Stoeltje 270). Such possibilities can be very useful at other times and places, a manifestation of which, is how

*State of War* makes use of the Ati-atihan.

It is possible to relate the sense of non-closure in a festival to how the doors of almost all houses are flung open to guests and how every room is available to the pilgrim (14). It is also this sense of non-closure which turns the Ati-atihan into a festival of memories. Anna for example, finds herself

. . . listening to a song of boats sailing the heavens, one of which was carrying away the woman who said no, thanks but no thanks. . . she remembered, Lord, how she remembered, the memory that had been her birthright rising to reclaim her. The bells. The rain of harp notes. The woman screaming her way to death on a sofa . . . . Infinity's odor in a hot cup of cocoa. A monk's bones, torn from their crypt by the flood of '72, washed clean now by river currents. An omen come true (346).

Also contributing to the rich possibilities of a festival is its relationship to the past, present and future. Although festivals focus on the past by virtue of their being residual elements, they nevertheless happen in the present and for the present, but are directed towards the future (Stoeltje 268). This interrelationship underlies the novel which spans four hundred years of Philippine history. It is also manifested in the exchange of words between Anna and Eliza who find themselves amidst the phantasmagorical Festival :

"What does Amor want?" Eliza whispered. . .

"Innocence" she [Anna] said.

"And Adrian?"

Anna Shrugged. "A life to live," she said and breathed audibly. . .

And because she was warrior of the moment, Eliza asked her last question, teasing her friend. . .

"What does Anna want?"

Anna raised her face to the sky. "A burial," she said through gritted teeth. "An end to a story. . .

Eliza's heart contracted with foreboding. She saw herself caught like her friend, dancing in circles without beginning, without end. As she danced, the drums intoned: four hundred years of action without

achievement; of movement without distance. . . (146).

"Innocence," "A life to live," and "A burial" — the past the present and the future.

Pervading the entire novel is the intensity of the Ati-atihan — the beat of the drums, the screams, the frenzy. There is a sense of trouble already brewing at the beginning and this slowly builds up to the end of the novel.

. . . such was the power of the ceremonies at K-, on the windward side of the island, that whenever festivals were mentioned, K - sprang readily to mind. Perhaps because the Festival here was a singular evocation of victory in a country of too many defeats. Or perhaps because the first celebration went beyond the memory of the grandfather of the grandfather of the oldest grandfather at K-, which made it no one's and yet everyone's personal history. . . (13).

The novel starts off with the above description of the celebration. Although the Festival is pretty much harmless at the beginning, the novel slowly reveals the immanent trouble which will be encountered by the characters. Adrian, Anna, and Eliza attend the Festival in order to forget their problem (they have been involved in political matters in Manila and the two women have been continuously hounded by the military). However, what they find at the very heart of the Ati-atihan are the very same problems, heartaches and frustrations. "The festival's perimeter of safety had turned out to be no larger than a ten-block-long and five-block-wide plaza, with the church at one end and the town hall at the other. A step outside and, immediately, the stench of war was in one's nostrils, unmistakable, inescapable" (135).

It is not only in terms of being open-ended that *State of War* becomes potentially subversive. Vis-a-vis the portrayal of the Ati-atihan, the novel frankly questions Christian practices which have been observed throughout history. In its project to parody how the Filipinos' most treasured Catholic rituals emerged, the novel humorously presents the role of Mayang in

the creation of these rituals:

. . . Living protected by his [monk's ] power and yet outcast by her status as a priest's whore, she [Mayang] was both in the center of and yet outside the half-pagan, half-Catholic society of the bustling city of Malolos . . . she became a character, driving her caleche herself . . . . Because she borrowed odds and ends of clothing and jewels from the life-size Virgin Mary, her saunter through the city and its towns were often a spectacle to rival the interminable religious parades with which the friars occupied themselves. . . she drew in her wake men, women, and children who stared at, ran after, and hailed her passing, calling her witch, whore, saint, patroness, insane. She would stop at intersections and accept rolled-up petitions which, for a coin or two, she promised to bring to the attention of the proper saint, prodding the statue with whip lashes every twilight until the request was granted. In the course of these rituals, the peasants somehow inverted her idea of coercing the holy powers and began flagellating themselves instead, in the hope that such a sacrifice of blood would appeal to the white gods whom they took to be murderous and rapacious as the representatives of the Royal Viceroy of Mexico which ruled the archipelago. . . (156).

The ritual started by Mayang becomes the standard spectacle during Lent in the Philippines; it is also the very same ritual which her great-granddaughter Anna Villaverde witnesses at a "festival confused by time and history" (156).

By illustrating the absurdity of such rites, *State of War* emphasizes the effects of Christianity in the Philippines — doctrinal/official Catholicism vis-a-vis varied folk Catholicism which resulted in a number of problems: idolatry, superstition, magic, combined with the infrequent administration of sacraments (Phelan 160). Because the pre-Hispanic world of the Philippines was populated by spirits which were not eliminated by the advent of Christianity, the Spaniards attempted to interpret this world in a way which would justify their policies in the Philippines (Phelan 26).

Christianity was not presented to the "infidels" as a more perfect form of pagan rituals but as an entirely new set of beliefs. Any similarity between the two were rejected as a conspiracy through which the devil tricked the natives by copying the rites of Christianity. Since there were no temples to destroy, sacred groves were cut down and pagan idols were burned; ironically, the "natives" were both bewildered and fascinated at the same time (Phelan 53-4).

According to Vicente Rafael, the evangelization of the Philippines produced a syncretic form of Catholicism — the natives used the signs and symbols of the missionaries but they formulated their own meanings out of these symbols. Contributing to the split-level Christianity was the fact that the Spanish priests, who were not enough in number to convert all Filipinos, lost control of the direction and form of the Catholic religion because they prevented Filipinos from entering the priesthood (Vano 42).

The failure of the missionaries became more apparent in the 17th century when the three sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction and holy orders were no longer of great importance to the Filipinos. Moreover, only the minimum requirements for penance and the eucharist were met (Phelan 71).

The syncretic kind of Christianity is what Adrian, Anna, and Eliza witness during the Festival at K-, the Ati-atihan being a proof not only of a miscegenation of cultural practices but also of the silencing of their rich possibilities.

The Festival awoke to a Latin mass celebrated by three priests at the town's main church. Bells, whistles, and drums. As the din rose over the town, the barbaric throng within the church swelled and spilled to the outside veranda . . . . It became impossible to line up before the altar for communion . . . . Thus, with forbearance and a long wait, all who wished for the sacrament received it: warriors and urbanites, transvestites, the malformed, the soldiers, the children. The odd congregation bent its head, fist striking the

breast thrice in a confession of frailty.

As the bells signaled the mass's end, men and women plunged through the church portals and threw themselves back into the Festival, dancing even without the drums, their music human shrieks . . . (361).

The discussion above has shown how folk practices such as festivals which are generally dismissed as pagan and for children only, are replete with latent values. The Ati-atihan functions not only as a means of questioning Philippine history but also as a way of interrogating its very nature as a festival. By using the Ati-atihan as structure, the polyphonic nature of the novel is further emphasized. *State of War's* "several consciousness meet and engage in a dialogue that is in principle unfinalizable" (Bahktin 239). The participants of the Ati-atihan invest themselves in the discourse of the festival and this discourse is woven into the dialogic form of human life, and ultimately into the world symposium (Bahktin 60).

What is more important in a festival such as the Ati-atihan is not only its undisclosed semantic possibilities but also its regenerative nature. Through the creation of new frames and processes and the rearrangement of structures, a festival can strengthen a groups' identity and can likewise express social issues. The power of a festival as a regenerative form lies in its ability to enact social life and shape the "expressive enterprise of human society" (Stoeltje 271).

Participants in festivals experience transformation and regeneration in various forms: personal affirmation, political action and social revitalization (Stoeltje 270). *State of War* ends with a sense of both personal and social affirmation. The explosion of the bomb planted by the rebels affected the lives of the characters in an irreversible way. Consider Chapter 4 of "The Book of Revelations" which provides dossier-like information on the lives of the novel's characters:

ITEM: Though crippled, Adrian Banyaga survived. He replaced his grandfather in wheelchair . . . . The explosion seemed to have hurled Adrian into a time

warp, fixing him forever in a maze of words, a verbal account of four hundred years, tortured and tormenting . . . .

ITEM: Eliza's body washed ashore four days after the Festival . . . . When no one claimed the body, they [fishermen] poured gasoline over the decaying flesh and set it afire . . . . The bones they gathered and took home, to be split and carved into wind chimes which would hang at windows and doors. It was said that the remains of the Festival's tribute to the sea brought good fortune.

ITEM: Colonel Alejandro Batoyan fell ill a month later and succumbed to a systemic disorder that saw his organs attacked by chemicals his own glands produced. . . .

ITEM: Guevarra was wounded and captured. Again. . . His friends resigned themselves to his absence. First, they said he was probably dead. Later, that he was dead. [But] from the south came comfort . . . . A fledgling guerilla group overran and destroyed a military base. The leader . . . called himself Guevarra.

ITEM: Anna Villaverde made it back to . . . Manila.

The sense of affirmation is not only due to Guevarra's possible survival but also comes with Anna's arrival at a village in Laguna. She settles among the villagers and becomes responsible for educating their children: "so many of them, even in this flea-sized village : dark and sturdy, small because of the food but with eyes like polished onyx" (380). Her arrival is announced by the cry of the *labuyo* a wild rooster whose presence was also felt by the revolutionaries during the Philippine-American war. The *labuyo* in the novel symbolizes hope and heralds a new beginning.

Yet, the most apparent sign of regeneration in the novel is Anna's pregnancy:

. . . the child was male, and would be born here, with the *labuyo* -- consort of mediums and priestesses-- in attendance. He would be nurtured as much by her milk as by the archipelago's legends -- already, she was tucking Guevarra's voice among other voices in her mind-- and he would be the first of the Capuchin

monk's descendants to be born innocent, without fate . . . She knew her son would be a great storyteller, in the tradition of the children of priestesses. He would remember, his name, being a history unto itself; for he would be known as Ismael Villaverde Banyaga (382).

With this realization, a post-colonial society which has suffered from an endless cycle of historical brutality and cultural violence is given hope — a new possibility.

## WORKS CITED

- Bahktin, Mikhail. *Creation of a Prosaics*. Trans. Gary Morson and Carlyle Emerson. California: Stanford UP, 1990.
- Bauman, Richard, ed. *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.
- Belicon, Humberto. "Pit Senyor." *Filipino Magazine*. January 31, 1994.
- Manning, Frank. "Spectacle." In *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments*. New York: Oxford UP, 1992.
- Marshall, Brenda. "Counter-Memory and Historiographic Metafiction: Christa Wolf's *Cassandra*, Timothy Findley's *Famous Last Words*, and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*." In *Teaching the Postmodern Fiction and Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Phelan, John Leddy. *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700*. Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin P, 1959.
- Sangari, KumKum. "The Politics of the Possible." In *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*. Ed. Abdul Jan Mohamed and David Lloyd. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.
- Stoeltje, Beverly. "Festival." In *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments*. Ed. Richard Bauman. New York: Oxford UP, 1990.
- Tenazas, Rosa. *The Sto. Niño of Cebu*. Cebu: San Carlos Publications, 1965.



Vano, Manolo. "Folk Religion and the Revolts in Eastern Visayas."  
*Diliman Review*, Tomo 43, Blg. 34, 1995.

Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. New York : Oxford UP,  
1977.

Zuniga, Joaquin. *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands*. Manila:  
Filipinana Book Guild, 1966.