

## READING NATION (NACION/PATRIA/PUEBLO/ BAYAN/BAHLEY) IN PHILIPPINE 20TH CENTURY ZARZUELAS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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When my granduncle Pablo Mejia, Pangasinan zarzuela writer, poet, musician, educator, painter, journalist, lexicographer, radio commentator, and public servant wrote and produced his zarzuelas with Olup Mejia during the first decades of the twentieth century, he was addressing a local audience whom he wanted to push to anger against the colonizers, and to infuse them with a love for *Filipinas*. The first task was easy; the second, much harder. Why?

Revenge, anger, wanting to get rid of the Spanish officials and especially the white *curas*, all these sentiments had already been articulated in the zarzuelas since, on the experiential level, the audience of Pablo Mejia knew what these meant.

The second notion of loving Filipinas (*patria /nacion/bayan/dalin ya ninakan*) and people of the islands beyond the boundaries of their respective *pueblo/bahley/bayan* (town) was more abstract; and thus, far more complex. Even more complicated was the concept of *damayan* (from just “sympathizing” to actually “sacrificing” even life and limb) for this abstract entity, Filipinas.

The problematique of this research is to re-cover and understand the concept of nation (French *patrie*; Spanish *nacion*, *patria*, *pueblo*) or its coeval terms in the Philippine languages (Tagalog Filipinas, *bayan/Inang Bayan*; Pangasinan *dalin Filipinas*, *dalin ya ninakan ko* or land of my birth, *luyag* or province, and *bahley* or town ), as well as, related concepts like *naciones*, *nacionalidades*, *nacionales*, *nacionalismo*, *nacionalista*, *revolucion*, *independiencia*, *progreso*, *kalayaan*; Pangasinan *kabahleyan mi* (our townmates), and *aligwas* (progress), found in the social discourses of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, to see whether or not these concepts were articulated through the twentieth century zarzuelas; and to suggest that the radical tradition of these twentieth century zarzuelas can be made relevant/be recuperated for the Filipinos of the twenty-first century in the age of globalization.

Filipinos today have ironically experienced the formal rituals of nation as in “flag independence” (Billig 2000), but have not necessarily experienced the effects of the real structures of a nation, and do not have a strong sense of national identity given a panoply of contending ethnic/class/linguistic/religious/gender interests. I believe that the larger agenda that a Filipino scholar should address is how our cultural practices, including the zarzuela, can support the twenty-first century struggle to win the “unfinished revolution” or to gain *kalayaan*.

In terms of scope of primary materials, the study shall focus on two extant zarzuelas of the first few decades of the twentieth century from Manila, Bulacan, and Pangasinan.<sup>1</sup> These include *Walang Sugat* (1902) of Severino Reyes of Manila and Bulacan; and *Panaun Aman* (1915) of Pablo Mejia of San Nicolas, Pangasinan.

In terms of secondary materials which could give us the context of the twentieth century zarzuelas and its possible radical role as part of the twenty-first century *pambansang teatro*, this research will go through theoretical and historical sources touching on those concepts of nation mentioned above; and historical and literary sources that address topics such as the rise of Philippine nationalism, the role

of Rizal and other revolutionaries and writers during the Propaganda Movement, the Philippine Revolution, the war against the Americans, the struggle for independiencía during the American colonial period; the peasant unrests of the 1920s-1930s, 1940s and the struggle for kalayaan.

I shall analyze these zarzuelas as instances/as illustrative of my research problematique within the context of variegated class/racial/ethnic/religious/linguistic/gender matrices.

My rhetorical strategy (conceptual /critical framework) shall involve a Philippine post-colonial reading (analysis) of the twentieth century zarzuelas. A post-colonial reading involves the twin strategies of critique and affirmation. I have clarified at length what I mean by this critical position in my earlier essays (Patajo-Legasto 2004a and 2004b).<sup>2</sup>

This research on the zarzuelas will be a critique of western hegemonic/imperial/metropolitan (western) discourses like “classical Orientalism”<sup>3</sup> which perpetuated a racial hierarchy in the Philippine colony under Spain. This was based on the belief that since the orient / the colony had a degenerative effect on human beings,<sup>4</sup> the “natives”/indios, and the other non-pure white groups of people living in the colony then were represented as the “other” of the white/European male who was the main signifier of values privileged by hegemonic western European societies, like Spain, from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. This study shall also be a critique of American racist discourses/master narratives that were used, especially during the early decades of the twentieth century, to judge our readiness for self-governance and self-determination. The latter continues to forward supposedly universal norms of identity-construction and nation-formation in the twenty-first century. Finally, this research shall critique the zarzuela’s negative treatment of marginalized groups—e.g., the “Moros,” the chinos, the chinese mestizos, the women, the so-called millenarian groups, the physically-challenged persons used as comic relief—to expose certain perceptions of the *ilustrado*, *principalia* and/or *anacbanua* members

that may have perpetuated attitudes which may have been the early signs of the fragmentation that today, in this twenty-first century, still complicate our attempts at constituting a nation, a unified but diverse Filipino society and a unified but diverse Filipino identity.

This research shall also be affirmative as it looks for alternative ways of “reading” our history and cultural practices; and as it foregrounds our own forms of knowledge-production. It shall study how the European master narratives of nation formation and identity construction were understood by our ilustrados studying in the continent in the nineteenth century. Moreover, it shall attempt to draw from our own historical and literary sources—specifically, Francisco Baltazar’s “Florante at Laura”; the vision of Padre Pedro Pelaez and Padre Jose Burgos; Jose Rizal’s *Me Tangere* and *El busterismo*, folk stories and the zarzuelas themselves—our own understanding of nation and societal change (revolucion, independiencia, progreso, *aligwas*, kalayaan). Thirdly, it shall attempt to recuperate how the early twentieth century zarzuela texts and their writers viewed their audiences/people (Tagalog *kababayan*; Pangasinan *kabahleyan mi*)—as belonging to a locale with palpable boundaries or as constituting a larger aggrupation of people, not necessarily bound by kinship ties, and going beyond those they might have met face to face in their lifetimes. Finally, this project will inquire into what can make the twentieth century zarzuela’s radical tradition relevant as a twenty-first century cultural practice (particularly as part of the pambansang teatro) in the twenty-first century’s national programmatic of pushing the “unfinished Philippine revolution.”

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Part I of this paper will trace the range of meanings of the concepts mentioned above to their western and local roots where the ilustrados like Jose Rizal, the propagandists, revolutionaries, and writers/artists/zarzuelistas could have derived these.

Part II will focus on two zarzuelas—Severino Reyes’s 1902 Tagalog zarzuela titled *Walang Sugat* (Not Wounded) and Pablo Mejia’s 1915 Pangasinan zarzuela titled *Panaun Aman* (The Past Era / *Noong Unang Panahon*).

Part III will essay several suggestions regarding the following: how the early twentieth century zarzuela tradition as a radical theater practice can be recuperated for the twenty-first century (as a new *sarsuwela* practice of the pambansang teatro / national theater) in the service of nation formation and national identity construction; how it can address national concerns of ethnic differences, multiple languages and dialects, religious differences, class inequities, moral degeneration, gender prejudices, and homogenization by an increasingly “rationalized” global world order. Or to put it in stronger terms, how the pambansang teatro (and the other cultural practices, in general) can push the twenty-first century national programmatic of the “unfinished revolution.”

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## I

I had said earlier, Part I would be a discussion on some basic concepts that were rife in Europe/the imperial center as well as in the colony which our ilustrados, propagandists and later revolutionaries might have imbibed and which may in turn have influenced the zarzuelistas in the colony.

“What is a Nation?” French scholar, Ernest Renan (2006), in an 1882 lecture at Sorbonne traced the development of the term *patrie* which is the French equivalent of the Spanish term *patria*.

According to Renan, the period which he refers to as “antiquity” did not have nations. Ancient Chaldea, China, and Egypt were not nations. They were constituted by “flocks of people led by a Son of the Son, or by a Son of Heaven”(ibid., 9). “Classical antiquity” by

which Renan meant the Greek cities and Rome, “had republics, municipal kingdoms, confederations of local republics...yet it can hardly be said to have nations...Athens, Sparta,Tyre and Sidon... were (simply) cities with a relatively restricted territory. Gaul Spain and Italy prior to their absorption into the Roman Empire were collections of clans...” Persian and Assyrian empires and the empire of Alexander the Great “were not *patries* (patrias)... but vast feudal structures” (ibid.).

When the Roman Empire split into eastern and western, the western half eventually became the Frankish empire under Charlemagne or Charles the Great from 768 to 814 which encompassed most of western and central Europe.

With the successful invasion of Italy (and the dethroning of the Lombards), Charlemagne was crowned Imperator Augustus of the Holy Roman Empire by Pope Leo III in 800 AD as a challenge to the Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople.

Then this unity of the west (the Frankish or Charlemagne Empire) was shattered in the mid-ninth century by the rivalry between the descendants/grandsons of Charlemagne—Charles the Bald whose territory centuries later became modern France, and Louis the German whose territory centuries later became modern Germany<sup>5</sup> (ibid., 9-10; 21 n. 4).

What were the “defining features” of these states/nations? Renan answers: It was “the fusion of their component populations.”

- Through religion—“Conqueror and conquered population had the same religion or, rather, when the conqueror adopted the religion of the conquered” (ibid., 10)
- Through language—Conquerors forgot their own tongue and spoke in the language of the conquered; and
- Through race—Conquerors, referring to “the Franks, Burgundians, Goths, Lombards, Normans had very few women of their own race with them. But these conquerors had sexual relations with local women like the wet nurses of their children, or/and found wives from among the conquered population. (ibid., 10)

In other words, for the two sets of territories conquered by Charles and Louis, in the mid-ninth century, “the fusion of their component populations” was effected through the emergence of commonalities within their respective conquered populations—i.e., a common religion, a common language and a common racial stock.

This is what we can glean as lessons from that particular historical period in the west as we ourselves grapple with our own problems of nation formation and identity construction.

Moreover, in tenth century France (as evidenced in the *chansons the geste*), according to Renan, all inhabitants were considered French. Differences between nobles and serfs were sharply drawn but in no sense were these (differences amongst the people) “presented as an ethnic (race) difference” (ibid., 10).

This fact will become relevant in our study of the context of theater in the Philippine colony during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when we start looking at the traditional European racial pyramid that was being perpetuated in the colony.

To return to Renan:

The modern nation is therefore a historical result brought about by a series of convergent facts...Unity has been:

- effected by a dynasty as was the case in France; or
- brought about by the direct will of provinces as was the case with Holland, Switzerland and Belgium; ...
- a work of a general consciousness, belatedly victorious over the caprices of feudalism ...as was the case in Italy and Germany. (ibid., 11-12)

According to other political theorists cited by Renan in his response to the question What is a nation?: “It was (originally) a dynasty (a family of feudal origin), representing an older conquest, one

which was first of all accepted and then forgotten by the mass of the people” (ibid., 12). In other words, the conquered people had forgotten the conquest.

Renan points to the following nations as starting from families of feudal origins:

- France had originated from the House of Capet which grouped all the territories and inhabitants of Gaul;
- Italy had the House of Savoy; and
- Holland had the House of Orange plus a heroic resolution. (ibid., 12)

However, by the eighteenth century, Renan asserts that “men returned from centuries of abasement (i.e., the period when they had forgotten their having been conquered) ... to the spirit of antiquity ... (Man returned) to a sense of himself...to the idea of his own rights... the words *patrie* and citizen recovered their former meanings” (ibid., 13). The reference to antiquity for Renan is associated with “classical republicanism”.

Renan adds: “It was we [the French] who founded the principle of nationality.” He was referring to France being “a nation (that) exists of itself” (ibid., 12). I understand this to mean that France’s nation-hood was not achieved through a monarch or a conqueror’s edict, but rather achieved through the French Revolution or by the people themselves.

Next question “By what criterion should one base his national right?” (i.e., Why should a man claim rights like others in the nation? What makes a man claim his rights as a member of a nation?)

The question is also related to “What makes a nation / a patrie?”

- Common race?
- Common religion?
- Common language?
- Common interests?
- Common geography?



Renan goes through each material determinant to answer the question “what makes a nation/patrie?” The answers, I shall reserve for the last part of this study (Part III) when I discuss the relevance of the twentieth century zarzuela to twenty-first century Philippines and twenty-first century Filipinos.

Finding the answers to the question is not just the problematique of this research; it is the larger programmatic of many attempts to get from our cultural practices (our literature, our theater, our music, our rituals, etc.) certain guideposts for forming a sense of the Philippine nation and a Filipino identity.

France, Germany as well as Spain and Italy (eventually) made their way, according to Renan to “full national existence” during the nineteenth century (ibid., 10).

According to Karl Marx in his pamphlet entitled *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*,<sup>6</sup> the values associated with the concept of patrie (which in turn, nineteenth century Europeans associated with classical republicanism of antiquity), “continued to influence the leaders of liberal, nationalist movements throughout the 19th century” (ibid., 21 n. 2).

So I shall now segue to our own leaders of the nineteenth century “liberal, nationalist” movement and to the ideas of the ilustrados and propagandists, starting with Jose Rizal.

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National Artist Virgilio Almario in his 2008 book entitled, *Si Rizal: Nobelista (Pagbasa sa at Bilang Nobela)*, is cited in the book’s blurb as having underscored the importance of reading Jose Rizal as a novelist:

Habang nagsasalin (Almario had just finished his translation of Rizal’s two novels in Spanish into Tagalog) ay lalong

natuklasan ni V.S. Almario ang kadakilaan ni Rizal bilang nobelista. Naisip niya (na) hindi ganap na pinahahalagahan ang mga nobela dahil malimit nakaukol ang pagbasa sa kabuluhang pampolitika ng mga ito. Bihirang basahin ang mga nobela—bilang akdang pampanitikan. Ito ngayon ang nag-udyok kay V.S. Almario upang sulatin ang *Si Rizal: Ang Nobelista*—mga sanaysay na naglalayong suriin ang sari-sari't pambihirang katangian pampanitikan ng *Noli* at *Fili*.

This injunction from Almario to read Rizal's novels<sup>7</sup> as literature (or even just to read Rizal's novels period), is particularly relevant to my generation (late 1960s to early 1970s) of undergraduate students at the University of the Philippines-Diliman. Why? Let me be candid, about my own subject-locations, since all scholars have perspectives/ subject-locations that arise from an overdetermination of forces.

In high school (early sixties), our nuns did not make us read Rizal's novels (although they made us memorize his poetry, "A La Juventud Filipino" and "Mi Ultimo Adios") because of their belief that the contents of *Noli* and *Fili* would make us heretics, even anti-Catholic Church.

When I entered UP Diliman in 1968, I became part of the generation that got involved in the First Quarter Storm (1970-1971) and which almost did not graduate when the University was ordered closed by the dictator, President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

Moreover, in the late sixties and early seventies, we were the UP Diliman generation that cut our teeth on Teodoro A. Agoncillo's (Agoncillo and Alfonso 1960; Agoncillo and Guerrero 1973) and then later, Renato Constantino's kind of historiography. Rizal was hardly mentioned, was even vilified as just an American-made hero, resulting from our "Veneration Without Understanding" (Constantino 1969). In Rizal's place, we were hero worshipping Andres Bonifacio and glorifying the *Revolt of the Masses* (Agoncillo 1956).

But that was in the sixties and the seventies before new studies on Jose Rizal like those by Reynaldo C. Ileto (1979) and Consolacion R. Alaras (1988) had brought from the historiographic margins those revaluations of Rizal as iconic figure among the religious *kapatiran*.

Ileto also, in *Filipinos and Their Revolution* (1998), referred to different readings of Rizal during the period of “Independence Politics: 1910-1914.” One reading of Rizal was that “the (American) colonial government...promoted the ‘nation-wide hero worship of Rizal...to transfer Filipino adoration away from the revolutionary heroes toward an advocate of pacifist and constitutional nationalism’” (Ileto 1998, 141; citing Constantino). A second reading of Rizal came from the “Filipino conservatives” among the elite. For them, Rizal “remained the symbol of evolutionary change: education before independence, the efficacy of the pen, the rule of law, and service to the nation” (ibid., 141).

But there was also a third reading of Rizal—a “subversive” reading:

His execution, or rather martyrdom, by the Spaniards was commemorated in Manila and other major towns from as early as 1898, under the auspices of the Malolos Republic. *His mode of death, having remarkably adhered to the model of Christ’s passion and death (a story particularly loved by the “lower class”), had transposed religious ideas of sacrifice and change to the area of politics, or at least blurred the boundaries between them.* (ibid., 141; emphasis mine)

Today, thus, there are numerous histories informed by a plurality of historiographic frameworks from which one can study the formation of our nation, and our national identity, as well as, view the contributions of our national, provincial and peoples’ heroes—each type of historiography given their labels ironically by their critics. Fr. John N. Schumacher has extensively studied these various approaches and expounded on their strengths and weaknesses in *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Filipino Nationalism* (1996).

- Those histories that focus on what their critics call “ilustrado nationalism,” “elite nationalism,” “history from above” or “evolutionary history” usually associated with Jesuit historians Fr. Jose S. Arcilla (1974 and 1991) and Fr. John N. Schumacher (1981);
- Those “secular” histories written from vehemently “anti clerical” or “anti Catholic” positions or “exclusively nationalist” (as differentiated from a “colonialist”) orientations usually identified with historians from Teodoro M. Kalaw (1925), Rafael Palma (1949) to Teodoro A. Agoncillo (1956; 1974);
- Those histories written from historical materialist, “economically deterministic,” class, Marxist perspectives associated with Renato Constantino (1975);
- Those “histories from below” whose main actors are the “millenarian” groups, the *katipunan* related to the “Little Tradition” or the religious *kapatiran* which focus on the iconicity of Rizal as avatar of Christ. For these *katipunan*, their struggle for revolution and social change is couched in the language of *the pasyon*, the life and death of Christ, which follow a “Lost Eden / Fall / Redemption” structure— histories written by Reynaldo C. Ileto (1979) and Consolacion R. Alaras (1988); and,
- Those recent histories that also look at other explanations for the Revolution, and the emergence of nationalism which were analyzed by Fr. John Schumacher, S.J. in *The Making of A Nation* (1996, 178-209, 252-262)—e.g., the roles of the Filipino clergy; (Schumacher 1996, 198-202 and 259) the “cosmopolitan/national elites”, the “local/provincial elites” (Guerrero 1982 and 1977); Philippine Masonry (Schumacher 1996, 156-167; 168-177); patron-client (landlords-tenants) relationships, the relationships

between *principales* and *caciques* and their followers (Schumacher 1996 citing Guerrero, 193-194); the bourgeois ideology of the Propaganda Movement and the Katipunan (Schumacher 1996 citing Fast and Richardson, 181-184); the transition from subsistence to cash crop agriculture; peasant unrests (Schumacher 1996, 193-196).

Having been exposed to several historical discourses and interpellated by their differing historiographies during different stages of my life as a student and a scholar, allow me to suture some of these strands in my own attempt to read *nacion/pueblo/bayan/bahley* in the early twentieth century zarzuelas.

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For the next section of Part I of this paper, I shall “read” Rizal as text (the iconic figure) and his literary works. What the above perspectives informing our study of Philippine history have in common is their references to Rizal as an undeniably significant figure in the rise of nationalism.

Virgilio Almarino in his book *Si Rizal: Nobelist* (2008) might just represent another approach to the study of Rizal. His approach can not so easily be pigeonholed as either “elitist”/“ilustrado”; or “nationalist”/“anti-clergy”/anti-colonial; or “economistic,” Marxist; or “millenarian” / “history from below”; or socioeconomic, “clientalist”; or regionalist.

According to Almarino (2008, 256-266), Rizal drew two important thematics from his reading of Balagtas’s *Florante at Laura* which he (Rizal) appropriated for his novels.<sup>8</sup>

- the importance of education “hinggil sa realidad ng buhay sa mundo” of *Florante* in Athens and the structurally similar journey of Rizal away from the country to help him develop an awareness of the social malaise that

plagued his country and what he could do to solve this problem. (ibid., 258);

- treachery of the rich and the colonial officials of San Diego which Pilosopong Tasio warns Ibarra about; just as the teacher Atenor (Balagtas, saknong 246) warns Florante to be wary of the treacherous Adolfo.

In *Noli's* Kabanata 7, Maria Clara re-reads the farewell letter that Ibarra had given her when they last met. In the letter, he explains why he had to leave Filipinas which in turn has direct reference to Balagtas:

...Kinausap siya (si Ibarra) diumano ng kanyang ama. Pinagsabihan na kailangan paghandaan ni Ibarra ang darating, *na kailangan mag-aral siya at pag-isipan kung paano magiging makabuluhan sa kanyang bayan*. Hindi diumano dapat siya manatili sa ilalim ng pagkakandili ng kanyang ama sapagkat baka siya matulad sa “halamang lumaki sa tubig” na itinula ni Balagtas. Na ang totoo’y tumutukoy sa payo ng ama ni Florante sa saknong 197-203 bago ipinadala si Florante sa Atenas.

*Ang sintagmatikong balangkas ng edukasyon ni Florante hinggil sa realidad ng buhay sa mundo ay parang linyang dadaanan din ni Ibarra sa kanyang sariling pagkamulat hinggil sa malubhang sakit ng kolonyal na lipunang Filipino...* (Almario 2008, 256-266; emphasis mine)

Moreover, in warning Ibarra about treacherous men, Pilosopong Tasio tells the latter to remember what Balagtas had said since “Balagtas era tan buen poeta como pensador.” That it is Pilosopong Tasio, the representation in Rizal’s novel of “*karunungan Filipino*” who recognizes the wisdom of Balagtas is significant. As Almario states:

...kung tutuusing *si Pilosopong Tasio ang kinatawan ng karunungan sa nobela ni Rizal*, ang iFilipinas alitang papuri

ni Rizal sa pamamagitan ng matanda ay sukdulang pagdangal sa kadakilaan ni Balagtas...(ibid., 258; emphasis mine)

Let me add that although no mention of Balagtas or *Florante and Laura* is made by the two zarzuelistas whom I am studying, Rizal and Rizal's ideas were not unknown to these two zarzuelistas and their theater texts resonate the thematics of the importance of education and the treachery/deception of some supposed friends, as I shall illustrate in Part II of my study.

Severino Reyes and Pablo Mejia were also contemporaries of Rizal and both studied in Manila at the University of Sto.Tomas (Daria 1954, 33; Patajo-Legasto 1976, 35) where Rizal continued his studies after his graduation in 1877 from the Ateneo de Municipal in Manila (Arcilla 2001, 182).

Moreover, Severino Reyes's biography points to how Reyes wrote his first sarsuwela after having been inspired by the "martyrdom of Jose Rizal" (according to Severino Reyes's wife; Patajo-Legasto 2000, 435). Reyes was also involved in the production of a silent moving picture titled *El Fusilamiento del Dr. Jose Rizal* (The Execution of Dr. Jose Rizal) produced by an American businessman, Mr. Yearsly, in consultation with Professor Austin Craig. Reyes was in charge of the dialogue and the employment of trained actors from his Gran Compania de Zarzuela Tagala (Daria 1954, 44-45; citing Virrey 1938, 23-24).

Pablo Mejia, on the other hand, heard about Rizal's execution when the former—Mejia himself—was incarcerated in Bilibid Prison in Manila. Among Mejia's works are *Bilay Tan Kalkalar nen Rizal*, a drama in verse about the "Life and Teachings of Rizal"; *Kaonoran Kon Patanir*, a Pangasinan translation of Rizal's *Mi Ultimo Adios*; and several other short plays on Rizal—*Aroan nen Leonor tan Rizal* (The Love of Leonor and Rizal, 1931) (Patajo-Legasto 1976, 46). Finally, Mejia wrote short plays for *Amaliguas Na Bahley* (Progress of the Town), an all female association based in San Nicolas, Pangasinan which presented these plays annually on the 30th of December in commemoration of Rizal's execution.<sup>10</sup>

This influence of Rizal on Reyes and Mejia might also be explained if we know that the latter two were ilustrados<sup>11</sup> —“educated” and “economically prominent” members of the *principalia* (Guerrero 1982, 179 n. 1) or *anacbanua* (Cortes 1974)—who may not have gone to Europe to study, but still and all, who might have imbibed the ideas which their ilustrado contemporaries had perpetuated.

The *principalia* was... a popular term in the nineteenth century; it broadly refers to the Filipino elite and includes incumbent and former *gobernadorcillos* (municipal governors), *cabezas de barangay* (heads of barangays or barrios), *cabezas* who served for ten years and the *maestros de ninos* (school teachers) (Guerrero 1998, 179 n.1).

According to Rosario Mendoza Cortes (1974, 34-35), in pre-hispanic Pangasinan, there existed a class of *anacbanuas* which constituted a council of elders for the whole community or *baley*. One of them was recognized as a *pangolo*. The relationship between the *pangolo/anacbanua* and the *cailianes* or followers was not one of ruler and ruled. Given the framework of *primus inter pares*,

his duties conceivably consisted of supervising the organization of the community for particular purposes, such as the clearing of new lands, carrying on a trading expedition, staging a festival or ritual, arranging a hunt, reallocating lands, or defending the community against common enemies. (ibid., 35)

Thus, the social regulation was observed by the inclusive society through a process of regulation already present and highly developed within the structure of the family (ibid., 34). “The social power of the *anacbanua* stemmed from their possession of property and from their corresponding status in the community” (ibid., 35).

During the period of the conquest, this community consisted of thirty to a hundred families headed by an *anacbanua*. After the conquest, the community consisted of fifty to sixty *cabaley* (resident families;



many of whom were kinsmen) (ibid., 146) or about the same number of families that a *cabeza de barangay* headed in other parts of Luzon (ibid., 33). The designation of one of the anacbanuas as *gobnadorcillo* by the lay and/or religious colonial authorities indicated the founding of a town. The other anacbanuas of the town were then designated as *cabezas de barangay* and deputized as tax collectors (ibid., 68).

The anacbanua class not only held on to (were assured of) their traditional privileges; they were also given additional titles like *gobnadorcillo*, *Don or Capitan* (the head of the town) which were conferred on them by the colonial government to keep them loyal to the Crown (ibid., 83).

During the nineteenth century, these anacbanuas

gained valuable political and administrative experience as they engaged in the dynamics of *poblacion*-building, resolved intra-elite tensions arising from the contestation of municipal and provincial boundaries and leadership positions; developed the infrastructure for economic development and inter-province and international relations (e.g., Sual as a port for foreign trade in 1855; a network of provincial roads linked to the *camino real* or the state highway, a system of riverine routes, a postal system, a telegraph system in 1873, the Manila-Dagupan railway in 1891); organized militias and fought the wars against two sets of colonial masters... (Patajo-Legasto 2008, 430; citing information from Cortes 1990, Chapters 1-5, and 8)

This may explain why the older generation of anacbanuas desisted from being active during the 1896 revolution and were critical of the younger generation's denial of the supposed benefits that the Spanish curas and colonial government had given to the province, as Pablo Mejia's zarzuela *Panaun Aman* will illustrate.

In contrast to the positive depiction of the economic progress (*aligwas*) of Pangasinan by Cortes, Mejia in *Panaun Aman* (The Past Era, first produced in 1915) seems to still decry the lack of progress in Pangasinan because of the older anacbanuas' non-involvement in the 1896 revolution and their loyalty to the Spanish colonial government as represented by the curas who treated even the anacbanuas as slaves. Mejia also roots their passivity to their willingness to keep the status quo and their wrong attitudes. In the other zarzuelas (produced from 1907 until the 1930s, a few years after Mejias's death in 1934), Mejia critiques their engrained, unproductive lifestyles as they indulge in drinking and cavorting with women, rather than applying their energies to serious study or serious work in their haciendas, and their deeply rooted bias against education and against working for a living in *Gimmalet* (Engrained, first produced in 1907); their immature political campaigns in *Basingkawel* (The Election Campaign, first produced in 1911); and their vices like gambling and cockfighting in *Manuk Ya Ibululang* (The Fighting Cock, first produced in 1917).<sup>12</sup>

The ilustrado Nanoy, the protagonist of *Panaun Aman*, who studied in Manila and who led the Katipuneros in Pangasinan, represents the new generation of anacbanuas, informed by the ideas of independence and freedom from the colonial yoke propagated by the other ilustrados and propagandists who studied in the Continent; most especially Rizal and Marcelo H. Del Pilar, as well as, by the martyred priests Fathers Gomes, Burgos and Zamora, the Free Masons, and the revolutionaries Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Aguinaldo, and Artemio Ricarte.

ЖЖЖ

Others have also weighed in on the importance of Rizal, albeit giving varied reasons for his greatness. According to Schumacher, for Rafael Palma in his biography of Rizal (*The Pride of the Malay Race*, 1949), "Rizal was the central figure and inspiration among the group of Filipino ilustrados who had prepared the Revolution by destroying the oppressive and obscurantist influence of the friars and the church" (Schumacher 1996, 2).

And we can also take note of Arcilla's statement in *Rizal and the Emergence of the Philippine Nation* (2001, 188):

...on 30 December 1896 they executed him by firing squad at Luneta Park, now named after him. The place was then known as *Bagong Bayan*... [Bagong Bayan] *was symbolic, for this man's death, more than anything else gave birth to a new nation.* (emphasis mine)

According to Schumacher, "I would maintain that *the mainstream of nationalism, whose principal articulator was Rizal, reached directly or indirectly all socioeconomic classes even if, as has been noted, with quite different perceptions and emphases*" (1996, 4; emphasis mine).

What Schumacher also provides is an understanding of the development of Rizal's nationalist thought by putting him in the context of economic, cultural, political and religious developments in the nineteenth century (See "Rizal in the Nineteenth Century Context" in Schumacher 1996, 16-30).

ЖЖЖ

Let me now glean from other studies on Rizal's novels some of his ideas embodied in terms like *nacion, patria, pueblo, naciones, nacionalidades, nacionales, nacionalismo, Filipinas, revolucion, FiliFilipinos, pino/a, progreso and independiencia.* And later, I shall analyze the zarzuelas of Severino Reyes and Pablo Mejia to see which ideas from the ilustrados, particularly Jose Rizal, are resonated in their texts.

It is common practice, says Benedict Anderson in his latest book entitled *Why Counting Counts: A Study of the Forms of Consciousness and Problems of Language in me Tangere and El busterismo* (2008), for those who study Rizal's novels to indiscriminately quote from these novels and attribute the quotations to Rizal himself. In other words,

readers of Rizal's novels do not always pay attention to details like which of the characters said the lines quoted and under what circumstances and with what tones (in jests, or satirically or in all seriousness). Some characters may elicit empathy from the readers, while others may not; dialogues may be contradicted by plots; tones might give us a better understanding of the author's, Rizal's, own views on the subjects being fleshed out in the novels.

So on to Rizal's texts. Anderson in *Why Counting Counts*, in his detailed study (i.e., based on his analysis of the original Spanish texts of Rizal) of the key concepts which I enumerated above, states that:

*Nacion* (root word being the Latin *nacio*) is a term that is rarely used in the , and is only referred to 7 times. The character Pilosopong Tasio uses it in the “modern 19th century sense” as “nation state” to mean “people”, “country” and “ethnic group” . Elias, the Indio heroic character, however, uses the term *naciones* to refer to Imperial France, Imperial Germany, Imperial Britain and Italy. (Anderson 2008, 12-13)

Related terms like *nacionalidades* is used by the narrator of to refer to ethnic groups found in Manila's streets while Ibarra's use of *nacionales* means members of a European nation (*ibid.*, 13).

In other words, the terms above which we associate with Philippine nationalism today—*nacion*, *naciones*, *nacionalidades*, *nacionales*—in Rizal's texts do not always refer to the Philippines or to all the people inhabiting the Philippines (just some people in Manila as referred to by the term *nacionalidades*). And these terms are used by characters that elicit our sympathy—Pilosopong Tasio, Elias and Ibarra.

However, Pilosopong Tasio's use of *nacion* in the “modern” (nineteenth century) sense of “nation state” to mean “people”, “country” or “ethnic group” might be possibly conjectured as expressing a future meaning of *nacion* by Rizal himself since Tasio is drawn as both a sympathetic character and as a fount of wisdom (“*karunungan Filipino*” according to Almarion) by Rizal.

What is even more striking about the is that there is no mention of the term *nacionalismo* and *nacionalista*. During the nineteenth century, when Rizal was with the propagandists in Europe and writing his novels, “there were nationalist movements—Irish, Norwegian, Finnish, Czech Polish, Hungarian—but none as yet had their own state” (Anderson 2008, 13).

There is an assertion though that Rizal, after writing his novels, had already realized that the reform movement was not succeeding—that in Spain, the attempts of the liberals in the Spanish government in the Peninsula to usher reforms in the colony, had not introduced substantive systemic changes. However, Rizal also did not think that the time was ripe to separate from Spain because of the lack of prepared-ness of his countrymen (the reference here is to education rather than arms/weapons).

The meaning of the term *patria* in the ranges from a generic “mother country”, to *Espana* and to *Filipinas*. *Patria* as “mother country” occurs 6 times and is used by Ibarra, the Narrator, Tasio and Elias. *Segunda Patria* (second motherland) referring to *Espana*/Spain occurs 5 times, and is used thrice by Ibarra, including the one he utters during a party with the elite—*Espana, mi segunda patria* (Spain, my second motherland) (“La Cena”, Chapter 3, 16; cited by Anderson 2008, 14). Anderson says that the elite nature of the audience at the party may have prompted Ibarra to say it. *Patria* referring to *Filipinas* is used 12 times—by Ibarra (7 times) and by Elias (5 times). Thus, *patria* referring to *Filipinas* (12 times) occurs twice as many times as *patria* referring to *Espana*/Spain (5 times) as well as to a general “mother-country” (6 times). Anderson also finds it remarkable that “the Narrator himself *never* refers to *Filipinas* as his *patria*” (ibid.).

*Pueblo* is the term more often used in the (32 + 53 + 5 + 10 + 21 times= 121 times) than *nacion* (7 times) or *patria* (23 times) to refer to an unnamed “town” in the Philippines (32 times),

near Manila or San Diego; to the “physical township of San Diego and perhaps also its townfolk” (53 times). Pueblo is also employed by more characters. Elias uses pueblo as town in a general sense 14 times, while the Narrator uses pueblo as town and townspeople 22 times. The other characters using pueblo in the two senses above include Padre Damaso, the Alcalde, Tasio, Ibarra, Padre Sibyla, Capitan Basilio, and Teniente (in the first sense); Ibarra, the *Diario* and Don po, P. Sibyla, the schoolteacher, an unnamed old peasant, Tiago, Elias, Rufa, Sisa, a young local politician and an anonymous woman (in the second sense of township of San Diego and perhaps its townfolk). Pueblo “connoting a ‘people’ in a general, comparative sense is used 10 times; and finally, as clearly indicating “people of Filipinas,” 21 times (ibid., 14-15).

Pueblo as only referring to “townfolk” is used 5 times; and to “people, in general” 10 times. Pueblo as *people of the Filipinas* occurs 21 times and is used by Elias (8 times), Ibarra (6 times) and Tasio (5 times), Narrator and Capitan General (1 each) (ibid., 15).

Pueblo is thus used 75 percent of the time to refer to San Diego or some other townships near San Diego or around Manila; and only 17 percent of the time to refer to people of the Philippines.

Based on the data above, Anderson states that: “...it seems indisputable that *at the time of the publication of the in 1887, there was no generally used term in the Philippines...covering all the people in the archipelago*” (ibid., 17; emphasis mine).

The term Filipinas is used in the although it is not clear if the term includes non-Christian areas. Elias, in one instance, refers to the need to hide in the region of the *infieles* (infidels). In Rizal’s novel, Filipinas seems to have dominantly referred to the Tagalog-speaking areas; regions outside the Tagalog areas are rarely mentioned except for Pampangga, Albay, Cebu, and Jolo (ibid., 20 ff.).

What do these details regarding the use of such terms as *nacion*, *patria*, *pueblo*, and *Filipinas* in the reveal? According to

Anderson, “All this suggest that any widespread Filipino consciousness in the modern 19th century (European) sense had not yet come into existence” (ibid., 17).

And to explain the above assertion, Anderson states that: is only “tangentially a novel about politics (i.e., political theory, political practice or political praxis)... rather it () is a moralist novel about the deplorable conditions of the Philippines at the time, the 1880s (ibid., 37). Thus, in the , the evocation of the country and the people was articulated through pueblo and patria rather than nacion.

Having said this, however, Anderson still states that the (published in Berlin in 1887) still already represented “a milestone towards this modern 19th century nationalism” (ibid.).

How about the terms progreso and *reforma*? Aligwas (progress in Pangasinan) or lack of aligwas is constantly being used by the protagonist and other Katipuneros in *Panaun Aman* as one of the reasons for joining the revolution against the cura. Progreso in the is used only 9 times (Tasio uses it 4 times), while reforma is used 10 times (ibid., 19).

And the term revolucion? The term revolucion in is uttered 4 times—by the Alferes, the half wit, Primotivo and an unnamed woman (ibid.). If we are to treat as a novel, then the question to ask might be why is the word revolution put in the mouths of such characters and not our protagonists/sympathetic characters like Ibarra, Elias, and Tasio?

ЖЖЖ

There is a distinct difference between the and the . According to Anderson, this might have been because, the Rizal who wrote the was “thinking out his identity in the first novel, while achieving more clarity about his own identity in the second, as well as grappling with solutions to the malaise that he had described in the as a social cancer. Hence, *El busterismo* (1891) is considered a more political novel” (ibid., 81).

Schumacher (1996, 16-30) had attributed the determinants of the development of Rizal's nationalist thought to events in the imperial center (Europe) and in the colony during the nineteenth century. There were indeed events occurring in Europe in the late nineteenth century that were to affect Rizal and other ilustrados there. And this relates to racialist/racist treatment of the ilustrados in the continent and the emergence of a Filipino nationalist consciousness.

However, first let me cull from Anderson a description of the Spanish colonial society in the Philippines in terms of race relations.

The "racial pyramid" (Anderson 2008, 3-4) in the colony from the point of view of the imperial center was constituted by the following:

*Peninsulares* = "Spanish born and raised in the imperial center" (i.e., the Iberian peninsula);

*Criollos* or creoles = "Spanish by descent, but...born and raised in the Philippines/ islands" which according to the Center, had a climate and culture that had "indelibly degenerative effects"; another term used for a creole was *Filipino*;

*Mestizos* = those "locally born and bred" who were "the products of 'interracial' sexual relations"; "it was important to distinguish between the Spanish mestizos and Chinese mestizos, and not to make much of the growth of mixed populations with (eventually) Spanish, Chinese, and 'native' (indio) 'blood'"; and

*Indios* = those of native blood; "generally treated as homogeneous mass, though the Spanish were quite aware



of the multitude of languages and local cultures in the archipelago”;

Elias (in *Noli*) and Simoun (in *Fili*) never refer to themselves as Filipino. Elias refers to himself as indio (“Soy un indio”). In *Noli*, “the term indio is widely used (43 references) by all strata of colonial society from the peninsulares down to the peasantry” (ibid.).

Outside this racial pyramid that constituted Philippine colonial society were the *sangleyes* or *chinos* as they were called in the later part of the nineteenth century (the immigrant, non-Christian Chinese); the “largely unsubdued Muslims in the Far South”; and the “pagan tribes in the Luzon Cordilleras and remote parts of other islands” (ibid., 4).

“The colonial government regime kept these racial distinctions by imposing different legal statutes and differential tax burdens for the different racial strata” (ibid.).

While the above colonizers’ policy might have been the case in the colony, Anderson notes that the terms peninsulares, criollos and mestizo espanoles rarely appear in the *Noli*—only four times, two times, and four times, respectively. One more glaring fact to take note of is a “total absence of any explicit reference to Chinese mestizos, a large stratum with representatives all over the Catholicized parts of Filipinas ...” (ibid., 4 and 30). This silence becomes most pronounced considering that, according to other historians like Edgar Wickberg (cited in ibid., 31 n. 40), the Chinese mestizos were estimated to be approximately 240,000 in the later nineteenth century. Compare this to the following data (ibid.):

5 thousand peninsulares  
 20 thousand Spanish mestizos  
 4 million plus indios  
 10 thousand *chinos* or non-Catholic, Chinese immigrants

## Colonial/Traditional Racial Hierarchy 19th Century

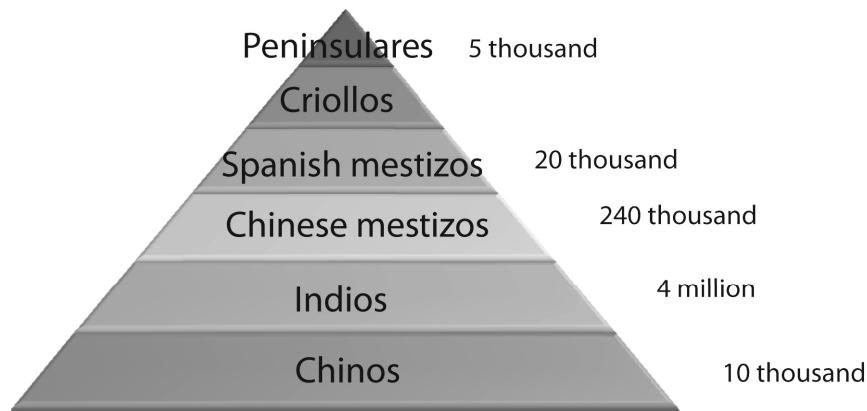


Figure 1. Colonial/Traditional Racial Hierarchy, 19th Century

Furthermore, even as early as the second half of the nineteenth century, these Chinese mestizos were not only growing in number, they were also “increasing their economic power... level of education and political aspirations...” (ibid., 30-31).

The internationalization of the economy after 1834 (opening of Suez Canal) offered the Chinese mestizos...new opportunities in the countryside in combination with British and American trading houses” (Anderson 1995, 5-9).

Capitan Tiago and Pilosopong Tasio are Chinese mestizos but this racial fact is for the readers of the *Noli* to infer. The positions of other characters in the traditional racial hierarchy is also “deliberately obscured” in *Noli*. Why?

The reason might have to do with, according to Anderson, the “Spanish dislike of, anxiety about, and racist contempt for ‘the Chinese’ and ‘Chinese culture’(which) had a profound effect in the colony.” This traditional aristocratic, feudal and neo-feudal Castillian anti-Sinicism resulted in the Chinese being despised, not just because they were

non-whites, but also because they were “irreligious, ignorant, money grubbing, dishonest, cunning and vulgar” (Anderson 2008, 31).

This anti-Sinicism is found in the *Noli* and more so in the *Fili*. In the *Fili*, the ancient term sangley is replaced by the term chinós which appears twice as many times as in the *Noli* or 71 times with the Narrator using it 42 times (ibid., 39).

In terms of the treatment of the Chinese, “*Fili* contains nothing like Tasio’s affectionate reference to his Chinese mother” (ibid., 45). “In the second novel, one finds disagreeably racist (anti Chinese) episodes and language that are entirely absent from the *Noli*” (ibid., 81). For example, a Chinese vendor is beaten, kicked, pigtail yanked by students who “are not allowed to bully anyone in this style” (ibid., 44; citing *Fili* 100).

Is it any wonder then why the Chinese mestizos amongst the ilustrados and revolutionaries tried to put their Chinese-ness under erasure?

In Pangasinan during the nineteenth century, for instance, the Chinese and the Chinese mestizos brought prosperity to the province. “The Chinese community in Lingayen engaged in commodity production (e.g., soap, candle slippers, shoes) and the construction of boats” (Cortes 1974, 34 ; cited in Patajo-Legasto 2000, 430-435). With improved material conditions, the Chinese mestizos acquired education in Manila and Europe. “The internationalization of the economy after 1834 offered the Chinese mestizos—now a quarter of a million strong in a 4 million population—new opportunities in the countryside in combination with British and American trading houses” (Anderson 1995, 5-9). In Pangasinan, however, material wealth did not give the Chinese mestizos access to local political power which was zealously being guarded by the anacbanuas since these were the only positions granted colonials by the Spanish colonial government and the Spanish religious. Such positions in the municipal bureaucracy were thus circulated only within the anacbanua circle. The anacbanua whose

source of wealth was land were able to give donations to the Spanish cura in lieu of *polo* (forced labor). By the late nineteenth century, the Chinese mestizos, who put their Chinese-ness under erasure, tried to integrate with the anacbanuas by giving hefty donations to the municipal government and the white cura, also in lieu of *polo*. The closed anacbanua class thus allowed these high-paying taxpayers among the Chinese mestizos to participate in poblacion building because of the latter's financial contributions to public works during the colonial period and during the war against Spain (Patajo-Legasto 2000, 430-435).

That this prejudice against the Chinese still existed during the early part of the twentieth century in Pangasinan can be illustrated in the fate of the Sionga, in Pablo Mejia's 1911 *Basingkawel* (The Election Campaign). Sionga, the object of ridicule in the zarzuela, is a Chinese sari-sari store owner whose merchandise is gobbled up by the supporters of two anacbanuas running for municipal office. In the end, he is left holding unpaid bills. After the election, and after the two supposedly bitter anacbanua rivals have made up, they refuse to honor their bills and even tell Sionga that his sorry state is the result of his greed (Patajo-Legasto 1976, Annex B.2 and Annex C.2).

Thus, the Pangasinan zarzuela as calculus of anacbanua ideology elided the contributions of the local Chinese mestizos (group of *gremio de mestizo*) to the provincial economy and their resistance against Spain, although one might, after a study of the genealogies of the anacbanuas of Pangasinan then, find some among them to be mestizo Chinese<sup>14</sup>.

However, as I stated earlier, there were events in the imperial center (Spain), that caused the development of a nationalist consciousness amongst the ilustrados (including the Chinese mestizos) in the continent. While in the colony the racial pyramid which distinguished the criollos/insulares/Filipinos from the mestizos and the indios was still in full force, in the continent, Spaniards treated

“those young men from rich families in the Philippines” who came over to study as “simply Filipinos” (Anderson 2008, 35).

In the 1860s, the criollos/creoles (Spaniards from the Philippines) started to enroll in Spanish universities. By the 1870s, Spanish mestizos and Chinese mestizos started to arrive. The creoles and mestizos were just lumped together by people from Madrid and Barcelona as “simply Filipinos”—guys from the Philippines.” These mestizos would later embrace the name Filipinos “with hostile pride” and make the label the basis of “a new solidarity” (ibid., 34).

Rizal, himself, in a letter in German to Blumentritt, dated 13 April 1887 and translated into English (National Historical Institute 1992, 72), uses “Filipinos” to refer to “...our friends who publish our newspaper in Madrid. They are creole young men of Spanish descent, Chinese mestizos, and Malayans; but we all call ourselves ‘Filipinos’” (Anderson 2008, 31; quoting Quibuyen 1999, 89, 156-157,160). Moreover, although those involved in *La Solidaridad*, in their correspondences to each other wrote about the creoles and mestizos amongst them, in public they called themselves “Filipinos” (Anderson 2008, 35; citing evidence given by Schumacher 1997, Chapter 4).

Anderson also cites Floro Quibuyen’s assertion that the above passage from Rizal (translated into English and quoted above) is “evidence that a non-creole meaning for the noun Filipino was in extensive use by 1887.” However, Anderson asserts that the original German passage by Rizal—*creolen, mestizen und malaien*—which in the above passage became “creole young men of Spanish descent, Chinese mestizos, and Malayans” illustrates “Rizal’s sleight of hand.” “Mestizos’ by itself implies the normal Spanish mestizos of the colonial racial hierarchy, and conceals the Chinese mestizos with ancestries outside the Spanish empire and the Philippines.” Rizal just uses the German *mestizen* which does not reflect the differences between the Chinese mestizos and the Spanish mestizos (Anderson 2008, 32-33).

Hence, this metropolitan/orientalist discourse of contempt for the colony as a site of degeneration or of blood contamination, and for the “Filipinos” born and bred in such a supposedly degenerative place might be seen as a structural determinant that effected the change in consciousness of the ilustrados studying in the continent.

There was a transformation in “their emotional and cultural identification” with just a place—“initially a familiar hometown” (let me add, a pueblo [Spanish] or a bayan [Tagalog] or a bahley [Pangasinan] like e.g., Bulacan, Bulacan of Severino Reyes or San Nicolas, Pangasinan of Pablo Mejia) or a “region” (tagalog or bisayan region) to a solidarity based on a cultural identification with persons from a “home country” (Filipinas). “This is the progression from local patriotism to modern nationalism, from geographical sentiment to political program” (ibid., 37). Anderson had also said that some of Rizal’s characters in the (Ibarra, Tiago, Elias) were beginning to use Filipinas to refer to the country and the people (ibid., 37).

Another structural determinant at the end of the 1880s or towards the 1890s when Rizal was doing his *Fili* (1891) was the transformation of the traditional racial pyramid of the colony when Spain abolished the legal status of the mestizos as part of its program of reforms. Spanish mestizos were “moved ‘up’ to the status of ‘Spaniards,’ while Chinese mestizos tended to be merged with indios” (ibid., 43-44 n. 60; citing Jun Aguilar and Schumacher for this information on this important change).

The racial triangle thus changed (from the previous “graded traditional hierarchy” to a sharp racialization) to show all Spaniards on top (peninsulares, insulares/criollos and Spanish mestizos). Below them, left of the triangle were the *indios* (which now included the Chinese mestizos), and the Chinos or the foreign, non-Catholic Chinese immigrants on the opposite side/right side of the triangle (ibid., 44).

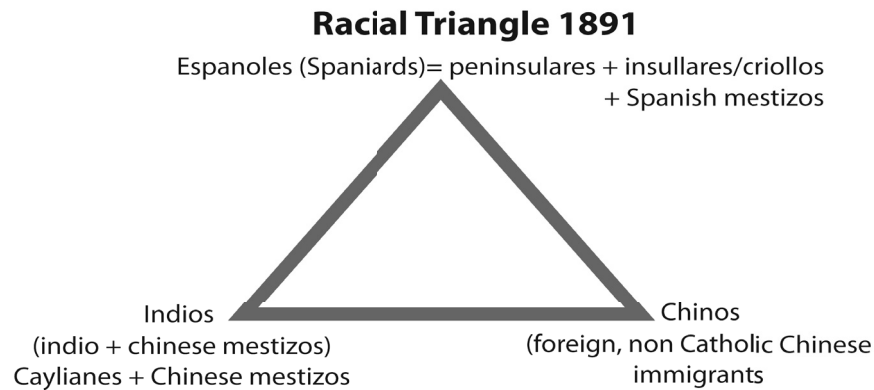


Figure 2. Racial Triangle (end of the 1880s)

In the *Fili*, the label *Espanoles* (Spaniards) had become unambiguous. *Espanol* became “a quasi racial and/or national term (for Spaniards), erasing differences between the metropole and the colony” (ibid., 49). *Espanoles* is used less often in the *Fili* than in the which might be because it has been “partly taken over by the term *castellano* referring to the ‘Spanish national language.’” Creoles are also referred to as Spaniards and not as Filipinos by the Narrator ibid., 49).

However, “the Chineseness of the rising Chinese mestizo class is just as occluded in the *Fili* as it is in the *Noli*” (ibid., 45).

Apart from the orientalist, metropolitan discourse on the Chinese as a factor in the erasure by Chinese mestizos of their Chineseness, Anderson suggests that perhaps “The Chinese mestizos, by insisting that they were *real locals*, were preparing themselves to break out of the traditional racial (colonial) hierarchy—upwards too!—by becoming ‘national’, possibly before any other any social group (in the Philippines)” (ibid., 45).

There is also reference to Rizal’s valorizing the indio(s) as a sign in the colony for someone / a people who was/were “unambiguously non-Spanish and non-Chinese”; “uncontaminated ‘original people’” (ibid., 47). Elias (in *Noli*) and Simoun (in *Fili*) never refer to themselves as Filipinos. Elias refers to himself as indio—“Soy un indio” (ibid., 47-48).

Jose Rizal, on the eve of his execution, wrote his identity as indio (ibid., 81) rather than mestizo Chinese. Yet his grandfather was a Chinese immigrant (Lam-co) from Emuy, China (Arcilla 2001, 181). “Indio was one solution to the obvious problem of what to do with many members of the local elite (to which he belonged) who were of mixed Chinese-Spanish-‘Native’ origin” (Anderson 2008, 48)

Another instance of the valorizing of the indio is this line from Simoun who speaks in excellent Spanish in the *Fili* and yet insists, according to Anderson, that: “...only an indigenous language can express the true pensamiento of a colonized people” (even as he) also casually recalls that no less than forty languages are spoken in the Philippines.” The Rizal text does not name the language in which the true pensamiento can be expressed; does not say that this language might be Tagalog (ibid., 84).

The terms Filipinas and Filipino/Filipina in the *Fili* (1891) also show some differences in treatment. Filipinas (the place) in *Fili* (used 52 times although less than in the *Noli*) encompasses more provinces and towns. There are references to Luzon, Albay, Kagayan, Pangasinan, Tayabas (in Quezon), Batangas, Cavite; but still no references to Ilocos, Bohol, Mindoro, Cebu, Leyte, Samar, and Cordillera (Anderson 2008, 50). The term Filipino/a had various connotations. “Los antiguos Filipinos” referred to the pre-conquest people of the islands when Custodia conflates Filipinos with the pre-conquest *indios*. Basilio uses Filipino in the traditional/older criollo sense (ibid/, 53). Filipino/a as adjective is used in a geographical sense to mean “of/from the Philippines”—e.g., *vida Filipina, edificios Filipinos, mundo Filipino, costumbres Filipino, miseria Filipino, vestidos Filipino, hospitalidad Filipino* (ibid.).

Nacion is still rare in the *Fili* as in the *Noli*; nacionalismo is absent in the *Fili* like in the *Noli*; and nacionales in the *Fili* refers to foreigners in the Philippines (ibid., 55)

But patria, for self conscious patriotic characters in *Fili* means the Philippines. What is also new in *Fili* is the appearance of terms



derived from patria, like *patriotismo*, *patriota(s)*, and *patriotica* used by characters who are “sympathically characterized” (ibid., 56)

The term pueblo in the *Fili* which refers to the Filipino people or the people of the Philippines (ibid., 57) is used in this sense almost twice the number of times than in .

*El pueblo Filipino* in the sense of people of the Philippines is used more than in the earlier racist sense of criollos/Filipinos (ibid., 56).

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In searching for terms used to refer to the country, and/or the people of this country in the “native”/“vernacular” languages, as we have done in our search for the meanings of these signifieds in the Spanish signifiers nacion, patria, and pueblo, one can look at

- the Tagalog term bayan with its meanings incorporating the earlier signified “town” to the later day, Filipinas , as studied by Damon Woods (to be discussd below) and as used by Reyes in *Walang Sugat* (bayan, inang bayan, and Filipinas );
- the term Tagalog or Katagalugan as employed by Andres Bonifacio in “Ang Haring Bayan Katagalugan” ;
- the term tagalog in the *Cartilla* of the Katipunan (1896)— “Sa salitang tagalog katutura’yang *lahat na tumubo sa Sangkapuluang ito*; sa makatuid, bisaya man, iloko man, kapangpangan man...ay tagalong din” (emphasis mine);
- the term Tagalog which President Emilio Aguinaldo’s secretary, Carlos Ronquillo, says could be traced to the root word *taga-ilog* (from the river) or those who settled by the river;
- Bonifacio’s *Inang Bayan*; and
- The Pangasinan term bahley (town), kabahleyan

(townmates), *karalaan* (countrymen), and Filipinas (referring to the entire archipelago) as used by Mejia in *Panaun Aman*.

The Spanish term *pueblo* which Anderson states as being the term more utilized than *nacion* or *patria* in Rizal's novels, is the most likely equivalent of the term *bayan* found in early Tagalog documents studied by Damon Woods. In Tagalog documents of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, according to Woods, individuals from a community identified themselves according to location and according to relationships with others. Family relationships were indicated by terms like *capatid* (sibling) and *kamaganac* (relative); age relationships by terms like *matanda't bata* (old and young) and *pinacamatanda* (oldest). Relationships based on shared experiences were indicated by terms like *casimba*, *casamahan* and *cababayan* (Woods 2006, 48-49; emphasis mine).

Location was expressed with the word *bayan*, which is found consistently in documents dating from 1583 well into the nineteenth century...By the nineteenth century, *bayan* would come to express aspects of both location and relationships. (ibid., 49)

Thus, *bayan* as location basis for identity was significant. But *bayan* was also a "remarkably fluid term that could indicate much more than geographical location" (ibid., 50). Spanish equivalents for *bayan*, from *Vocabulario de lengua Tagala* by Franciscan Pedro de San Buenaventura cited by Woods (ibid., 50) included *pueblo* (town, village). But the term's fluidity caused it to evolve and expand through four stages. During the first stage, *bayan* was used with a place name (e.g., *bayan ng San Matheo*); or was used to indicate "location in a general sense as in the place of muslims" ("*ang bacod na bato nang Bayan at ang moro*"); or as the equivalent of *pueblo*; or was "an attempt to match Spanish realities as in homeland of the Spaniards" ("*bayan nang manga Castila*") (Woods referring to Tomas Pinpin's uses of the term in his 1610 *Librong pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila*; ibid.,

51 and 66 nn. 38, 39 and 40). In the second stage (from the early years of the Spanish colonial period to the end of the seventeenth century), *bayan* was used in a formal, legal but not political sense (e.g. in a legal document / a will dated 1687, there is the line—“*acoy si Maria Jimenez tauo sa bayan nang Calumpit*”) (ibid., 51). In the third stage (eighteenth century), *bayan* was used to designate the entire community (“*cami ang boong bayan nang Silang*” instead of “*boong kamaganacan*”) declaring ownership of land which had been inherited from their ancestors or the Spanish abrogation of their community’s property (ibid., 52-55).

In the fourth stage (nineteenth century), “as Filipinos began to think of the archipelago as not only a single unit, but (also) as a political entity,” the term *bayan* was used “to express western and Spanish political concepts, such as *nacion* and *patria*” (Woods 2006, 56). He adds that “*bayan* was conscripted to convey the idea of a national entity, and later that national entity itself...the *Katipunan* thought in terms of ‘a nation of Tagalogs’ or *Katagalugan*, as found in Andres Bonifacio’s ‘Ang Haring Bayan Katagalugan’” (ibid., 56; citing Cruz 1998, 45). The *Cartilla* of the *Katipunan* (1896) gave the meaning of tagalog in this manner—“*Sa salitang tagalog katutura’yang lahat na tumubo sa Sangkapuluang ito; sa makatuid, bisaya man, iloko man, kapangpangan man...ay tagalong din*” (ibid., 57 and 68 n. 49; citing Guerrero 1996, 89; emphasis mine).

President Emilio Aguinaldo’s secretary, Carlos Ronquillo, added that the term Tagalog could be traced to the root word *taga-ilog* (from the river) or those who settled by the river, which can be a trait of many Filipinos “born in the Philippines, in whatever island or town” (ibid., 57; quoting Guerrero 1996, 89-90). *Bayan* both referred to the people and country (ibid., 68 n. 50; citing Guerrero 92).

“It was also during this fourth stage that the concept of *Inang Bayan* emerged” (ibid., 57). According to Zeus Salazar:

...the rift would later result in the ideological break in Tejeros between the more indigenous *Inang Bayan* of the mass-oriented

Katipunan and the more Western-oriented *nacion* that ilustrados around Aguinaldo wanted to construct...*Bonifacio's Inang Bayan would continue to haunt the revolutionary spirit as an ideal of nationality...* Again and again, decisions as daring—and as fundamentally correct— as that of Bonifacio in August 1896 would be executed, against all odds for Inang Bayan. (ibid., 57-58; quoting Salazar 1997, 365-366; emphasis mine)

Bonifacio's Inang Bayan, a term he created, would be used by Emilio Aguinaldo to refer to both "motherland" as well as to a specific location (a specific town) when he was giving military orders (ibid., 58 n. 52).

It would seem therefore that, unlike Rizal's novels in Spanish, the Tagalog documents referred to by Woods, including those of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo, already had a meaning for the term *bayan* which could encompass the "motherland."

Woods's study of Tagalog documents makes him further conclude that the Tagalog term *bayan* (with meanings ranging from specific town, the people of that community, to motherland) had a kind of flexibility that other vernacular terms lacked like the Ilokano *ili* which in the past only referred to a specific location. With prefixes and suffixes *kailian* could refer to people who come from the same town or country (like the Tagalog *kababayan*). Today, *ili* refers to both town and country (ibid., 59).

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In the Pangasinan zarzuelas, the term *bahley* is used for "town" to distinguish that town from a larger space called *provincia* and *luyag*, as well as, a place beyond the town/provincial boundaries of Pangasinan which is referred to as *Ibali* (the outside). Towards the end of the zarzuela *Panaun Aman* presented in 1915, the Katipunero protagonist, Nanoy, uses the term *Filipinas* .

In my 1976 thesis on Mejia, I had translated the term Ibali as Manila since the student-characters were said to have gone to the Ibali to study (Pablo Mejia studied at UST). Moreover, none of the characters of Mejia were described to have studied abroad; thus the place they went to study, called Ibali, must have been Manila. Later, in 1996 (date of publication of my *Sarwelang Pangasinan* book), I asked my father (then 80 years old, born in 1916) and my aunt (then about 90 years old, born about 1906), what Pangasinan term they used for “country.” Both had no answer. Both had been Spanish and Pangasinan-speaking Pangasinenses, born and bred in the province until they went to Manila for tertiary education; yet they could not recall a Pangasinan term to refer to “country.” The Pangasinense born after 1946 might have a term for country other than Filipinas .

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The “subversive” reading (mentioned by Iletto) of Rizal’s martyrdom as iconically Christ-like provides us a look at Rizal “from below.” The studies of Fr. John Schumacher and Fr. Jose Arcillas on the context of Rizal’s texts and the role he played in the rise of nationalism; of Virgilio Almario on Balagtas’s influence on Rizal; of Benedict Anderson on the meanings of terms found in Rizal’s novels; of Reynaldo Iletto’s alternative “history from below” of Rizal’s martyrdom and the effect of this popular view on Philippine politics during the 1910-1914 period; of Milagros Guerrero and Rosario Cortes on the nature and roles played by the provincial elites; of Damon Woods on the Tagalog documents, provide us more guides with which to understand the discourses on such a complex phenomenon as nationalism obtaining in the colony.

There is another source I would like to bring into this paper on “reading nation” in twentieth century Philippine zarzuelas.

Teodoro A. Agoncillo in his *Filipino Nationalism 1872-1970* (1974), identifies one important determinant for the rise of Filipino nationalism<sup>15</sup> —the Filipinization of the secular clergymen who

were deprived of their right to be appointed to parishes because of the tenacious hold on parishes of locally-based Spanish religious orders (this is discussed in history books under themes of “secularization” and “Filipinization” of the parishes in the Philippines). According to the orientalist notions of the Spanish religious orders, members of the native clergy were unfit to be models of Christianity. They were ignorant of Church Law, and morally unfit because of their sexual proclivity. Whether or not the Spanish government in Spain shared these perceptions of the local clergy, the Spanish government at the Center knew that the Spanish friars had a role to play in keeping the colonial flock on the Spanish side.

Agoncillo also points to more political and economic dimensions of this racist perspective—the Spanish regulars (those belonging to the religious orders) and the Spanish seculars used the parishes as sources of their wealth and therefore did not want to be deprived of their supposed vested rights by the Filipino seculars who were clamoring for the “Filipinization of the parishes.” The clash between the Spanish regulars and seculars versus the Filipino seculars made the conflict racial in nature (Agoncillo 1974, 7).

Such economic and racial clashes between the Spanish religious orders/Spanish seculars and the local Filipino clergy finally culminated in the execution of Filipino priests, Padre Gomez, Padre Burgos, and Padre Zamora. A local uprising at the Cavite docks in 1872 (the Cavite Mutiny) by disgruntled dock workers which the Spaniards called an “insurrection” became the excuse to arrest, conduct secret trials and finally, to execute, post haste, on February 12, 1872, the supposed instigators of the “rebellion”—the three Filipino priests. Other Filipino priests and wealthy Filipinos of Spanish descent were exiled to the Carolines (ibid., 5-7). Whether or not they were patriots has not been clearly proven, but according to Rizal in the dedication of his *El Filibusterismo* to these three martyrs, he believed that they were the victims of Spanish injustice (“victims of the evil which I undertake to combat”—Rizal; quoted by Agoncillo 1974, 8). And although Agoncillo states that they were martyrs for their priestly class, he still asserts that

...the execution of 1872 served as a catalyst which produced a feeling of unity among the Filipinos. And so what the wealth of the emerging Filipino elite class failed to achieve, the garroting of the priests accomplished... (ibid., 8)

The Filipino reformists and their wealthy colleagues “did not agitate for separation from the colonial government ...they wanted the Philippines to be a province of Spain...to be given representation in the Spanish Cortes...to enjoy the rights of Spanish citizens...*they were conservatives*” (ibid., 11; emphasis mine).

Agoncillo’s treatment of the ilustrados is overtly scathing. Here he is not alone. Fast and Richardson, Guerrero, Constantino, and others would later write about the atrocities of the national and provincial elites which fanned peasant unrests in the 1920s-30s, the Huk rebellion, labor unionizing; and which still motivate the continuing struggle for kalayaan of the kapatiran and the katipunan<sup>16</sup>.

Schumacher on the theme of the conservatism of the elite, the betrayal of the Revolution and the Republic by them and what led to their betrayal provides a caveat with which to analyze this theme—the elites (municipal, provincial and national) did not form a homogeneous whole and did not have the same sources and bases of power (see Schumacher 1996, 204 ff).

Of the Filipino reformists, Agoncillo asserts that “the most devastating of the writings” came from Marcelo H. Del Pilar, the one who wrote satires against the friars “in the language of his people” (“the masses of the tagalog region”) and “employed his intellectual energy to make the fortnightly paper *La Solidaridad* (Solidarity) the uncompromising mouthpiece of the Filipino reformists. Yet he belatedly saw the futility of the reform movement...and became a revolutionist.” Unfortunately, del Pilar died on 4 July 1896, too early to physically participate in the Philippine Revolution of August 1896 led by Andres Bonifacio who founded the Katipunan secret society in 1892 (Agoncillo 1974, 10).

With the founding of the Katipunan by Bonifacio, “Filipino response to the Spanish challenge, may be said to have been active...” (ibid., 11). The “Katipunan had a mass base, the elite had none.” Agoncillo believes this was so because Bonifacio and his second in command, Emilio Jacinto, both wrote and dialogued with the masses in a language they could understand—Tagalog, while the elite (with the exception of del Pilar who used both Spanish and Tagalog) wrote in Spanish (ibid., 12). “There was a ‘yawning gap’ between them (the elite and the masses) in sentiment and social and economic status, that led to mutual suspicion and hence to a silent and undeclared class conflict” (ibid., 12-13). Agoncillo continues:

The conflict lies in the fact that the wealthy and the *ilustrados* or the highly educated class, were not only opposed to an armed conflict with the Spaniards, but also looked down upon the masses, in the manner of their Spanish masters, with aristocratic contempt. On the other hand, the masses, who bore the brunt, not only of Spanish injustices, but also of the armed revolution, suspected the elite of being indifferent, if not hostile to their cause. (ibid., 13)

Teodoro M. Kalaw who “saw the rise and fall of the revolution” in his memoirs, *Aide-de-Camp to Freedom* attests to these class animosities in his description of the revolution in Lipa.

...The fall of the Spanish sovereignty in Lipa (Batangas province) was celebrated with such festivity...*The Lipa aristocracy maintained its grand air* even in the face of an enthusiastic ardor for democracy and Liberty which had finally dawned upon the land... There were in Lipa, then in the custody of the (revolutionary) authorities, a group of Spanish prisoners, some handsome and dashing Spanish officers who continued to be friendly with certain young women of the Lipa aristocracy, who often visited them and



had parties with them on moonlight nights. *Class animosities flared up anew, that all had thought were dead.* Several young men, including myself, decided to teach these young ladies a lesson they would never forget... (Kalaw quoted in Agoncillo 1974, 13-14)

General Emilio Aguinaldo has his own account of the Philippine Revolution of 1896- 1899:

Spain maintained control of the Philippine Islands for more than three centuries and a half, during which period the *tyranny, misconduct and abuses of the Friars, and the Civil and Military Administration exhausted the patience of the natives, and caused them to make a desperate effort to shake off the unbearable galling yoke on the 26th and 31st August, 1896, then commencing the revolution in the provinces of Manila and Cavite.*” (in *ibid.*, 14; emphasis mine)

Whether or not the above explications of people and events before the Revolution, during the Revolution and the early decades of the twentieth century up to the Commonwealth period had been resonated in the zarzuelas will be further examined in Part II of this paper.

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## II

Part II will focus on two zarzuelas—Severino Reyes’s 1902 Tagalog zarzuela *Walang Sugat* (Not Wounded) and Pablo Mejia’s 1915 Pangasinan zarzuela *Panaun Aman* (The Past Era / Noong Unang Panahon)—as instances of “reading” nation formation and identity construction in Philippine cultural practices during the twentieth century.



Figure 3. Severino Reyes (1861-1942)



Figure 4. Pablo Mejia (1872-1934)

### *Severino Reyes and Walang Sugat (Not Wounded)*

Severino Reyes y Rivera was born on 11 February 1861 in Sta. Cruz, Manila. He was the fifth child of Rufino Reyes, a proprietor from Sta. Cruz, Manila and Andrea Rivera from Baliwag, Bulacan. Reyes obtained his early education from Catalino Sanchez, his higher studies at Escuela de Segunda Ensenanza of San Juan de Letran, and his tertiary education at University of Sto. Tomas where he enrolled for a Bachelor of Philosophy and Letters (Daria 1954, 33; citing information given by Reyes's oldest daughter, Mrs. Cristeta Revilla).

To avoid military conscription of all males of legal age during the Spanish regime, Reyes took a clerical job at the Tesoreria General de Hacienda. He then quit this job to put up a grocery and lemonade factory at the corner of Azcarraga Street and Rizal Avenue. In 1896, with the outbreak of the Katipunan-led revolution, he was imprisoned on the suspicion that he was a rebel because of his being a mason. He was later freed "because of his smart and witty replies when he was cross-examined by the friars" (ibid., 34; citing information provided by Narciso Reyes, son of Severino Reyes).

He married Maria Paz Puatu of Bulacan, overcoming the initial objections of her parents who spirited her to Bulacan. The couple had seven children. During the Japanese occupation of Manila, after contracting a heart disease, he died at home on 15 September 1942 (ibid., 34-35).

Severino Reyes became a zarzuela writer only late in life. In 3 April 1902, when his one-act plays were first staged—R.I.P and *Ang Kalupi*—he was already 42 years old. (ibid., 32 n. 49; citing Manlapaz 1931). What prompted Reyes to write was his perception that the zarzuelas of the other playwrights (Roman Reyes, Dr. Ambrosio de Guzman, Roman Dimayuga, Don Pedro A. Paterno and Hermogenes Ilagan) did not have “the spirit of revolt against the moro moro” although “they blazed the trail in making the theater-loving public gradually appreciate the zarzuelas” (ibid., 42-43; translating Reyes 1938, 14). He thus wrote R.I.P, a parodic tirade against the “moro moro” and *Ang Kalupi* (The Pocketbook) to counter the popularity of the moro moro (ibid., 42-43).

Reyes went on to write 57 works (18 of which were zarzuelas) making him the most prolific Tagalog writer, with the exception of Francisco Baltazar (Balagtas), and Jose Cruz (Huseng Sisiw) who each wrote 100 plays. His closest rival among his contemporaries was Patricio Mariano who wrote 45 plays (ibid., 45 n. 69).

Reyes, however, is best known for his *Walang Sugat* (1902) which later became a silent film (1912), then a sound film (1938). According to Reyes:

...I was greatly encouraged to continue writing more plays when I saw how the public acclaimed my first works...I then decided on the (Philippine) revolution for my new theme and wrote my second zarzuela...organized my own company (Gran Compania de Zarzuela de Tagala)...induced the moro moro actors to join our troupe...taught them how to sing...Professor Fulgencio Tolentino finished the score...Its

premiere performance took the theater by storm. (Reyes 1938, 15-18 n. 56; translated by Daria 1954, 43-44; emphasis mine)

*Walang Sugat* is a most acerbic attack against the Spanish friars and Spanish colonial government. Says Reyes:

(We give) thanks that the revolution came. The Spaniards were defeated and their rule came to an end. *The downfall of the Spanish government in the archipelago seemed to have awakened the dormant spirit of the Filipino writers* for since then, the staging of many plays began with themes similar to the *moro-moro*, except that the protagonists were Filipinos and Spaniards instead of Christians and Moslems, with the Spanish soldiers vanquished after the fighting. *Complaints, grievances and abhorrence against the Spanish government were the usual themes...* (1938, 14; translated by Daria 1954, 38; emphasis mine)

Indeed, the Filipino writers, even after the end of the Spanish colonial rule, continued to stage plays embodying their resentment against the Spanish friars and the Spanish as well as American colonial governments<sup>19</sup>.

According to Quintana T. Daria in her M.A. thesis—"A Critical Study of *Walang Sugat* by Severino Reyes with Brief Notes on His Eighteen Other Plays" (1954)—the historical scenes of *Walang Sugat* were based on "two related incidents which actually happened in Bulacan province—the first, in the town of Bulacan (then the provincial capital) and the second, at the railway station in the town of Guiguinto on May 27, 1898" (Daria 1954, 47). This detail is referred to by Severino Reyes himself in "Espectaculos-Zorilla," a news article that appeared in *El Renacimiento* in 16 July 1902 (ibid., 48 n. 75).

These events are found in Act I (Unang Bahagi), Scene 5 (Ikalimang Tagpo) "Prison in Bulacan"; and Act I (Unang Bahagi), Scene 10 (Ikasampung Tagpo) "Railway in Guiguinto, Bulacan."

*Walang Sugat*<sup>20</sup> is set in a small town in the province of Bulacan. Like several early zarzuelas of the period, there is a love plot but its resolution is complicated by an equally arresting plot—the revolution against the Spanish colonial administration. Teñong and distant cousin, Julia, are in love, a secret which they have kept from Julia’s mother, Aling Juana. The first complication is introduced when Teñong’s servant (Lucas) arrives with news that Teñong’s father (Capitan Ingo), as well as the other men of the town have been accused and arrested as rebels by the Voluntariong Sta. Maria (Filipino volunteers of the Spanish army) and have been brought to the provincial capital jail. The townspeople gather provisions which the prisoners might need and immediately travel to the capitolyo. This is one instance of *damayan* (Ikaapat na Tagpo, Unang Bahagi; *ibid.*, 250-251):

Lucas: Tayo’t ating dalawin

Ang tagarito sa atin

Coro: Dalhan sila nang pagkain

At bihisan ay gayon din...

Isang Lalaki: Makikita ko si Tatang

Isang Lalaki : Kaka ko’y gayon din naman.

Isang Babae : Asawa ko’y paroroonan

Isang Babae : Anak ko ay matitignan

Lahat: Tayo na’t sumakay sa tren

bumili pa nang bibilhin

at sa kanila ay dalhin

masasarap na pagkain <sup>21</sup>

The townspeople unite in support of (*damayan*)<sup>22</sup> the men in their family as well as the men from the other families, a familial action elevated to the level of a town’s, which foreshadows other concrete, more revolutionary action in the later scenes.

In the next scene, Unang Bahagi, Ikalimang Tagpo (“Bilangguan sa Bulakan, patio ng Gobierno, maraming mga bilanggong nakatali sa mga rehas. Ang mga Prayle at si Marcelong Alcayde”), the friars

survey the prisoners, pronouncing members of the principalia (cabezas de barangay) like Capitan Luis, Capitan Piton, Capitan Miguel, a Juez de Paz and Capitan Ingo as “mga masaman tao,” mason and/or *filibustero*.

- Religioso: si Capitan Luis...*masaman* tao ito...
- Religioso 1: Kun hindi man *mason*, marahil *filibustero*, sapagka't kung sumulat maraming K...
- Religioso 1: Masaman tao yan...mabuti mamatay siya
- Religioso 2: Si Capitan Piton, si Capitan Miguel, at an Juez de Paz, ay daratdagan ng Racion...
- Religioso 2: Ang racion na sinasabi ko sa iyo ay palo, maramin palo an kailangan
- Marcelo: Anong hirap na po ang mga katawan nila, at nakaaawa po namang mangag si daing. Isang linggo na pong paluan ito at isang linggo na po naman walang tulog sila. (Daria 1954, 252; emphasis mine)

Capitan Ingo, Teñong's father, is in a pitiful state:

- Marcelo: Mamatay pong walang pagsala; Wala na pong laman ang dalawang pigi sa kapapalo at ang dalawang braso po'y litaw na ang mga buto, nagitgit sa pagkagapos.
- Religioso 1: Mabuti, mabuti! Marcelo, huwag mon kakalimutan na si Capitan Ingo ay araw araw papaloing at ibibilad at bubusan nan tubig an ilon, at huwag bibigyan nan mabutin tulugan, ha? (ibid., 253)

For the friars, there is no “awa awa. Nayon walan awa-awa. Duro que duro...awa-awa!!! All the prisoners are sentenced to die but not before they are subjected to more torture— whipping, food and sleep deprivation, the scorching sun's rays and the pouring of water into their noses.

Yet, when the townspeople arrive, these same friars tell the prisoners' families that they (the friars) have told the alcalde not to torture the prisoners; moreover, that they (the friars) are on their way to the governor to plead for the prisoners' release. In gratitude, some of the townspeople kiss their hands. Teñong, however, and the other men do not. Teñong has overheard the friars' real plans—to tell the governor that all the rich people of the province must be arrested and killed because they are evil.

Religioso 1: Despues de ver al Gobernador...a Manila, cogemos el tren el la estacion de Guiguinto; es necesario decir al General que empiece ya a fusilar a los ricos e ilustrados de la provincia porque esto va mal. (ibid., 254; emphasis mine)

Kissing the white friar's hand is a Catholic practice indicating subservience to the priest, rather than to the Holy Mother Church. Therefore, refusing to kiss the cura's hand is one sign that is constantly being used in the zarzuelas to indicate the rebellious nature of the protagonists. For example, there is the first Pangasinan zarzuela by Catalino Palisoc entitled *Say Liman ag Naketket Ag Pampinsiwan* (The Hand that Cannot be Cut Must Not be Kissed) staged in 1901.

When Teñong is berated as “kay sama mong bata” by his mother, Capitana Putin, for not kissing the friar's hand, he retorts:

*Inang, ang mga kamay pong nanatay ng kapuwa ay hindi dapat hagkan. Huwag ka pong maniwalang sasabihin sa Gobernador na si Tatang ay pawalan, bagkus pa ngang ipagbibiling patayin na ngang tuluyan. (Sarili) Kung mababatid ng mga taong ito ang pinag-uspan nang apat na lilo! Nakakalunos ang kamangmangan.* (Ikapitong Tagpo, Unang Bahagi; Daria 1954, 255; emphasis mine)

This is the deception/treachery theme being played out, which has been discussed above in Almario's reading of Rizal's novel and what Rizal might have drawn from his own reading of Balagtas.

Capitan Ingo's final moments with his family is described in the language of the pasyon, particularly the crucifixion scene with Christ's final words to John and Mary:

Ingo           luray luray na ang katawan ko...  
                   (to Teñong) *Bunso ko! Huwag mong pababayaang ang inang mo!*  
                   (to his wife and the other women) ...*Putin, ay Putin Juana...Julia...*  
                   *kayo na lamang ang inaasahan kong kakalinga sa kanila...*  
                   (Daria 1954, 255; emphasis mine)

and Christ's "Consumatum est":

Ingo:           *Ang kaluluwa ko'y inihain ko na kay Bathala.*  
                   Adios, mga kaputol ng dibdib! *Adios mga kababayan!* Ako'y inyong patawarin. Naluuy na yata ang puso nang mga kastila! (ibid., 255; emphasis mine)

With this allusion to the pasyon, and Ingo's saying farewell to "mga kababayan," the scene transcends the death of just one man. The latter is resonated by Teñong whose cry for revenge is not only on a personal level:

*Ang lahat ng ito ay gawa ng pari na sa Filipinas siyang naghahari; lalang ni Lucifer sa demonyong lahi, kay Satang malupit nakikiugali....*



Taya nang loob ko't, binabanta-banta  
 mga taong iya'y tadtarin man yata...  
 lahat nilang laman, buto sampung taba  
 di makakabayad sa utang sa madla...  
 (ibid., 256; emphasis mine)

Revenge against the cruelty of the friars (*demonyong lahi, kay Satang malupit nakikiugali* or race of demons, following the cruel nature of Satan) is no longer just a personal fight but part of a public/social struggle (*utang sa madla*; or “debt” owed to the people).

Thus, in *Ikasiyam na Tagpo, Unang Bahagi*, Teñong enjoins the people to revolt:

Teñong: Mga kasama, magsikuha nang gulok, at ang may  
 rebolber ay dalhin  
 Isa: Ako'y may iniingatan  
 Isa pa: Ako ma'y mayroon din  
 Teñong: *Tayo na* sa estacion nang Guiguinto.  
 (ibid., 257-258; emphasis mine)

The scene at the Guiguinto train station (*Ikasampung Tagpo, Unang Bahagi*; ibid., 260) is short and violent but adequately foreshadowed by the many expressions of anger at the cruelty of the friars and the action of the townspeople of arming themselves.

**Ikasampung Tagpo  
 Sa Estacion nang Guiguinto  
 Mga Fraile at mga kasama ni Teñong**

Mga Lalake: Mga lahi ni Lucifer! Magsisi na kayo't  
 oras na ninyo!  
*Ikaw ang pumatay sa ama ko!*

Mga Fraile: Perdon! Perdon!  
 (Hagaran at saksakan, ang isang Fraile ay makasasakay sa  
 isang tren lumalakad.) (ibid., 260; emphasis mine)

The revolutionaries slaughter the friars to avenge their fathers' deaths. "*Ikaw ang pumatay sa ama ko!*" The line is said not by one man but by a group of men—Mga lalake—instead of just a Teñong or another man seeking revenge for his own father's death.

The national dimension of this action against the friars is foreshadowed also by the introduction of the *inang bayan* trope in the previous scene when Julia attempts to dissuade Teñong from leaving his mother and her to join the revolution. She tries to remind him of a son's duty towards his newly-bereaved mother.

Julia: Diyata't matitiis na ina'y lisanin mo, sa kahapis-hapis na anyo? Diba nalalaman mong sa kanya'y walang ibang makaaliw kundi ikaw...ay walang ibang lunas kundi ikaw na bugtong na anak (ibid., 258).

But Teñong's response resonates with the theme of *inang bayan* calling her children to rescue her from her abject state:

Teñong: Julia, tumutunog na ang oras ng pananawagan ng *mga naaping ina*, sa pinto ng nagpapaubayang anak; *ang ina natin* ay nangangailangan ng *tunay nating pagdamay*; dito sa dibdib ko'y tumitimo ang nakakalunos niyang himutok, ang nakapanglulumo niyang daing: "Mga anak," anya, "*ngayo'y kapanahunang ibangon ninyo sa pagkalumagi...*(ibid., 258; emphasis mine)

*Ang ina natin* ay nangangailangan na ng tunay na pagdamay. Duty to just one mother is transposed to duty to our mother; no longer just one mother or Teñong's mother but "our" mother (i.e., motherland). Moreover, the phrase *tunay na pagdamay* (damay or "participation in another person's plight" according to Iletto 1998, 52) brings in the *damayan* theme which had been demonstrated earlier by the townspeople's action of going to the prisoners; but which is

now the *damayan* that is associated with the popular discourse on the revolution within the metaphorical configuration of the *pasyon*.

While Rizal might not have thought that his contemporaries were prepared for separation from Spain (or revolution, according to other historians), his martyrdom made him the iconic figure of sacrifice, of *pagdamay sa inang bayan*. I have already quoted what Ileto calls a “subversive” (anti-pacifist, anti-constitutional nationalism, anti-American colonial government) reading of Rizal as hero (ibid., 141-142).

This 1902 zarzuela already illustrated what was going to be rife in the popular consciousness, especially before the Commonwealth period (1932-1942)—desire for independence. The Filipino elite in the American colonial bureaucracy may have used the rhetoric of independence during their missions to the United States; and during municipal and national elections to win votes. But as Ileto says, Rizal’s martyrdom begged the question—“what happened to the notion of shedding blood for the redemption of the motherland?” (ibid., 142). Moreover, “a condition of *damay* induced among the masses by Rizal’s Christ-like death intensified their support for the revolution” (ibid., 53). It was also widely believed that Rizal had resurrected from the dead and had become embodied in a figure “with unusual powers.” “Almost without exception, peasant rebel leaders up to the 1920s claimed to be Rizal or in some sort of communication with him” (ibid., 142 n. 16).

Another theme related to the revolution, is the *panahon na theme*:

Tañong: *Oras na, Julia ko, nang paglagot sa matibay na tanikalang mahigpit na tatlong daang taon sinasangayad; hindi dapat tulutang mga inaanak natin ay magising pa sa kalagim-lagim na kaalipinan... (Daria 1954, 258-259; emphasis mine)*

“Panahon na! The time has come.” (For a longer discussion of this theme, see Ileto 1998, 148).

In terms of the resolution of the love plot—Julia who has been forced by her duty to her mother to accept Miguel, “a rich but stupid suitor,” is about to wed him in a grand celebration to which the whole town is invited. However, she has sent word to Teñong through Lucas, for her beloved to rescue her. On the day of the wedding, the rebels arrive in town with a fatally wounded Teñong on a stretcher. His last wish— to marry Julia— is communicated to Julia through a local priest who is brought in to give the last rites to Teñong. In spite of the objections of Miguel and the initial shock of Julia’s mother who only learns about the secret relationship between Teñong and Julia, the marriage ritual is performed. Immediately after the ceremony, the bridegroom stands up and the crowd shouts—“Walang Sugat! Walang Sugat!” (Not Wounded).

ЖЖЖ

**Pablo Mejia and “Panaun Aman”**  
(The Past Era / Noong Unang Panahon).

Pablo de Guzman Mejia was born on 16 January 1872 to Don Pedro and Dona Luisa of San Nicolas, Pangasinan. He was the fourth child of an artistically talented family. For his early schooling, he went to San Juan de Letran and for his tertiary education, he enrolled at the University of Sto.Tomas where he received a degree in Liberal Arts. During the revolution of 1896, his involvement in seditious activities earned him the title of “Generalissimo y Mason Pobleto.” Like many of his anacbanua townmates and those from neighboring Tayug, Pangasinan, he had joined the Katipunan as well as the Free Masonry.<sup>24</sup>

His activities had already marked him as rebel among the local Spanish officials who raided his home in Cabanatuan (Nueva Ecija) where he had been teaching. Fortunately for Mejia, he had gone to his hometown (San Nicolas) upon the death of his grandmother. In his

Cabanatuan home were seized Rizal's novels, and Mejia's subversive painting depicting the friars as bloodsuckers. Mejia did not return to Cabanatuan because of this and proceeded to his brother's house in San Manuel, Pangasinan. Upon his arrival though, he was seized by the guardia civil, paraded in the town plaza as a warning to other *insurrectos*, then made to walk to Asingan, also in Pangasinan, and finally taken to Lingayen where most of the other rebels were brought. Those who survived the torture there were then transferred to Manila and incarcerated at Bilibid Prison. In prison, he was tortured like the other prisoners and only a fluke saved him from the mass execution of prisoners—he had fallen asleep while in the toilet on the eve of the mass execution. Given this “miraculous escape from death,” he became friends with the general of the prisons and other inmates whose portraits (or their families' portraits) he painted.

While in prison, on 30 December 1896, he heard about the execution of Jose Rizal which prompted him to write his plays on Rizal and translations of Rizal's works. After being released from jail, and in recognition of his involvement in the Revolution, he was appointed councilor of his town by the Revolutionary Philippine Government.

He returned to Tayug and taught at Tayug Elementary School in 1901; then became secretary to the Mayor of San Nicolas (1901-1911); justice of the peace of Asingan, San Manuel and Natividad (1912-1914); and teacher of Spanish at Dagupan Institute, now University of Dagupan (1926-1927).

The last three decades of his life were his busiest. In terms of his work as writer, he started his monumental dictionary (*Pangasinan –Catellano tan Catellano-Pangasinan* in 1907) (Acosta 1936). For his poetry, mostly published in *Tonung* (Uprightness, a weekly Pangasinan newspaper of which he was the editor and which existed for ten years until 1934), he earned the titles “Prince among Pangasinan Poets” and “The Balagtas of the North” (*ibid.*).

Most of his poems survive through the songs in his zarzuelas. From 1927-1928, he was also manager and director of the Mejia-Valenzuela Company which broadcasted “The Pangasinan Hour” weekly, starting at 8:00 in the evening, from its station near Plaza Goiti. Its repertoire consisted mainly of Pangasinan songs (Patajo-Legasto 1976, 46).

His work as zarzuelista and director of Olup Mejia started on 17 March 1907, when his first play, *Gimmalet* (Engrained) was first staged in Tayug with much success. Olup Mejia went on to present Mejia’s other zarzuelas all over Pangasinan in quick succession—*Basingkawel* (The Election Campaign, 1911), *Panaun Aman* (The Past Era, 1915), *Dosay Lipot* (The Penalty of Treachery, 1916), *Divorcio* (Divorce, 1916) and *Silib na Tobunbalo* (The Cleverness of Youth) or *Manok Ya Ibubulang* (The Fighting Cock, 1917).<sup>26</sup> Olup (Group) Mejia went on to stage the plays for almost thirty years from 1907 to 1936. Pablo Mejia died on 16 January 1934 at age sixty-two, in Dagupan while he was working on his play, *Panaon Natan* (The Present Era).<sup>27</sup>

*Panaun Aman* (1915), considered his best and most popular zarzuela, was presented in Calasiao on 9 July 1916. Of the six extant zarzuelas of Pablo Mejia, it is *Panaon Aman*, which most overtly belongs to the tradition of the “seditious” zarzuelas predominant during the early years of the twentieth century (Lapena-Bonifacio 1972, 15).

The zarzuela opens with a song in praise of Filipinas (the shimmering pearl of the orient, the land of brown, beautiful women and of brave and sturdy men) by the heroine, Ilalo.

#### Dangowan K1

...Dalin day kayomanggi

Tan mabintan bibii

Dalin day mabayani

Tan maparawes ya lalaki.

Ngaran toy Filipinas

Perla so alimbawa...

(Onan Baagi; Patajo-Legasto 1976, Appendix B4, 1)

ЖЖЖ

## Song No. 1

...Land of the brown people  
 And beautiful women  
 Land of the heroes  
 And of the brave men.  
 Its name is Filipinas  
 It is likened to a pearl...  
 (Act I; Patajo-Legasto 1976, Appendix C4, 1)

Ilalo is engaged to a fine young student whom her parents suspect to be a Mason. The suspicion that he is a Mason and his overt criticism of the local clergy, causes Ilalo's father to warn Ilalo against Nanoy. Don Julio, having been summoned by the white cura to explain why the former allows Nanoy into his home, also worries that courting the displeasure of the priest might harm his chances for the position of Capitan. The pleas of Ilalo's mother, Marta, for the former to go to the powerful priest to kiss his hands and to confess her sins (i.e., Ilalo's own criticism of the cura), are also not heeded. Marta tells her daughter the effects of the latter's behavior on her father's chances at being supported by the priest for the position of Capitan (Act 1, Scene 3, 2-5).

## Dangowan K 2

Marta: Diad dalin Filipinas  
 Say malabay a mankapitan  
 man juez de paz tan arum nin  
 magangganan betang  
*Nakaukolan toy onla ya manpinsiw a naynay*  
*Ed limay pari curan*  
*Amay kamarerua tan laman.*

Tan tekepan so pinsiw na ankablin palaho  
 Ya pangipatnagan ed sikatoy matuan aro  
 Dalawen a mabetbet, pan-alagday ganggan to  
 Saray mablin kayarian pangarod sikato.  
 (Onan Baagi, K3 Lantad, Appendix  
 B4, 3-4; emphasis mine)

ЖЖЖ

## Song No. 2

In this country Filipinas  
 One who aspires for the position of capitan  
 or justice of the peace or any other key office  
*He needs to always kiss  
 The hands of the priest  
 The father of the body and soul.*

And he also has to accompany the kissing of the hands with  
 gifts  
 As proof of his true devotion  
 Frequent visits to him to await his orders  
 Valuable belongings to be donated to him.  
 (Act 1, Scene 3, Appendix C4, 4; emphasis mine)

When Nanoy and Ilalo meet, he tells her that the priest as a man, also sins so why should the priest's hands be kissed (Scene 4, Song 3). Ilalo then tells Nanoy that she will go to the Ibali (Manila) and seek the protection of their provincemates. Nanoy is skeptical about the latter's ability to protect Ilalo since unlike the other Filipinos, they have not been active in the fight for freedom. They are like dogs which meekly follow their masters. Moreover, the Pangasinan youth have no patience for study and are thus unenlightened. Finally, whatever money they have is spent on jewelry to beautify themselves like the women.

Nanoy:      Ay Ilalo, ag mo ni amta manaya. Pangaskasiyan yay luyag tayo, no kuan mo naahni, ta anggapu nin balut diman so nasasalitan anak ton makapangitandurod sikato; anggapu nidman so sakurong to. Amin da lawari arum a luyluyag pigapiga so ahnak dan walad Ibali ya wala rad pantok na dayew, lapud kakabatan o lapud kayamanan. Kanyan , panon la kasi kipapasen tayon papangasinan no bihlang makaokbad so Filipinas ed oley na Espana. Wala iti lambengat lagi kalamod ed saginunod naahni.



Ilalo: Ontan manaya. Antoy kagagawaan tontan'ey?

Nanoy: Saray manad-aral singa ra samay...tabid pangialiling...singa ra samay ason ampoti ngoruy ikol, ya kuan day omaano... Sikatoyay nanaimatonan ed saray oonlan manaral. No akaaral la ray daiset onpawil larad bahley da, ta mailiw la ra. Ontunda la ra, ta kuan da no masarag la man. Anggapuy seseg, anggapuy sungdo, anggapuy paot, anggapuy ogagep a makatundas ed pantok na kakabatan...

Et no nipaakar ed kayamanan, panoy iyaman tayon peteg ed anggan iner a pasen, no singa saya natan ya, no nawalaan iti lay daiset a kuarta, ilenleneg ti lad saray ankablin parakep na laman, arawi lan ismetan komun ta ipounan ed bengat lan pakalmoay arum to? Say laki mipalpalyagan ed parakep na bii; mantolaing met na balitok, mansingsing met na binatoay mabmabli; kulang lambengat lay pan-ikaw to met tinampokay mankidiam. (K4, Appendix B4, 6-7; emphasis mine)

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Nanoy: Ay Ilalo, you still do not know. Our province is pitiful for none of its children can be mentioned as having brought honor to it. No one can be its strength and support. So what would our fate be, we the people of Pangasinan, in the event that Filipinas gains its freedom from Spain? We will again be left behind.

Ilalo: So that is the situation. What could have been the reason for it?...

Nanoy: The students are like dogs...those with white tails, as the hunters say...they back out...This can also be observed in the students. Once they have learned a little, they come home because they are homesick. They stop studying because they say they have learned enough. There is no patience. Therefore, there is no success. If there is no determination, there can be no achievement in the field of learning...

With respect to wealth, how can we ever be rich if, as it is now, once we earn a little money, we spend it all on luxuries instead of saving whatever we have in something that will earn. A man even competes with a woman. He also adorns himself with gold jewelry. He also wears rings with precious stones. The only thing he lacks are earrings. (Scene 4, Appendix C4, 8-9)

However, Nanoy eventually agrees that she should leave the province, far from the reach of the evil cura, and he would follow after a few days.

Juxtaposing Ilalo's song (Song 1, Act I) about Filipinas (the land of beautiful brown women and sturdy men), with Nanoy's above tirade against the the Pangasinenses (provincemates) for their lack of involvement in the revolution, the unenlightened Pangasinan students having no patience and determination to pursue higher learning and their squandering money in unproductive activities like buying jewelry—this juxtaposition illustrates that Panaun Aman (1915) already has a consciousness of country. Through this zarzuela, Mejia is chiding his provincemates for their lack of revolutionary ardor and their lack of concern for the progress of their home province.

To return to the plot, Don Julio goes to the convent to solicit the cura's blessings for his appointment as Capitan (Scene 6). He goes there with gifts—a horse, a live deer, a leg of a newly butchered cow. The cura receives the gifts but remains displeased with Don Julio because

of Nanoy. Don Julio returns home and tells Marta to hear mass everyday, wear the scapular of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and the black belt of St. Francis, go to confession every month, and buy more religious relics from Manila for the convent. All this, to curry favor with the powerful cura—the god in a world which he rules more powerfully than Jesus (Scene 8, Song 4).

#### Dangowan K4

Julio: Say pari curay manoley  
Ed amin danyan balbahley  
Diad lima to mantegteey  
Kabilay tan ipapatey...

Say cura so Dios diad dalin  
Ya mangganggan tan manbilin  
Manamalsa met so aliling  
Dios ya makapanyarin amin. Amen. Jesus.  
(K8, Appendix B4, 10-11; emphasis mine)

ЖЖЖ

#### Song No. 4

Julio: *It is the priest who rules  
In all of these towns  
It is from his hands  
From which life and death stems...*

*The priest is God on earth  
Who rules and commands  
He is like the Creator  
God who is powerful over all. Amen. Jesus  
(Scene 8, Appendix C4, 13-14; emphasis mine)*

In Scene 9, Act 1, the priest meets with the anacbanuas to remind them of their duties—the fence that must be built around

the convento, his daily sustenance of eggs and chickens, his embroidered robe from Manila, grass for his horse, and wood for the posts of the plaza which must be brought to the sawmill. He instructs the schoolteachers to make the students do the last chore. When the cura is told that this might endanger the lives particularly of the children, he callously retorts that they have enough money to pay for the lives of the children in case of fatal accidents. The leaders accede to his requests and accept the reality that the priest has great power over them (Song 5, Appendix C4, 17). This acknowledgement shows that the power of the priest is pervasive over all the anacbanuas, and not only over Don Julio and Marta.

#### Dangowan K5

Amin: (anakbanwa—Capitan, maestro,  
maistra, capitana...)

*Sikami so olud bahley*

*Ya manganggan tan man-oley*

*Wala balet so pangoluen*

*Ya ama min mangatawen*

*Sikatoy manunaan mi*

*Tan kagalalang min ari*

*Sikatoy Dios min man-iwi*

*Tan mangganggad sikami.*

(K10, Appendix B4, 13; emphasis mine)

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#### Song No. 5

All: *We are the leaders of the town*  
*Who guide and rule*  
*But there is one who is older*  
*Our father who rules.*

*He is our leader*  
*And our respected king*  
*He is our God who cares*  
*And who guides all.*

(Scene 10, Appendix C4, 17; emphasis mine)

The extent of the cura's power over all the anacbanuas in town is apparent in the song.

In Manila, Nanoy and Ilalo marry, then return home to ask their parents' forgiveness (Komaduan Baagi, K1 and K2; Act II, Scenes 1 and 2). In turn, Ilalo's parents ask Nanoy to kiss the priest's hands and ask for forgiveness. Nanoy refuses and asks his in-laws why they slavishly accept (like domesticated carabaos who have forgotten how to use their horns) what the priest tells them and does to them. But why lead a troubled life, the parents answer. To submit to slavery in order to avoid trouble is a fate worse than death, is Nanoy's final statement. The couples part with the older couple bemoaning the imprudence and recklessness of the youth; and the young pair acknowledge that fear of the clergy is the reason behind the country's lack of progress. But the latter still believe that with courage, they can win against the clergy (Act II, Song 7).

#### Dangowan K7

Nanoy: Say alablabas a talaw  
Ed satay curan duksaan  
Sikato tan so senggegay  
Ag ialigwas na bilay.  
(Komaduan Baagi, K2, Appendix B4, 19)

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#### Song No. 7

Nanoy: Our extreme fear  
Of that tyrant priest  
That is the cause  
Of our non-progress in life.  
(Act II, Scene 2, Appendix C4, 23)

The next scene (K3, Scene 3) shows the Capitan ordering the Actual to procure a chicken from the barrio to give as gift to the visiting tax collector. The Actual, in turn, instructs the Nanbaras to get two chickens. The latter then orders the guardilla to procure five chickens. The guardilla who goes to the barrio tells the Basal (barrio

head) that he was instructed to get nine chickens. The people of the barrio are finally ordered to give sixteen chickens. The “donation” of chickens to the priest is already a daily burden for the barrio folk but they are unable to disobey the current order to give chickens also to the tax commissioner. This scene illustrates how corruption was so deeply rooted in all levels—from the town leaders to the barrio head—amongst the local officials who were working for the colonial government in the provinces and towns.

In the same scene, the Basal and the guardilla talk about Jose Rizal who went to Spain to expose the abuses of the clergy to the Spanish government. They also discuss the practice of kissing the priests’ hands which is no longer observed in other provinces but which is still being followed in Pangasinan.

Basal: *Satan konun laki (Rizal) et baleg konuy panlilikna tod sayay nagagawad sikatayo; karalaan ti tan konu ya linmad Espana; diman to konu idadalem ed pakaoley so kapapasegsegang tayo. Sikatayo aripen manayay kipapasen tid saray kakastila; et sarayay paparin ampotin wadya alabas konu manayay gagawaen dan kabaglan.*

*Pati satay pinsiw, pinsiw, pinsiw ed lima ray a inbangat dad siktayo... Diman konud Ibali, anggapu tay pipinsiw ed pari; Dia balet, ay katawan! Makapabaing...ngalngalin napildak so eleng tayod kapipinsiw! Agay lay inkamalkotagong tayo! (Komaduan Baagi, K3, Appendix B4, 22; emphasis mine)*

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Basal: *That man (Rizal), they say, feels very much for the things that are happening to us. He went to Spain. There he reported the abuses of the rulers against*

us. We are considered slaves by the Spaniards and these white priests here, they say, are already abusive in what they do to us.

*Even the kissing of the hand, the kissing of the hand, the kissing of the hand which they taught us....there in Manila, there is no more kissing of the hand But here, ay katawan ! How shameful... our noses are almost flat from too much kissing. How ignorant we are! (Act II, Scene 3, Appendix C4, 26; emphasis mine)*

Finally they talk about Don Julio's son-in-law, a believer of Rizal's teachings, who is not allowed to return to their town. The priest has instructed his guards to arrest Nanoy if he makes an appearance.

In the scene above (Scene 3, Act II; C4, 24-28) the basal and the guardillas talk about how ignorant their provincemates are since the practice of kissing the hands of the priests which is no longer done in Manila, is still observed in Pangasinan. This is Mejia through *Panaun Aman* illustrating the backwardness of the Pangasinenses.

The above reference to Rizal by the Basal might mean that Rizal was known, not only by the ilustrados but also by the "commonfolk" (down to the barrio level).

Earlier, I had mentioned that Jose Rizal and his work were known to both Mejia and Reyes. Mejia produced several original poems and plays (as well as translations of Rizal's works) after Rizal's execution. I had also quoted Ileteo who said that "a condition of damay induced among the masses by Rizal's Christ-like death intensified their support for the revolution" (Ileteo 1998, 53).

The rebellion has indeed started and many "indios" from Tarlac and Nueva Ecija have already joined the fight. Julio has heard from the Capitan that insurrectos from eight provinces have been arrested and

tells Marta that he is unsure whether or not Pangasinan has joined the rebellion (Scene 5, Act II). Then Nanoy is arrested and Ilalo and her parents visit him in prison. Other members of the town have also been arrested (Scene 6-8, Act II). Nanoy is tortured by the guards and the pleas of Ilalo for compassion are ignored. Ilalo affirms her willingness to share her husband's fate (Scene 9, Song 9; Act II), then prepares their things for their journey to Balabak, an isolated forest where political prisoners are to be exiled.

As the prisoners leave for Balabak, they sing of their love for country and their hope for the tyrants' eventual defeat (Scene 12, Song 10; Act II).

#### Dangowan K10

Nanoy: Diad sikan dalin ya ninakan ko  
Onpatanid lay maermen kon puso...

mo pan-ermenan yan id-irap  
Ya itepel day inarom ya anak...

No bilay ko so nibagat  
Ya onkanad sikan mamasalindak  
Ialay kon mabulbulos lahwas  
Andin balut imbel na linawak.

Amin: Sikayon asawa min pinabpabli  
Tan sikayon atateng tan agagi  
Tan lapag yo met ya kabahleyan mi  
Pikasi yo komuy kilaban mi.  
(Komaduan Baagi, K12, Appendix B4, 29-30;  
emphasis mine)

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#### Song No. 10

Nanoy: To you my land of birth  
My sad heart bids farewell...



Do not be saddened by the suffering  
Endured by your beloved child...

If my life is needed  
To be dedicated to you  
I would give it freely  
I would not resent it.

All: You our beloved wives  
You, our parents and brothers  
And also you, our countrymen  
Pray for our safety...  
(Act II, Scene 12, Appendix C4, 35;  
emphasis mine)

Nanoy's reference to sacrifice for one's land of birth and his addressing the land of birth as a mother who should not be saddened by his (inarom ya anak/your beloved son's) suffering brings in the thematics of sacrifice for Inang Bayan. The other prisoners also address kabahleyan mi which can now be interpreted as our countrymen rather than our townmates (usually bahley=town) because of its association with Nanoy's reference to the land of birth of a beloved son or the motherland.

After a year (Act III), Ilalo's parents talk of the insurrectos having fled to the mountains after the rebellion had been suppressed and the exile of Aguinaldo to Hongkong. Don Julio then hears news from a balolaki (young man) about the rebellion not being over and about Aguinaldo, with the support of the Americans, returning to the Philippines to fight the Spaniards. Don Julio, however, is skeptical that the Filipinos, including his provincemates would side with the Americans. Why fight them (the Spaniards) when they praised us for not being involved in the revolution, he adds. The young man with whom Don Julio discusses these matters, says that people from other towns are already saying that they (Don Julio and his provincemates) do not know how to sacrifice for our land of birth.

Julio: Bakalen tayo laingen iray kakastila? Anta indaydayew day kaoyamoan tayon papangasinan lapud ag ti inpibiang ed sayay apalabas a bakal, deralen ti laingen natay inkirayew tayo?...diralen tayoy panangaro ray kakastilad sikatayo?

Balolaki: Anto la ya kayo mama ! Kawananen yo tan a panangaro tan inpangirayew day kakastilad sikatayo, ag yo amta a nunoten ya balbaleg iman a sengeg na balaw day arum a bahley ed sikatayo, ta ag ti amtan isakit so nianakan tin dalin... Kalamud irayay totoon daan. Dapot no ag ira nasigensigen, anggan aripen lan aripey kipapasen da. (Komatlun Baagi, K2, Appendix C3, 32-33; emphasis mine)

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Julio: We are going to revolt against the Spaniards? Why fight them (the Spaniards) when they praised us the panganinenses for not being involved in the revolution? Are we now going to destroy their goodness towards us? Are we going to destroy the love of the Spaniards for us?

Balolaki: Why are you like that, Sir! Why do you value the love and the goodness given to us by the Spaniards? Don't you know what the other towns are saying about us, that we do not know how to protect our land of birth?... How pitiful these old people are! As long as they are not disturbed, they will not mind being treated as slaves. (Act III, Scene 2, Appendix C4, 37-38; emphasis mine)

In Balabak, Nanoy and the other exiles are doing hard labor until a messenger tells them that they are to be sent home (Song 11).

The revolution continues. It is rumored that the insurrectos are about to enter Pangasinan. The letters of the priests denouncing the Americans as heathens go unheeded as more and more people side with the insurrectos and the Americans. Finally, Katipu-neros led by Captain Nanoy enter the town and after a gun battle, capture the priest and the guardia civil. Instead of allowing the insurrectos to cruelly punish the enemies, Nanoy lets them go, saying that they had fought to banish all atrocities; committing the same kind of acts would make them no better than their enemies.

Julio: Panon anak ko no makapawil ni pakaoley day papari'ey? ...

Nanoy: ...Agay lay ag kaekal ed nunot yon a satay takut ed pari...Asabi lay angga na pakaoley day papari. Ekal yo la tay takut ed sikara.

Mario: ...akin et ibulos met yay civil? Say toon maramsak ed dili ton karalaan lapu bengat ed taku'tod saray manangaripen, nepeg a tadtaren, galpongen insan ipabuag ed ayep so laman to.

Nanoy: ...Say angibuatan tayon Filipinos na bakal, lapud bosul tayod karamsakan ya inpakpakana rad sikatayo na saray kasungpa. Et no kabosul tayoy karamsakan, akin et agamilen tayo? Areg komun, masarag lan dosa to so puut na dili ton kalakal no nanunotan to ray ginawgawa ton panamairap. (Komatlun Baagi, K13, Appendix B4, 40)

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Julio: ...What will happen, my son, if the priests will return to power?...

Nanoy: ...Why can not you remove your fear of the priest...The time has come for the end of the rule of the priest..Remove your fear of them.

Mario: ...Why also set the guard free? A person who is cruel towards his countrymen because of his fear of the oppressors, deserves to be chopped to pieces and have his flesh eaten by the animals...

Nanoy: We Filipinos started the revolution because we hated the atrocities committed against us by those whom we hated. And if we hated cruelty, why should we use it. . . It is sufficient that his punishment be the bitterness of his own conscience, when he remembers the cruelty he inflicted. (Act III, Scene 13, Appendix C4, 40)

Ilalo and Nanoy are reunited (Song 12). Friends are also reunited. A wounded Katipunero, Piro, meets Suan who had been hiding since the start of the rebellion. Suan chides Piro for his foolishness in joining the Katipunan which has resulted in his coming home a cripple. Piro, in turn, tells his friend that Suan's cowardice is one reason for the lack of progress (aligwas) of Pangasinan.

Piro: Ay Suan ! Sikato tay ag tayo aligwasan a taga diad sayan luyag, ta dakel ed sikatayo ag da labay so mibiang ed saray ankabaleg a kanunotan. Bukod na inaklo so amta ran alagden a singa natan...

Juan: Et no aragas kan tinlos na bala, anto bihlang so agonggonamey?

Piro: Agay lan pankawanan mod satay bilay mo anta bilay na aripen... No pinatey da kadtad nan-amutan mo ya singa agawd saray arum, anto komuy kakanaay inpatey mo'ey ?

Juan: Magmaung ni balet ya aminlibu so nan-amut-amut nen say ginawa ray arum a karalanan tayo, ya nakad da laingey tinmulong ed saray kakabosul. Sikaray manunan nanpairap ed saray karalaan da...

Piro: Talagan saratan ikukotkot iran mabilay. (Komatlun Baagi, K10, Appendix B4, 38-39; emphasis mine)

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Piro: Ay Suan ! That is why many of us from this province did not progress because there were many among us who did not want to get involved in significant ideas...

Suan: ...And if the bullet had hit you, what good would that have done you?

Piro: Why do you value your life so much when it is only the life of a slave?...If you were killed while in hiding like many of the others, what purpose would your death have served?

Suan: It is five thousand times better to have hid than to have done what some of our townmates did, those who helped the hated ones. They were the first ones who made our countrymen suffer...

Piro: Those people should be buried alive. (Act III, Scene 10, Appendix C4, 44-45; emphasis mine)

The theme of lack of progress in Pangasinan is again echoed. Earlier, it had been articulated by Nanoy as traceable to the youth's lack of patience and determination to study, their inability to earn money and to squander what little they had on jewelry, and the older people's fear of the priests.

The scene above reiterates what was illustrated in the meeting between Don Julio and the balolaki—about how the other people are saying that the Pangasinenses did not know how to show their love for their land of birth. Unlike the people from the eight provinces who were first to rebel against the Spaniards, many of the Pangasinenses who were not arrested or exiled to Balabak, instead went into hiding to escape being killed by the warring factions (the revolutionary forces with the Americans against the Spaniards and the priests).

The characters of Panaun Aman who represent progress, revolutionary ardor and love of Filipinas are the protagonists Nanoy and Ilalo (ilustrados) who have gone to the Ibali to study/ are sent to Ibali to study (as in the case of Ilalo). Yet there are representatives of the “common” people—balolaki and Piro—who also show that they can sacrifice their lives for the country. This can be translated as a belief (as articulated in the zarzuela by Mejia) in the revolutionary ardor of the generation of the second decade of the twentieth century; it is a generation different from the older generation represented by Don Julio and the other ancbanuas who had been shown to still be fearful of the priests until the end, even after they had already been routed by the Katipuneros. The older people (irayay totoon daan) also speak in terms of the light that the Spaniards had given them.

Marta :        On et, ag komun nepeg ana'kon bosulon  
                       iray paparin ampoti, ta... Aleg la komun  
                       ditan iparalan. Sarag lan nunoten ya sikaray  
                       akautangan tayoy silew na kakabatan.  
                       No andi ra, ag ti komun lagi amta ray

mangatawen a bangat; anggapu ni lagi komun so walay aral ed sikatayon indio...

Nanoy: No tua komun itay kuan yo ina, diad loob na masukok a tatunlasus ya inpan-oley dad sikatayo aliwa labat komun ya onyay kipapasen ti natan. Angited iray silew et ingen makuykuyep, ta ginimperan dan tuloy so dalang to lapud ag da labay so nasput ya aligwas tayo. (Komatlun Baagi, K12, Appendix B4, 39-40; emphasis mine)

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Marta: Yes but, we should not hate the white priests, my son, because... Let us not do that. We should remember that we owe the light of knowledge to them. Were it not for them, we would not have known the value of religious instruction. We probably would not find people as educated as them among us indios.

Nanoy: If what you said was true, mother, within the period of three hundred years, Our condition would not have been like this. They gave us the light but it was very dim since they were very stingy in giving us the light, knowing that we might progress very fast. (Act III, Scene 12, Appendix C4, 46; emphasis mine)

The zarzuela ends with the people's joy over the end of an era of tyranny and darkness (Komatlun Baagi, K13, Dangowan K13, Appendix B4, 41; and Act III, Scene 13, Song No. 13, Appendix C4, 47) and the singing of Himno Nacional (K14, Dangowan K14, Appendix B4, 42; and Scene 14, Song 14; Appendix C4, 48)

**Dangowan K13**

Duo (Nanoy it Ilalo):

*Say panaun aman sikatoy kuan ya  
 Panaun kelep tan bulag a pananisia  
 Panun tonmay oley a maruksa  
 Oley day paparin kakastila...*

Cuartero: *Pangaskasiay kabibilay  
 Day at-ateng ti nensaman  
 Segsegang ya andi kaolibay  
 So intopel dad panaun aman.*

Ta diad samay pari cura  
 Ya "ama" no tawagen da  
 Say pasen dad alimbawa  
 Aripén ya andi niroma.

Amin: Kanyan anggan lupa ray manim-imis  
 Ilalo tan Marta: Puso ra balet mannangnganis  
 Amin: Et ag da ibesngaw so irap dan masakit  
 Ilalo tan Marta: Ta ompan laloy datngen dan sulit  
 Amin: Et samay sibek, nangis tan panay-ay  
 Ilalo tan Marta: Insibeg ngamay katawenan  
 Amin: Kanyan mangangga la natay kairapan  
 Ilalo tan Marta: Ta ag la ompawil so panaun aman  
 Amin: Panaun aman.

**Himno Nacional**

*O Filipinas*, dalin min kagalgalang  
 Musia na dayat ed dapit letakan  
 Simpey gayagan paneg-egagepan day  
 Totoon lapag ed dapit seslekan.

Saray ahnak mo ag da kawananen ya ibagat ed sikay  
 Dilin bilay da no nakaukolay galang mo tan kainawaan



Diad palandey, lawak, takel o diad dayat a maawang  
Segbaan day patey ya andi duaruwa no sikay pansengegan.

Saray tuan ahnak mo ag da ka panbenegan  
Anggan anton irap mo piramayan  
*Bangta sikay moblin dalin dan nianakan*  
*Diad sika ialay day magted dan bilay.*

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Duo (Nanoy and Ilalo):

*The past era was what they said*  
*Was the time of darkness and blind faith*  
*The time of a cruel reign*  
*The reign of the priests and the Spaniards.*

Quartet:

How pitiful was the life  
Of our parents before  
Full of hardships without equal  
They suffered during the past era.  
For to the priest  
The one they called Father  
They were considered slaves  
It made no difference  
Even when their faces were smiling

Ilalo & Marta: Their hearts however were crying  
All: But they did not complain about their sufferings  
Ilalo & Marta: For fear that they would be punished...  
All: So now all the hardships have ended  
Ilalo and Marta: And the past era will no longer return  
All: The past era.

### National Anthem

Oh, *Filipinas* , our beloved land  
 Muse of the eastern sea, land of sunrise  
 Fount of happiness and dreams  
 Place where the sun sets

Your children do not hesitate to give to you  
 Even their lives if your honor and welfare demand it  
 In the mountains lakes and forests or vast seas  
 They will give their lives without hesitation

Your true children will not forsake you  
 No matter what hardships you will encounter  
*Because you are the land of their birth*  
*To you they will give their humble lives.*

Although there is no documentation about how this last battle hymn (“Because you are the land of their birth/To you they will give their humble lives”) was received by the American authorities who arrested playwrights and casts during the early years of the “seditious” Tagalog zarzuelas, there is documentation about the popularity of this play *Panaun Aman* which started its run in 1915 (during the American colonial period) until the last years of Olup Mejia in the mid-30’s (the Commonwealth Period).

The Filipinos were still under the tutelage of America and the elite politicians were still negotiating Philippine independence with the American government in Washington D.C. This might thus be interpreted as Mejia’s allusion to the “unfinished revolution” which even during the 1920s, was still believed by non-elite Filipinos to be in the offing.

As Ileta stated, it was also widely believed that Rizal had resurrected from the dead and had become embodied in a figure “with unusual powers.” “Almost without exception, peasant rebel leaders up to the 1920s claimed to be Rizal or in some sort of communication with him” (Ileta 1998, 142 n. 16).

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III

What makes a nation. A common language, common interests, common geography, common racial stock, or a common religion. Renan, in his study of the emergence of nation states did not privilege a single factor.

Instead Renan asserted that a nation is a spiritual construct—based on a memory of a past of sacrifices and a commitment to a future together.

Shumacher (1996, 8) reminds us that Rizal interrupted his writing of the to study the past (Preface to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*). One of Rizal's legacy then is his belief in "the centrality of the historical perspective for a real understanding of the problems of the present."

...In the continued struggle for national unity that will afford freedom and equality to every Filipino, a return to the vision, that found its most thoughtful articulation in Rizal will repay the effort... (Schumacher 1996, 6)

How can the radical tradition of the zarzuelas of the early twentieth century address the aspiration to complete the "unfinished revolution"?

We now look at the relevance of a new sarsuwela as part of the twenty-first century pambansang teatro whose function will be the forging of a nation.

For the sarsuwela to constitute a substantive part of the national theater, and our national life, the sarsuwela

- must draw from historical memory; must remember that its nature and function was a product of an overdetermination

of factors (e.g., metropolitan forces, our reformist and revolutionary struggles against two empires, our literatures/arts/theaters of resistance; our critiques of our own national, provincial and local elites; the perceptions of the *kapatiran* and other peasant and labor movements about social change couched in the language of the *Pasyon* and the “millenarian” discourses as alternative to the elite discourse of “independence politics”;

- must be a significant ideological apparatus in our search for a nation;
- must contribute to cultural/national identity construction;
- must be expressed in a Philippine language; and
- must remain a popular form.

Our study has illustrated how the two zarzuelas from Severino Reyes (*Walang Sugat*, 1902) and Pablo Mejia (*Panaun Aman*, 1915) fulfilled all the requirements above. Both plays were not also blind to the weaknesses of some Filipinos even as these critiqued the past era for the atrocities committed against us by the Spanish colonial administrators and Spanish priests. The list of flaws that deterred the progress of the country are detailed: the need for the youth to be educated, the blind faith in religion and adherence to the orders of the priests by the older generation, the cowardice of some and the lack of discipline of others as they squandered their money in unproductive activities. The other zarzuelas added more to the list: immaturity of politicians and the voters, penchant for gambling like cockfighting, the privileging of landowners over students as suitors for their daughters of marriageable age, and sinophobia.

The zarzuelas with domestic themes harped on these flaws and foibles in the context of nation formation. In other words, there was a strong awareness among people of various strata that the revolution was unfinished because we had not

yet gained our independence. Mejia had spoken of the Pangasinenses not being ready in case the revolution would be won. And though he presented *Panaun Aman* to an audience from 1915 to the early 30s, we might surmise that he was telling his audiences under the American colonial government, to continue to struggle for independence and for the country's progress.

What is Nation? Again we quote from Ernest Renan:

...a large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral consciousness which we call a nation...

So long as this moral consciousness gives proof of its strength by the sacrifice which demands the abdication of the individual to the advantage of the community... it (the nation) is legitimate and has the right to exist...(2006, 20)

A nation is a soul ...a spiritual principle. Two things which in truth are but one constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent; the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form.

...A heroic past, great men, glory...this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea...(Renan 2006, 19)

The Philippine revolution remains unfinished; it remains to be waged because the Republic in Malolos and the Republic of 1946 did not give us the revolution that our heroes promised—an egalitarian society. The zarzuelas of the early decades of the twentieth century articulated the sacrifices of our ancestors and the aspirations of different generations of Filipinos for freedom and plenty. The new sarswela, following the radical tradition of the early twentieth century zarzuelas, can thus help lead us to this nation in the process of becoming.

The sarsuwela of the twenty-first century can bear witness to  
our collective search for a nation

to have glories in the past  
to have performed great deeds together  
to wish to perform still more... (Renan 2006, 19)

These are the necessary conditions for becoming a people...  
for becoming a nation.

## Notes

An early version of this paper was delivered on February 26, 2009 as a Plenary Paper/powerpoint presentation for the “Pambansang Kumperensiya ng Sarsuwela,” sponsored by the Office of the Chancellor - UP Diliman, OICA, NCCA & Senator Edgardo Angara, February 25-27, 2009, Bulwagang Rizal (Faculty Center Conference Hall), University of the Philippines-Diliman, Quezon City.

- 1 Quintana, Daria, “A Critical Study of *Walang Sugat* by Severino Reyes with Brief Notes on His Eighteen Other Plays.” Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1954.

Priscelina Patajo-Legasto, “Pablo Mejia: A Study of the Pangasinan Zarzuela.” M.A. Thesis. University of the Philippines, Diliman, 1976. 2 volumes.

Some of the books published in the 1990s as part of the Literatura project of the UP Press, ADMU Press and DLSU Press include zarzuelas by the same writers as well as their contemporaries:

Erlinda K. Alburo and Resil B. Mojares. *Dulaang Cebuano*. Isinalin sa Filipino ni Don Pagusara. Tinipon at Isinalin sa Ingles nina Erlinda K. Alburo and Resil D. Mojares. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1997.

Rosario Cruz Lucero. *Dulaang Hiligaynon*. Isinatipon ni Rosario Cruz Lucero. Isinalin nina Ricaredo Oebanda, Jr. at Rosario Cruz Lucero. Kalakip ang Orihinal na Hiligaynon. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1996.

Priscelina Patajo-Legasto, *Sarswelang Pangasinan*. Isinatipon at Binigyan ng Introduksiyon ni Priscelina Patajo-Legasto. Isinalin sa Tagalog nina Ma. Crisanta Nelmida at Erlinda Andaya. Kalakip ang Original na Pangasinan. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1996.

Jaime Biron Polo. *Panulaan at Dulaang Leytenhon-Samarnon*. Kalakip ang Orihinal na Letenhon-Samarrnon. Isinatipon at Isinalin ni Jaime Biron Polo. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994.

Mario G. R. Rosal., *Zarzuelang Iloko: Mga Salin sa Filipino*. Kalakip ang Original na Iloko. Isinaayos at Binigyan ng Introduksiyon ni Mario G.R. Rosal. Q.C.: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1993.

- 2 A post-colonial perspective critiques how we have been and continue to be “constructed or represented as Europe or America’s ‘ontological Other.’ ” And from these political, cultural, economic deterritorialized subject-locations, we attempt, through our studies on the Philippine social formation, Philippine cultural practices/ideological apparatuses and the Filipinos, “to make whole our fractured / deformed identities in order to create new identities and modes of existence outside universalizing / homogenizing Eurocentric/ American perspectives.” In Patajo-Legasto 2004a, 8.
- 3 Tony Schirato’s discussion of Edward Said’s concept of orientalism. In Schirato 1994, 44-52.
- 4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 57-60; cited in Anderson 2008, 33.

- 5 During the partition (Verdun 843 A.D.) of the western Frankish Empire/Charlemagne's empire, Charles the Bald took his oath in old French; while Louis the German, took his oath in old high German. This was the first recorded documents in the romance languages, i.e., as distinct from Latin. In Renan 2006.
- 6 The 1869 Hamburg edition is entitled such.
- 7 The various translations of Rizal's novels include: Charles E. Derbyshire's *The Social Cancer* (Philippine Education Company, 1912, Fifteenth Printing 1976); Jorge Bocobo's *Noli me Tangere* (1956; 1965); Leon Maria Guerrero's *El Filibusterismo* (Longmans, 1965); Ma. Soledad Lason-Locsin's *Noli me Tangere* (Bookmark, 1996) and Virgilio S. Almario's *Noli me Tangere and El Filibusterismo* (Adarna House, 1999).
- 8 Ideas first articulated at a "Panayam Para sa Pagdiriwang ng ika-208 na kaarawan ni Francisco Baltazar" held on April 2, 1996, Bulwagang Villegas, Manila City Hall, under the initiative of the Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino at Kawanihan ng Turismo at Kultura ng Maynila.
- 9 A small book, 8 by 4 inches, a copy of which is found at the National Library. In Patajo-Legasto 1976, 45.
- 10 Some of the songs from these short plays have survived—"Canto de Rizal" and "Aroan Nen Rizal Tan Leonor".
- 11 Ilustrado, "the enlightened ones" is defined as "those members of the intelligentsia who were not only educated but also economically prominent." Milagros Guerrero citing Eliodoro Robles. Originally in Robles 1969, 60-63.
- 12 See Appendix B (6 extant original Mejia Pangasinan zarzuela texts) and Appendix C (translations into English of the 6 Pangasinan zarzuela texts) of Patajo-Legasto 1976.
- 13 In another part of Anderson's book, he will assert that the creoles (Spanish born and bred in the colony) who studied in Spain were called *espanoles*; all the rest of the students from the colony (the Chinese mestizos and the indios) were lumped together as "simply Filipinos." In Anderson 2008, 34.



- 14 I got no data during interviews with the Mejia clan conducted in the late 1970s about us having any Chinese ancestors, although this might have been “erased” because of the very strong anti-Chinese sentiments that were still very strong among the contemporaries of lolo Pablo and my father.
- 15 According to Agoncillo, “In the Philippines, nationalism has several stages:...1850-1872 may be described as the awakening; the second from approximately 1872-1896 (execution of Gomburza to the onset of the Philippine Revolution) may be called the Reform Movement; and the third, from 1896-1901, the Revolutionary Period; the fourth from about 1901-1910, the era of passive or suppressed nationalism; the fifth 1910-1921, the Filipinization period; 1921-1934 the period of independence missions; 1935 to the outbreak of the war in the Pacific in 1941 as the period of the Commonwealth; 1942-1945 the Japanese occupation period; 1950 to the present, the reawakening.” In Agoncillo 1974, 2-3.
- 16 See Iletto 1998, Chapter 6 “Orators and the Crowd: Independence Politics, 1910-1914” 135-163, and Chapter 8 “The ‘Unfinished Revolution’ in Political Discourse” 177-201. See also Schumacher 1996, Chapter 13 “Recent Perspectives on the Revolution” 178-209.
- 17 Quoted in English by Daria 1954, 46-47.
- 18 “Walang Sugat”— zarzuela historica en tagalog; first staged on June 14, 1902; silent film, 1912; sound film 1938; cited in Daria 1954, 138.
- 19 For a lengthier discussion on the early Tagalog zarzuelistas, their plays and the arrests of playwrights, actors and even members of the audiences during the American colonial period, please see Lapena-Bonifacio 1972.
- 20 For a longer synopsis of the zarzuela, see Daria 1954, Appendix A 141-142.
- 21 The English translation of the play is found in Daria 1954, 144-243. The Tagalog text is found in Daria 1954, 244-296.

- 22 Reynaldo Ilet's *Pasyon and Revolution* explains *damayan* in the context of the discourse of the *kapatirans*, the popular groups who perceived the revolution against Spanish and later, the American colonial government in terms of the passion and death of Jesus Christ. There was a need to change one's *loob* to usher social change. The colonial masters are likened to the Pharisees whose *loob* were false (false glitter as compared to the true light/purity/*nining* of Mary). The *kapatirans* needed to undergo a struggle (*lakaran*), in sympathy with (*damayan*) the sufferings and death on the cross of Christ / the Filipino people.
- 23 Main source on Mejia's early life and education was his daughter, Mrs. Ilalo Olavides. See Patajo-Legasto 1976, 35-36.
- 24 The main source of information about Mejia's having joined the Katipunan and the masons was Patricio Cabrera, himself a free mason from Tayug and well versed in the history of this association in their town. See Patajo-Legasto 1976, 36-37.
- 25 Acosta reported that in November 1930, the dictionary of 1000 pages and 10,000 words would be available. However, when the Mejia family left for Sison, Pangasinan during the outbreak of the Japanese war, Pablo Mejia left the manuscript with one of his staunchest friends, Judge Jose Zulueta. Unfortunately, Zulueta's home with the dictionary was burnt during the war. Though unpublished, Mejia was recognized for his research and work on the dictionary since he was known as the "staunch champion of the vernacular" (Acosta 1936). See Patajo-Legasto 1976, 42-45.
- 26 I found the original manuscripts of some zarzuelas scribbled in the notebooks (10"x 8") of Pablo Mejia which were then (early 1970s) in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Susanna Mejia Marquez. It was Lola Ercing whom I recorded on cassette tapes as she sang all the songs from these six zarzuelas. She told me that as a young girl she watched all the zarzuela presentations of her father, hence her recollection of all the songs, including the musical arrangements. The Pangasinan zarzuela texts and their English translations done by my aunt (the late Salud Mejia vuida

de Padilla, a school teacher in Tayug) and my father (Justice Lino Mejia Patajo, Supreme Court of the Philippines retired) are found in Volume II of my M.A. Thesis.

I first heard the songs at funeral wakes in Tayug during the seventies when the whole Mejia clan would assemble and would sing Lolo Pablo's songs from memory, with the help of beer and wine which my father would make sure would flow all night during the wakes.

- 27 His remains were brought from Dagupan to San Nicolas, his hometown, where his tomb still stands.
- 28 In the early decades of the twentieth century, the “vernacular” theater long dominated by the moro-moro was challenged by the zarzuela which was more realist in form and more suited to the expression of revolutionary ardor and critiques against both the Spanish and American colonialists. According to Bonifacio, she took the term “seditious” from the title of a *Manila Times* editorial (May 16, 1903) about these nationalistic plays. In Lapena-Bonifacio 1972, 24.
- 29 Pablo Mejia does use the term “sikatayon indio” or we indios—“anggapu lay nabunad sikatayon indio” (Komatlun Baagi, K2, Appendix B4, 32); “there will be no more of us indios remaining” (Act III, Scene 2, Appendix C4, 37). Rizal (a Chinese mestizo) and his protagonist Elias referred to themselves as indios. As discussed earlier in this paper, in terms of all the possible labels representing the racial hierarchy in the Philippine colony, it was “indio” that the emergent nationalists used as their identity. “Filipino” was an ambiguous term used for the creoles (those Spaniards born and bred in the colony) although by the late nineteenth century, these creoles had already been accepted in Spain as Espanoles, together with those Spaniards who were born and bred in the Iberian Peninsula, originally called “peninsulares” in the colony.

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