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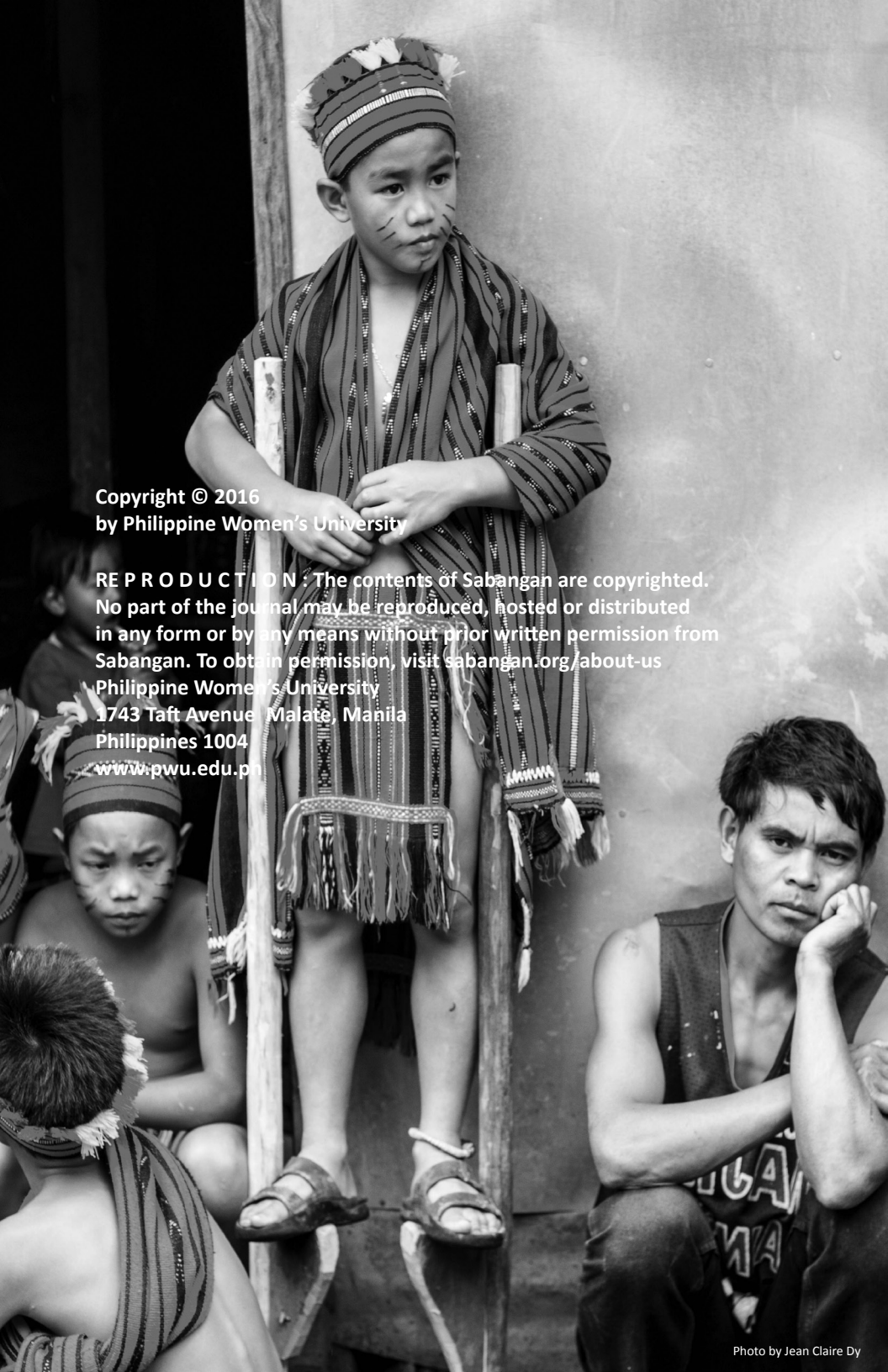

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Aesthetics and Culture in the Age of Anthropocene

by Raul Pertiera

The Renaissance and biblical view that Man is the centre of all things has finally been achieved. Our geological period, now known as Anthropocene (Latour, 2014), is a time when humans are the primary actors in shaping our planet. Climate change, global pollution and environmental degradation are only some of the consequences of human intervention in nature. How are we to respond to a crisis of our own making? Can science and human ingenuity provide solutions before the planet becomes uninhabitable? Is Anthropology, hitherto the study of marginal and small-scale societies,a source for insights on how to deal with nature without exploiting and depleting its resources? The answer depends on how anthropologists and other social sciences approach the study of our inter-relationship with nature. Is nature best understood by developing a culture of detachment in its study or should our engagement with and experience of nature provide the best path for revealing its structure?

This second issue of Sabangan deals with the problem of presenting and representing material and cultural experiences.

Anthropology and other social sciences have struggled over how to understand and analyze their studies of society and culture. Social research confronts the investigator with an initial dilemma – how is the investigator's own experience presented and represented in the research process? Social research involves a subject that is both a participant as well as an observer of the topic being investigated. What is the proper balance between participation and observation in the research process to ensure the best understanding of the reality under investigation?

The researcher can immerse herself totally in the subject of investigation, thereby ensuring an authentic experience of the phenomenon being investigated. Or the researcher can disengage himself subjectively and describe the phenomenon as a pure object. The first approach absorbs the object into herself while the second detaches himself from the world. Part of our evolutionary development has consisted in maintaining a balance between total immersion and objective detachment. While this balance is generally desirable, especial occasions may require readjusting the balance in favour of one approach over the other. Hence, some situations may require a sympathetic immersion while others require an objective distance. Unfortunately, no easy rules dictate where the balance should be calibrated in all instances. The choice depends on the researcher, on the object of investigation and the discipline within which the research is pursued.

Andreas Ackermann in his original essay challenges us to assess this balance between engagement and detachment. His subject is anthropological fieldwork but the argument applies more widely

in most forms of social research. Fieldwork is based on residence in a community for long periods of time, normally one year. During this time the researcher participates in as many activities as possible in order to achieve an understanding of the values, practices and interests of his/her informants. While the researcher is meant to initiate and engage in local activities, generally, no attempt is made to influencethe course of everyday life. The purpose of fieldwork is to experience communal life as it preexists and to savour its high and low points. Unlike controlled laboratory experiments, fieldwork consists in enduring periods of routine inactivity as well as the excitements and even ecstasies of village life. While much of social life may appear dull, unearthing its rationale is as important as witnessing explicit proclamations of cultural norms. Many aspects of social life are not explicitly enunciated and instead must be experienced. The explication of unexpressed aspects of social life require the aid of all the senses – smell, sight, hearing,touch as well as intuition. This is what Ackerman means by the aesthetics of culture.

Anthropology has suffered from a notion of culture that emphasizes its explicit articulation. Moreover, this articulation is often hegemonic and exegetic. But much of social life is implicit, non-hegemonic and non-exegetic. People live their lives without always articulating its rationale or normative base. As Ackerman points out, much of social life is characterized mainly by praxis and less by reflection.This is why for Ackerman, aesthetic anthropology refers to a different concept of culture – not as a conglomerate of texts and symbols but as expressions of embodied social practices, such as is found in Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1979).

Routine and everyday social practices are often the result of non-conscious learning processes that are bodily imprinted. The notion of apprenticeship captures this process as Ackerman points out. Many skills such as weaving, planting, harvesting or even bike ridingare acquired through tedious repetition and once mastered require little conscious reflection. These skills are as much embodied practices as they are cognitive accomplishments. A child's early attempts at speech and locomotion illustrate the halting improvisation that is part of acquiring culture.

Paul Dumont (1992) and Renato Rosaldo (1989) are among the best known practitioners of the so-called New Ethnography. Reacting against the often dry and objectivist approach of earlier ethnographers, they deliberately insert themselves into the text. Rather than being mere observers or even participants, Dumont and Rosaldo reflect on their own presence as contributory to the results of their research. The emotional involvement of anthropologists during fieldwork had been discussed in the time of Bronislaw Malinowski and Margaret Mead but this talk was limited to in-house gossip rather than public disclosure. The fear of admitting personal biases and entanglements in the new discipline of anthropology seeking to establish itself as a serious scientific field prevented such disclosures. The positivist emphasis in related disciplines such as psychology and political science discouraged anthropologists from inserting their feelings into the text. This also prevented ethnographies from emulating the literary features of novels, despite their close affinities in describing human action. Ironically, writers such as D.H. Lawrence and Joseph Conrad wrote ethnographic novels indicating the close affinities with their anthropological counterparts.

Dumont's description of his time in Siquijor often reads like an entertaining fictive account except for the occasional insertion of sociological data that reminds the reader that this is not a work of fiction but a serious ethnography. Rosaldo's discussion of the Ilongot practice of headhunting is interspersed with his feelings of grief following the accidental death of his wife during fieldwork. Both anthropologists reflect on their own feelings as legitimate aspects of ethnographic work. Moreover, their accounts include serendipitous events that enriched their understanding of culture.

In Dumont's case, the dullness of village life is suddenly interrupted by rumors of a devastating earthquake. While the local inhabitants are thrown into confusion and chaos, they reflect on and discuss the causes and consequences of the predicted earthquake. These reflections provided important insights into cultural norms and beliefs not ordinarily expressed. These impromptu and serendipitous disclosures revealed aspects of Siquijoran life that the anthropologist could not have elicited or anticipated. Rosaldo's work among the Ilongot is characterized by their reluctance to explain the meaning and importance of headhunting. But the accidental death of his wife during fieldwork forced him to examine his own emotions regarding mortality and grief. As a consequence of his own introspection, he realized that the Ilongot's reluctance to discuss headhunting was due to their fear of arousing dangerous and uncontrollable emotions. Disciplines of the self, so characteristic of modernity, are less developed in cultures such as the Ilongot, at least in the case of unsettling experiences associated with headhunting. These examples indicate that culture is often less a deep structure of meanings and

instead is an assemblage of practices and informal beliefs. Attempts to search for deep meanings and consistent accounts is often a product of a western rationalist bias with its exegetical tradition rather than a feature of all cultures. Ackermann warns us that cultures are more than their representation, even as these include aural, audial and even visual elements. Essentially, culture is lived experience, including both corporeal and cognitive components.

The three essays in this issue, including their separate commentaries discuss the various complexities involved in studying culture. The Tboli are an ethnic group in Mindanao determined to retain traditional elements of their culture while also participating in a modern nation-state. Their material culture is as expressive of their way of life as are normative and ideological elements. Together they constitute the Tboli lifeworld. The introduction of early wax recordings by the Americans in the Philippines transformed the nature of popular culture. Hitherto, a local phenomenon, recordings allowed their wide dispersal onto a national audience. Maria Carpena was one of the earliest Filipino recorded artists and as a consequence became a national star. The acoustic age was born, destined to change culture as much as the introduction of print in the 16th century. The third paper discusses how tourism has become not only a major economic force but also a determinant of cultural experiences. The Ifugao, like the Tboli, wish to preserve but also share aspects of their culture with foreign visitors. Decisions about what elements to preserve and what aspects to display to outsiders invariably cause dissention within the community.

Earl Jimenez's discussion of Tboli culture illustrates how material objects, their construction and their use both constitute

and reflect local society. Additionally, in the case of the *tnonggong*, aesthetic aspects are also present. As De Vale (1990) argues,

> "Music instruments contain the essence of society and culture and function as windows through which we can understand humankind".

Whether music and its performance is as important in other cultures, there is little doubt that for the Tboli, music and other aesthetic practices are primary expressions of their identities. For Ackermann, cultural landscapes provide complex sensory and aesthetic environments constituting the background for everyday life. For the Tboli, instruments such as the *tnonggong*, play central aesthetic roles by combining nature and spirit beliefs, ritual practices and technical skills in their performance. According to Ackermann, following MacDougall, some societies such as Bali and Japan are hyper-aesthetic cultures. Anthropologists describe these societies as practicing excessive disciplines of the self, often resulting in extreme acts of asceticism as well as displays of violence. It is unlikely that the Tboli over-aestheticize everyday life given the diversity and contrarian forces present in their environment. But it seems that their cultural landscape allows them to remain in contact with traditional elements as part of their adjustment to their present life conditions.

The close affinity between performer and spirit-guides is mentioned by both commentators (Manolete Mora & Hans Brandeis). This association between humans and their spiritual companions is a common feature in many preliterate societies and

particularly among shamanic cultures. This bond is established through long periods of apprenticeship resulting in the merging of personalities between humans and their spirit-guides. Modernity has difficulty in accepting such collusions of personalities given its insistence on individual agency but this notion may provide modern subjects with a better understanding of a symbiotic balance between nature and culture. It is such a balance that has allowed some societies to interact with nature without exploiting its resources.

Gloria Rosario Sta. Maria-Villasquez's paper deals with the introduction of acoustic media in the Philippines. Scholars have pointed out the importance of printing in the 16th century that ultimately resulted in the age of modernity. While printing did indeed play a central role, other media such as musical recordings and photography completed the transformation from local, mostly non-literate social formations, to national and global aesthetic communities. This advance in communication media expanded the scope for entertainment that resulted in what is presently referred to as popular culture i.e. a large, anonymous audience sharing similar tastes centering on well-known artists and performers.

Maria Evangelista Carpena was one of the earliest recording artists in the country whose musical skills thrilled countless admirers. She started her career just as *zarzuelas* and other musical genres were gaining in popularity. The rise of professional and popular entertainers, hitherto mainly limited to religious plays such as komedyas or occasions such as weddings, were beginning to perform in more secular and public settings. The American presence encouraged these activities as Elizabeth Enriquez and Cristina

Torres point out in their commentaries. Theatrical groups expanded, mainly in Manila but also in provincial cities, and their repertoires included both local and foreign music.

The major transformation in popular culture was due to the new technologies of communication such as the phonograph, film and radio. Carpena was a pioneer as a recording artist but her short-lived career ended before the full development of the new communication media. Nevertheless her success became a benchmark for future singers such as Atang de la Rama, Silvia la Torre and continue to this day with Pilita Corrales and Nora Aunor. The reign of the popular diva had begun even as musical tastes shifted from their classical sources in opera and zarzuela to contemporary genres such as jazz and pop.

The new technology ushered a new acoustic age but simultaneously transformed the basis of culture. Face-to-face corporeal relationships were replaced by relationships at a distance. The telephone made it possible to have conversations with absent others, a theme that Rizalused as a basis for a comedy. Recordings allowed listeners to experience musical performances at a time and place of their choice. The performance is no longer anchored within its context of performance but only with its context of reproduction. These listeners could analyze and compare recordings at leisure, making it possible to have a set of relationships involving only the listeners or fans of the artist. Social relationships resulted not from direct face-to-face experience but rather from sharing common interests in popular performers (Deborde,1994). Fandom is a social formation arising from sharing technologically mediated images and

experiences. In other words, it is based on representations. Here may lie the basis for much of contemporary culture that is based on pure representation. As Baudrillard (1988) and others have argued this is a culture that has replaced the "real" with its simulacrum. In such a case, culture is like a text that only requires hermeneutic analysis rather than aesthetic experience.

Lilymae Franco-Montano discusses the Ifugao festival Imbayah, featuring various activities involving both locals and tourists. The Department of Tourism has embarked on an ambitious plan to attract tourists to visit the country. While the major attraction for tourists seems to be beautiful beaches and an active night life, others are attracted to more cultural activities such as indigenous traditions. Among the best examples of cultural tourism are provided by the Tboli and the Ifugao. The Imbayah festival is designed both to attract tourists to Banawe and to reinvigorate local traditions. The role of the Americans in encouraging festivals in the Cordillera region is mentioned by Takeshi Kumano and Hiromu Shimizu, anthropologists who have conducted long period of research in the region. The pacification policies of the American colonizers included the revival of native rituals so long as they could be incorporated within a national polity.

The representation of culture as well as its celebration involve identical and even co-eval processes. In the Imbayah festival, the Ifugao both represent and enact their culture for the benefit of tourists and themselves. Lilymae points out that while tourists are warmly welcomed, most of the audience of the festival are locals, including other Filipinos. The festival includes many forms

of entertainment but also involve authentic rituals, even if often in abbreviated form. The Imbayah is mostly in celebration of high ranking members of the community who traditionally enjoyed kadangyan status but whose economic resources, plus the increase in population, no longer make it feasible to hold redistributive feasts. Instead, the local government with the assistance of state agencies such as the Department of Tourism organize the festival as a recognition of local political and ritual status.

Like the Tboli, the Ifugao are proud of their culture and willingly share it with visitors and outsiders. But there are limits to this inclusion and certain rituals such as the *himong* are not seen as appropriate for display to outsiders. This ritual celebrates and encourages revenge-killing, an activity proscribed by the State. It is therefore inappropriate for public display and entertainment. But since much of culture is presently seen as representation, some Ifugao see no objection in including it as part of the Imbayah festival. This view prevailed despite the strong objection of more traditionally minded Ifugao.

The Ifugao, like all other members of contemporary society, are enmeshed in a view of culture that is both representational as well as embodied aesthetically. As members of a modern society, Ifugao are keen to contribute to a national imaginary. The Imbayah festival is one such contribution but for some, certain elements of culture, cannot be reduced to mere representation. This dilemma brings us back to Ackermann's contention that a representational view of culture is unable to describe embodied aesthetic practices. It seems that cultural tourism also falls into the same trap – it is interested

in experiencing difference but only under familiar conditions! Tourists marvel at the beauty of the rice terraces and enjoy traipsing along narrow mountain trails but would be shocked at the violence implied in the *himong*. But its representation in dance and song can be included as part of a sanitized cultural experience.

Let us return to the title of this Introduction – Aesthetics and Culture in the Age of Anthropocene. Humans must now take full responsibility for the state of the planet. What cultural, economic, political and technical resources can we employ to ensure that this responsibility befits our role as custodians of nature? Anthropology can only provide limited and tentative answers to this question. Its expertise lies in its familiarity with the role of culture in modernity as well as in other less commoditized societies. Modern culture relies heavily on its representational elements as well as in its long tradition of exegetic and hermeneutic analyzes. As Ackermann has convincingly argued, this understanding of culture, while important, has its limits. It tends to overlook and neglect the more fragmented, less reflexive and practically-oriented aspects of everyday life. To include these elements of culture requires us to comprehend how practices are embodied in subjects, both in their private lives and in public institutions. Feminists have long taught us that the private and public spheres are enmeshed and contiguous. While the rationalization of social life that Weber and other sociologists claim as characterizing contemporary society proceeds full pace, other aspects of culture remain stubbornly conservative. Private life, the family, informal everyday practices and interests still retain aesthetic aspects associated with earlier life modes. These conservative interests based in the private sphere spill over into

the public sphere producing distortions and contradictions within supposedly rationalized structures. Corruption is the most obvious instance of private interests intruding into rational structures in all spheres of life – social, economic and political. Explanations of corruption often assume the moral failures of individuals despite its widespread and systemicoccurrence. A better explanation may be to point out that corruption arises from the continued prevalence of private norms in public life. The simple prohibition of corrupt practices fails because we insist in compartmentalizing culture into discrete and autonomous spheres rather than seeing culture as a broad landscape including embodied aesthetic practices.

The Tboli and the Ifugao give us alternative ways of viewing our relationship with nature, seeing it as an integral component of our own personalities. Nature is not just brute facticity but an active agency whose needs and interests, like its human counterparts, require special attention and care. Spirit guides and nature gods have their own personalities requiring respect, propitiation and, when appropriate, even expiation. These entities may be difficult to incorporate in a theory of culture that is exceedingly positivistic or that sees culture as mainly representational and textual. An excess of empiricism or an insistence in exegesis fail to account for radical alterities, contingencies and serendipitous events that exist in all cultures. A feature of our times is the increasing unpredictability of life, partly as a result of our own intervention in nature and society. Self-constitution has characterized human evolution but our present capacity to design ourselves poses unknown dangers unless the broad aesthetic context of human subjectivity is better understood (Sloterdijk, 2012).

The onset of the new communication revolution, initially illustrated in the popularity of singers such as Maria Carpena resulted in a major transformation of culture. Hitherto, mostly local and face-to-face, present day culture is technologically mediated, involving absent others, and including strangers with whom we share particular interests. The printing press initiated this cultural transformation but in the process limited meaning to its textual context rather than the context of its production in speech. As Ricoeur (1971) has pointed out, a text captures the meaning of the written word (the said) but not the speech-act (the saying). Modern media may capture the saying through audial, visual and even tactile means but even this multimedia experience remains a representation of the original event. But this representation mimics face-to-face exchanges so convincingly that it is often mistaken for it. Hence, mothers in Hong Kong who text or skype their children in the village on a daily basis assume that their mothering role continues as it was previously. But their children often view this interaction as interference from an absent parent (Madianou, M. & Miller, D., 2013). When interviewed these children say that it is easier to deal with parents on Facebook or skype rather than face-to-face. Digital communication so mimics ordinary non-mediated conversation that it is often mistaken as its equivalent. The problem is that we now communicate as often with absent others as we do face-to-face.

Face-to-face communication involves simultaneous symbolic exchanges on several levels, the linguistic, visual, phatic, semiotic and proxemic. These communicative exchanges operate on distinct codes and are more difficult to consciously and deliberately coordinate.

While this form of communication is perhaps the most satisfying, it is also the most unpredictable (Heim, 1991). Online exchanges reduce this capacity for simultaneous messages and bring the communication act under more conscious control. It also facilitates deception because motives can be disguised or unacknowledged.

According to Constable (2005) cross-cultural communication is facilitated online, making possible amorous quests that earlier may have been awkward or impossible. Filipino and Chinese women are able to initiate relationships with Westerners, difficult in normal circumstances. Cyber relationships involve a certain detachment or corporeal absence that encourages tentative discursive commitments (see Mathews, 2015). Differences are initially effaced and only gradually introduced as the communication process proceeds. But physical presence, when interlocutors finally meet, may create other difficulties.In some ways online relationships allow for greater emotional frankness but they also facilitate deception.We seem to have come back full circle. The Age of Anthropocene has thrust humans into the centre of all things while at the same time alienated us from our evolutionary past.

Finally, this issue also includes three reviews of recently published books. The first is a review by Raul Pertierra of Filomeno Aguilar's provocative essays on migration and its effects on a national imaginary. The second is Niels Mulder's review of a recently re-issued book by Nick Joaquin and the third is the second sequel of Paul Mathews' controversial study of cybersex reviewed by Ryan Indon.

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Photo by Jean Claire Dy

Atmospheres, Ecstasies, Thick Participation: Towards an Aesthetic Anthropology

by Andreas Ackermann

1.Diagnosis of Discomfort / Discontent / Malaise

The following outline of an aesthetic anthropology responds to a discomfort, which can be attributed to the following reasons:

(1) Disembodiment of knowledge: The concentration on text as the privileged form of knowledge in anthropology lets the body disappear in the process of the production and even more the representation of knowledge.This leads to anepistemological paradox: whereas the ethnographer's body is used as an instrument for the generation of data in the field, the following steps lead to the disembodiment of knowledge through writing. Claude Lévi-Strauss for example writes in his TristeTropiquesthat "to reach reality we must first repudiate experience, even though we may later reintegrate it in an objective synthesisin which sentimentality plays no part" (Lévi-Strauss 1961, 62).

(2) Cartesian dualism: Anthropology positions itself within an academic tradition whose understanding of objectivity is mainly based on Descartes' distinction between mind and matter as fundamentally differententities. Moreover, Descartes accords the mind much more significance, body or matter being merely secondary („cogito ergo sum"). From this dualism result many more conceptual opposites relevant for anthropology, for example the distinction between nature and culture, individual and society as well as the active, observing subject and the passive, observed object respectively. Related to this is the relative assessment of reason and passion or ideas and emotions.

(3) Omnipresence of the text-metaphor: Clifford Geertz has successfully promoted Ricoeur's text-metaphor with his assumption that "[t]he culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles, which the anthropologiststrains to read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong" (Geertz 1973, 452). As a result, anthropology became more relevant to the humanities; on the other hand methods of literary criticism found their way into anthropology. However, textuality turned out to be a "hungry metaphor" (Csordas), "swallowing" culture and the body completely or, at least, reducing them to a surface that can be "inscribed" or "read".

(4) Dominance of semiotics: The ubiquitous text-metaphor in turn led to a dominance of a semiotic discourse in anthropology. Epistemologically speaking this means that "experience" vanishes from theoretical discourse and is replaced by "representation". Representation therefore no longer designates experience

but constitutes it. However, the dominance of semiotics and representation as well as the accompanying concentration on signs and symbols means the neglect of important domains of everyday life, which is characterized mainly by praxis and less by reflection.
An aesthetic anthropology responds to this discomfort by trying to balance (not substitute!) the predominant discourse of meaning with an emphasis on experience and perception. In place of a semiotic approach it uses a phenomenological methodology, which is largely based on ideas of the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty. For him, phenomenology refers to a "return to the things themselves" (Husserl), to "this world prior to knowledge", which is why they should be first of all described, but not analyzed or explained (Merleau-Ponty1962, viii). Generally speaking, the phenomenological approach has two assets: to overcome Cartesian dualism and rehabilitate the body in academic discourse.In this context it is important to understand that Merleau-Ponty distinguishes between "the objective body," which is the body regarded as a physiological entity, and "the phenomenal body," which is not just a particular physiological entity but an individual, experienced and culturally shaped body, thus constituting a combination of mind and matter (Audi 1999, 258). This phenomenal body plays a central role in Merleau-Ponty's theory, as the precondition for perception and necessary basis of human existence as "being-in-the-world". In other words: culture does not exist independently from the phenomenal body, quite to the contrary: it is the prerequisite of culture. This is why aesthetic anthropology refers to a different concept of culture – not as a conglomerate of texts and symbols but as an expression of embodied social practices, as for example in the concepts of habitus (Bourdieu 1979) and embodiment (Csordas 1990).

2. Outline of a New Aesthetics

The idea of an aesthetic anthropology is based on elements ofa social or new aesthetics respectively, the concepts of which have been developed independently by the filmmaker and anthropologist David MacDougall andthephilosopher and art critic Gernot Böhme. Both refer to Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714-1762), who, based on the Greek word aisthesis for "sensuous experience", defined aesthetics as "the science of sensual knowledge".The main point, however, is that both MacDougall and Böhme– in marked contrast to the Kantian tradition – renounce any normative interpretation of aesthetics. As MacDougall explains, his use of the term "social aesthetics" has "little to do with notions of beauty or art, but rather with a much wider range of culturally patterned sensory experience". To him, the only valuation of sensory experience can be found in the distinction between what is familiar or unfamiliar to a particular person. Besides, social aesthetics "includes much that derives from nature rather than culture, such as the geographical setting of a community, and even much in the life of its members that is onerous but to which they become habituated" (MacDougall 2006, 98).Likewise, Böhme with his "new aesthetics" criticizes the Kantian "judgmental aesthetics" as being interested only in the celebrated work of art, thereby neglecting the much broader phenomenon of "aesthetic work" as "mere beautification, as craftsmanship, as kitsch, as useful or applied art" (Böhme1993, 115).

MacDougall as well as Böhmerely on Merleau-Ponty and advocate something that could be termed a "phenomenological

pausing." In this respect, Böhme points to the fact that not every work of art has a meaning, but first of all possesses its own reality. A premature semiotic "reading" of a picture therefore "means cutting out or even denying the experience of the presence of the represented, namely the atmosphere of the painting" (Böhme1993, 115).Likewise, MacDougall emphasizes the importance of our senses for measuring the qualities of our surroundings and states that sometimes "the social world seems more evident in an object or a gesture than in the whole concatenation of our beliefs and institutions" (MacDougall 2006, 94).Thus social aesthetics describes the fact that every community creates "cultural landscapes", that is complex sensory and aesthetic environments constituting the background for everyday life experiences (MacDougall 2006, 95). MacDougall mentions Japan and Bali as examples of "hyper-aesthetic" communities; he himself is interested in such cultural landscapes created by institutions, as his documentaries on schools in India demonstrate (e.g.Doon School Chronicles, 2000; Schoolscapes, 2007; Awareness, 2010).

Böhme regards his new aesthetics as a general theory of perception, where the concept "is liberated from its reduction to information processing, provision of data or (re)cognition of a situation". For him, perception includes the affective impact of the observed, as well as the "reality of images" and corporeality(Böhme 1993, 125). The primary object of perception are the atmospheres, meaning that "what are experienced in bodily presence in relation to persons and things or in spaces" (Böhme1993, 119). Böhme suggests considering not only people but also things as a presence, both being able to radiate out to their environment and putting it into a particular mood. The manner in which things radiate, he calls

"the ecstasies of the thing" (Böhme1993, 121). Atmospheres are thus "spaces insofar as they are "tinctured" through the presence of things, of persons or environmental constellations, that is, through their ecstasies" (Böhme 1993, 121).

Atmospheres can also be produced through aesthetic work, by giving things, surroundings or people such qualities as to make them radiateout something. This kind of work is often based on tacit knowledge, which is passed on not by words but through demonstration within teacher-pupil-relationships. However, some domains are characterized by a high level of awareness regarding the means of how to create a particular atmosphere, for example in the context of "design, stage sets, advertising, the production of musical atmospheres (acoustic furnishing), cosmetics, interior design-as well, of course, as the whole sphere of art proper" (Böhme1993, 123).

3. Asceticism, Ecstasy and Thick Participation

The exploration of cultural landscapes and aesthetic work and accordingly the resulting atmospheres and ecstasiesshould profit immensely from the central method of anthropology, participant observation. Conversely, a phenomenological approach can epistemologically strengthen participant observation, which from a positivist perspective is often seen as a "soft" and unsystematic method. According to Merleau-Ponty the world does not represent "the sum of determinate objects", that merely have to be perceived, but rather a horizon of potential objects that can come into being. Thus every object has unlimited potential perspectives and the world of objects is not given but results from reflection. World and self-

awareness develop with the phenomenal bodyturning to the world. In other words: perception starts with the phenomenal body and – through the process of reflection – ends with objects.Following Merleau-Ponty, subjectivity is the precondition for knowledge, which is always already intersubjective. The formation of self and world is originally and pre-objectively a social process: "The social is already there when we come to know or judge it" (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 362).

Regarding participant observation, this means that the everlasting "struggle between observation and participation" (Fabian 2001, 163) has already been decided in favor of participation, for which the body and the senses are of crucial importance. In this context Georg Spittler has made a convincing appeal for "thick participation"as radicalization of participant observation (Spittler 2001, 5). He emphasizes that participation often has advantages compared with observation and interrogation, for example if trust has yet to be established, if practices reveal themselves through actions or if one is interested in tacit knowledge (Spittler 2001, 9-10).To that end, thick participation implies that anthropologists turn to praxis or even serve an apprenticeship, gaining access to occupational workaday life that can be recorded inadequately in terms of language, like knowledge specific to certain situations or secrets told only to chosen people (Spittler 2001, 12-14).

Paul Stoller, for example, became a sorcerer's apprentice among the Songhay. Since he had not applied for this position but had been chosen by his master, he was not able to control his increment of knowledge. Thus he depended on his master's decision

when to teach him texts, and when he was allowed or even supposed to ask questions respectively. As his learning progressed, Stoller practiced magic and himself became a victim of magic attacks temporarily paralyzing him (Stoller/Olkes, 1987). However, thick participation does not only mean that anthropologists should pay attention to sensory phenomena, but also use their own senses. They have to learn again how to smell and taste, as another example of Stoller shows, in which good and bad sauce play a central role. On his last day in the compound of an important informant, Stoller is served a very good sauce for lunch; this is remarkable insofar as the cook, a young woman, for weeks had cooked only very mediocre sauces. As it turns out, the woman hopes to get some money in return – not by asking but by lingering in his house for half an hour. Since Stoller does not want to give her money, he does not react. The woman's reaction, however, becomes clear in the evening, when she serves Stoller as well as others the worst they have ever eaten. In fact, some of them refuse to eat it. In an attempt to explain this episode, Stoller describes the relationships of the people in the compound and their history. The woman is from a different ethnic group and came to the compound aged fifteen to live with one of the sons of the chief. After she became pregnant, they had to marry, bringing disgrace to the house, at least from the perspective of the locals. Since her husband had no steady income and was seen as having a hot-headed temperament, his brother, being calm and having a steady income, was seen as the legitimate successor of their father. In this powerless situation, one of the few chances to express their frustration for the woman and her husband is to make the others suffer by serving them bad sauces (Stoller 1989, 15-34).

Therefore, thick participation demands of anthropologists the use of their whole body, their mind, eyes, ears and voice. They should work physically, but also revel and dance, maybe even suffer. Stoller's experience of paralysis has already been mentioned and Johannes Fabian devoted a whole monograph to the role of suffering (Fabian 2000). Fabian criticizes the disembodiment (and detemporalisation) of knowledge within anthropology as an "ascetic withdrawal from the world as we experience it with our senses" (Fabian 2000, xii).Heanalyzes this "asceticism" in accounts of European explorers travelling Africa towards the end of the 19th century, whose self-perception was characterized mainly by control of self and others, "which above all meant maintaining distance from the country to be explored and its people" (Fabian 2000, 7).This distance was kept with the help of varying amounts of "protective equipment" – apart from the ubiquitous concern for "hygiene" this meant predominantly "abnegation", an ascetic virtue, fueled by the knowledge that exploration in all its respects must be subject to the norms and injunctions of science (Fabian 2000, 7). In contrast, Fabian notes that explorers, "especially in their first or early contacts with unfamiliar cultures […] got to "that which is real" when they permitted themselves to be touched by lived experience" (Fabian 2000, 8). However, this often "involved them in quandaries and contradictions, in moral puzzles and conflicting demands", which could be overcome only "by stepping outside, and sometimes existing for long periods outside, the rationalized frames of exploration, be they faith, knowledge, profit, or domination". This "stepping outside" or "being outside" is what Fabian calls the "ecstatic" (Fabian 2000, 8).Similarly to Böhme, Fabian conceivesecstasis as "a dimension or quality of human action and interaction", creating

a common ground for encounters between humans. In this sense, it is an epistemological concept, because, Fabian argues, "ecstasis is (much like subjectivity) a prerequisite for, rather than an impediment to, the production of ethnographic knowledge" (Fabian 2000, 8).

4. Aesthetic Anthropologyand the Visual

An aesthetic anthropology neither constitutes an entirely new paradigmnor pleads for the abolition of the humanities' search for meaning. In fact, it wants to create the epistemological as well as the methodological fundamentals for such a quest by taking into account the corporeality of everyday practices.The case that aesthetic phenomena already constitute subjects for research in other areas, like anthropology of art or history of art, may create the impression that aesthetic aspects of social life and aesthetic experience respectively has been thoroughly analyzed. Partly, this is due to the fragmentation of academic fields, but also, according to David MacDougall, to the restriction of expression in fields like anthropology, sociology and history, that have traditionally developed into "disciplines of words".

Some time ago, Michael Oppitz has argued that pictures are closer than words to the objects they depict (Oppitz 1989, 27). As a result, he (Shamans Of The Blind Country, 1980) as well as other visual anthropologists, like for example Jean Rouch (Les maîtres fous, 1955), Stéphane Breton (Them And Us, 2001), Lucien Taylor (Sweetgrass, 2012; Leviathan, 2013) and David MacDougall have worked with the potential of the visual to mediate aspects of the sensory world and "restore to anthropology the material world

within which culture takes its forms" (MacDougall 2006, 116).As Taylor states, "film is essentially a sensory medium, fusing 'words and things' in a way that writing, or at least expository academic writing, is not" (Taylor 1996, 80). Thus film "not only constitutes discourse about the world but also (re)presentsexperience of it" (Taylor 1996, 86).The indexicality of ethnographic film makes it open-ended, and thus susceptible to differing interpretations in a way anthropological writing is not. This also makes it inherently reflexive – that is, at once subject and object to itself. Moreover, Taylor refers to the potential of the (moving) image…for simultaneously embodying and evoking the intuitive lived experience of what Husserl and later Heidegger would call the Lebenswelt, the lifeworld" (Taylor 1996, 80). For him, "film may be not only a record of culture (which it invariably is) but also an analytic record about culture" (Taylor 1996, 82).

5. Conclusion

The dominance of semiotics (not only) in anthropology, together with the disembodiment of knowledge and the substitution of experience with representation have resulted in an "ascetic" perspective on culture, neglecting important domains of everyday life characterized mainly by praxis and less by reflection. Anaesthetic anthropology based on phenomenology tries to restore the balance between meaning and being and overcome the underlying Cartesian dualism in three ways: by(a) introducing a 'new' (in fact: old) non-normative concept of aesthetics as sense experience; (b) proposinga methodological radicalization from participant observation to "thick" or "ecstatic"participation; (c) stressing the potential of the visual for embodying and evoking lived experience. However, more

needs to be done if we take MacDougall's consideration seriously thata proper phenomenological description of aesthetics "may need a 'language' closer to the multidimensionality of the subject itself – that is, a language operating in visual, aural, verbal, temporal, and even (through synesthetic association) tactile domains" (MacDougall 2006, 116).

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Schoolscapes. 2007. David MacDougall. Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, Australian National University, Australia. 77 mins.
Shamans Of The Blind Country. (1980) Michael Oppitz. Switzerland. 222 mins.
Sweetgrass. (2009) IlisaBarbach& Lucian Castaing Taylor. Frankreich/England/ USA. 100 Min.

Sounding the Spirit: The Life of the T'boli T'nonggong

by Earl Jimenez

Ethnomusicology, to use the term of Alan P. Meriam, is the anthropology of music.[1] From this standpoint, the sub-discipline of organology approaches the study of music instruments not just as sound-producing apparatus but cultural objects. As Sue Carole DeVale puts it:

> "Music instruments contain the essence of society and culture and function as windows through which we can understand humankind. The ultimate purpose of organology is to help explain society and culture"[2]

This paper looks at the life of the *t'nonggong*, a drum of the T'boli of Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. In the different stages of the life of the drum, I show the T'boli's connection with nature and their belief in spirit-ownership of objects as a driving force in the life of the drum. Framed within tourist-oriented modes of production, it presents the T'boli's ability to retain certain aspects of their beliefs amidst the re-contextualization of the *t'nonggong*.

Music Instruments as Cultural Objects

Igor Kopytoff's concept of a "cultural biography of things"[3] posits that objects contain lives which are of interest to the researcher. Hence, one asks questions similar to those one asks about people. [4] He states:

> "What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its 'status' and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? "[5]

Kopytoff's biographical possibilities in objects is likewise echoed by Arjun Appadurai who writes on the social life of things and more recently, with Janet Hoskins who investigations on the biographical life of objects illuminates the many ways by which people and communities inscribe their memories, cultural practices, and beliefs, and even their personal lives in objects they use. Close to music and music instruments is Sue Carole de Vale who argues that music instruments contain "the essence of society and culture"[6] and function as "windows through which we can understand humankind."[7] The ultimate purpose of organology then was "to help explain society and culture."[8] Drawing from these works, I argue that music instruments have lives which reflect

features of a community's everyday life. Within it are a myriad of temporal events that constitute its different stages. In her study of the connection between ritual and music instruments, Sue Carol DeVale plots twelve possible stages in an instrument's life where ritual is present as a means to acknowledge its life, its birth, and death.[9] However, not all stages are present in a single instrument. Drawing from DeVale's life cycle, I conceive a framework of the life cycle of the t'nonggong divided into three stages: Birth, Use, and Rebirth and End of life. Each stage is marked by specific practices and within which are features of T'boli life.

The T'boli of Lake Sebu

The T'boli is an indigenous group who occupy roughly 750 square miles where the southern ends of the southwest coast range and Tiruray Highlands meet. Lake Sebu is the T'boli's cultural heartland. It refers to two geographical areas in South Cotabato in Mindanao in the southern Philippines: the municipality and the lake within which both are located in the Allah Valley. The T'boli share Lake Sebu with other indigenous groups such as the Ubo, Teduray, Manobo, and lowland migrants. In this paper, my reference to the T'boli of Lake Sebu is to that of the indigenous population living in the municipality, whom I have been doing research with since 2012.

The relationship of the *t'nonggong* to the T'boli belief in spirit-owners of objects, including music instruments, is part of the wider matrix of the T'boli cosmological world. Traditionally, the T'boli are animists who believe that nature is inhabited by terrestrial spirits. As custodians of the natural world, they are responsible for the natural

order. The spirits, or the tulus, of natural objects such as trees, rivers, and streams are also their spirit-custodians or spirit-owners, called *funen* or *fu*. Another terrestrial spirit is the spirit guide or *tau heloni* which belongs to the category of supernatural beings known as the *tau funen*. Above these terrestrial spirits are the celestial ones such as Lemugot Mangay. On top of the cosmic realm is the supreme deity, *D'wata*.

As with other indigenous populations, the T'boli have been recipients of the missionary work of various Christian religious groups coming from the lowlands. Today, there are a myriad of Christian denominations competing for the T'boli's souls. Islam, courtesy of the neighboring Maguindanaon, has also made head way in recent years. It is difficult to encounter a T'boli who has retained his/her purely animist faith as even the older generation has been Christianized or Islamized. In the case of Christian T'boli, what exists is a type of Christianity where certain aspects of their traditional animist faith co-mingle with their new religion. In the words of Umeg, a drummer and my primary resource person, who is a Jesus Is Lord, Inc. disciple:

> "Jesus Christ and *D'wata* are the same. For the Christians, it's Jesus Christ. For the T'boli, it's *D'wata* but they are the same."

This duality in the spiritual life and cosmological beliefs of the T'boli in the two faiths they practice, the older animist and newer Christian, have allowed them to continue certain practices and beliefs without the tensions arising from prescribed religious

prohibitions. Others have completely shunned their T'boli belief system and the practices that relate to it, particularly in the case of Islamized T'boli.

The *t'nonggong* is a small circular double-headed drum with a surface that is roughly the size of one's palm and with a height of about 8 to 10 inches. The body is made from a segment of a type of species of large bamboo called *afus* both ends of which are covered by a membrane usually from a deer. A small hole on the membrane allows the sound to escape as both ends of the drum are covered. Binding the membrane are woven rings made from rattan strips. Inside the drum's body is a few seeds of the *katuk* and *basok* trees to provide a light rattling sound when the drum head is struck by a pair of short sticks made from the wood of the *k'nidang* tree. The *t'nonggong* is played to provide music to dancing. It is accompanied by a pair of sticks called k'sal which provide a drone to the drums rhythms. It is the drum that drives the dance. Good drummers are said to have the ability to keep dancers on their feet with their energetic playing.

The Life of the Drum

The birth of the *t'nonggong* is composed of two stages: the construction of the drum and the dedication to the spirit-owner of the drum. An optional third stage is the transfer of the drum to another person. Central to these is the drum-maker whose hands assemble the materials into a drum and whose beliefs inform its process of construction.

Prior to construction, the materials are gathered and assembled by the drum maker, these are the *afus*, a large species of bamboo, the *kulit uhu* or deer skin, and the *lu-os* or rattan strips. Having three different materials are seen by some T'boli as endowing the drum with a special quality as none of the other T'boli music instruments have these. In fact, the spirit-owner of the drum is called *fu t'nonggong,* which is in contrast to other T'boli music instruments such as the *hegelung*, a two-stringed pluck lute, whose spirit-owner, *fu koyu*, is named after its material, *koyu* or wood. Some of the music instruments such as the gongs, called *b'lowon*, are made of or contain manufactured materials which T'boli believe as not having spirit-owners.

Permission must be obtained from the spirit-owners of the materials such as *fu afus*, the spirit-owner of the bamboo. This is to ensure that no illness falls on the person taking the materials and more importantly, that the outcome, in this case, a *t'nonggong*, produces a good sound. Sometimes, an additional token as little as 25 centavos is left on the site. Once all the materials have been gathered, these are assembled to construct the drum. As the materials have been taken from the spirit-owner, they are carefully used with very little wastage. Excess materials are not discarded but recycled.

Most drums are made for the tourist market. However, the attendant practices in their construction are still followed. For whom or for what the drums are made for does not concern the drum makers. The *t'nonggong* is made the way it should be both as a music instrument and as a cultural object. In fact, the ban and the subsequent difficulty in obtaining deer skin has not caused the

drum makers to replace it with goat skin which is frowned on for not only does it produce a less than optimal sound being too soft but as a domesticated animal, goats do not have spirit-owners.

The process by which the t'nonggong is constructed is an extension of the T'boli's connection with nature and the spirits that dwell in it. In the making of an object, the type of materials used, the manner of manipulation, the use of available technology are not only construction processes but are linked to wider social and cultural domains. The drum makers establish their connection with the spirit world through their connection with the materials, seeking permission from the spirit-owners and carefully using them. By doing so, they acknowledge their belief of spirit guardianship and that all things taken from nature must have a purpose. In spite of an increasingly modern world that seems more and more detached from nature, the T'boli continue to inhabit a psycho-spiritual consciousness that keeps them attuned to the spiritual world that surrounds them.

Once the t'nonggong is completed, a new music instrument is created and the spirit-owner of the drum, fu t'nonggong, inhabits it. It is to this spirit that the drum maker dedicates the drum, acknowledging its presence and asking that it produces a good sound. The dedication of the drum to fu t'nonggong imbibes the music instrument with its power as it acknowledges the presence of the spirit-owner on whose generosity both drum and drummer will perform excellently. As its' home, fu t'nonggong dwells in the drum as long as it sounds. Occasionally, if the drum remains silent for a period of time, fu t'nonggong may wander-off ready to return

once the drum is played again. Even when the t'nonggong changes ownership such as when it is transferred from drum maker to buyer in a commercial exchange or from drum owner to a new owner as in a gift, the fu t'nonggong remains spirit-owner of the instrument. Moreover, it is believed that even if the drum is not used for playing such as when displayed as an artifact in a museum, spirit-ownership likewise remains. It is this tenacity of the fu t'nonggong to remain in the drum no matter its context which is the foundation in the T'boli's continuous reverence for the music instrument. Only when the t'nonggong is broken beyond repair will fu t'nonggong finally depart.

Some t'nonggong, however, are not dedicated to the spirit-owner. Umeg, a drummer and drum maker, does not dedicate drums he sells as it is his personal belief that a dedicated drum cannot be simply given away. This is not the case with drum makers who supply the tourist market. Unlike Umeg, these drum makers are not musicians and have no personal relationships with the drums other than an economic impetus to create one. Dedicating the drum is at best perfunctory, part of their belief and practice as T'boli. Umeg, however, also re-locates the socio-cultural practice within his own personal domain. However, there is no distinction between drums that have been dedicated to those that have not, as his diversion from the usual practice is mediated by personal choice rather than a socio-cultural one. Amidst such competing practices in the drum's dedication, what remains constant is the presence of the spirit-owner of the t'nonggong who inhabits the music instrument regardless whether the drum was dedicated to it or not.

Framing the ritual of dedicating the t'nonggong within the

various aspects involved in it, including the competing beliefs of the drum makers, we see how it articulates two aspects of the birth of the *t'nonggong*. First is the relationship between drum maker and the drum. In dedicating the drum, the maker fulfills his role as creator within a set of socio-cultural constraints. As some drum makers, have articulated, "We have done our part (in honoring) the spirit. Even if we give it away and they do what they want with it; as long as we have done what we need to do, the spirit will not harm us." Second, the ritual of consecration foregrounds the context which would permeate the subsequent use of the *t'nonggong*. In her defense of the practice of rituals, Mary Douglas argues:

> "Ritual focuses attention by framing; it enlivens the memory and links the present with the relevant past. In all this it aids perception."[10]

As an instrument that has the power to present the sacred, the dedication of the *t'nonggong* suggests the kind of life by which the drum is oriented. To dedicate the *t'nonggong* is to dedicate it to a life filled with respect for the *fu t'nonggong*.

The *t'nonggong* may change ownership such as when it is sold in the tourist market or as part of ritual exchange such as in dowries or as part of ritual gift giving to children. When given as a gift, the *t'nonggong* can neither be sold nor given away as doing so would cause illness and the only way to cure it is to get the drum back or to make a new one.

It is in the temporal realm of music performance where

the *t'nonggong* enact much of its life in context. The performance practices in the *t'nonggong* including the process of becoming an expert musician, reveal a whole spectrum of T'boli musical culture and extra-musical associations, particularly (that?)with the spirit-owner of the drum.

It is the drummer that gives the *t'nonggong* its voice but it is *fu t'nonggong* that gives the drummer the ability to perform successfully. Drummers distinctly mention how the presence of *fu t'nonggong* is marked by a playing that is full of life and excitement and does not tire them. "It's just there. You will know if it's there," is how the drummers would describe it. This kind of dependency of the drummer on the spirit-owner arises from the belief that the spirit-owner or any spirit in general plays a vital role in one's ability to learn to play music instruments.

This relationship between drummer and spirit finds its epitome in a unique type of musician called tau hulu who is a master in his/her art form as gifted to him/her by a spirit-guide through a dream or *k'na*. This spirit-guide who may be the spirit-owner of the music instruments or any other spirit in the T'boli cosmic realm teaches the budding musician how to play. Just as his father, Genlal, was visited by a spirit in his dreams who taught him to play the t'nonggong when he was a young child, Umeg, was visited in his dreams by his spirit-guide who was also his father's spirit-partner. The spirit-guide taught him to play the drum with his feet and arms extended so as not to tire out easily. He was also told that his fame as a drummer would far exceed that of his father and that all his performances would be a success.

The relationship by which the *tau hulu* enters with his spirit-guide is almost shamanic in the sense that the *t'nonggong* is the medium by which the drummer communicates with the supreme deity, *D'wata*. Spirit-guides after all belong to that class of supernatural beings known as *tau funen* who act as intermediaries between *D'wata* and humanity. It is this relationship that also gifts some *tau hulu* such as Umeg and his father the ability to heal.

A relationship between the dancer/s and the *t'nonggong* likewise exists. Dancers tap the *t'nonggong* lightly with their foot before dancing so they and the drummer can dance and play with much energy and not get tired easily. At the end of the dance, they tap the drum once more or lightly throw the scarf used during the dance to pay respect to *fu t'nonggong*.

When not in use or after a performance the *t'nonggong* is laid carefully on the ground with a mat or even a piece of paper placed underneath it or else lying on its side. Only if the ground is of bamboo or wood is it all right for the *t'nonggong* to be placed in an upright position. Ignoring all these is akin to disrespecting the spirit-owner which would result in the inability to play well and in contracting an illness. However, some musicians performing in resorts, particularly the younger ones, sometimes carelessly lay the drum upright on a bare floor. This carelessness is largely attributed to youthfulness rather than a disregard for the drum. At home, the *t'nonggong* is carefully stored out of reach from the playful hands of children; hence it is preferably hung from the roof beams of the house. Other practices include the prohibition of placing small objects other than musical instruments on top of the *t'nonggong* and

not using it as a seat or a foot stool.

In the reproduction of *t'nonggong* performance in a largely tourist context, the supposition is that the normative cultural practices disappear. That is not the case, however. While it is true that the quality of the performance may suffer, the beliefs continue. Perhaps, a contributing factor to this is that dancing has always been performance. Madal Tahaw, for example, is danced to accompany the start of the planting season while also danced as entertainment in celebrations. To the T'boli performers, whether it is in the village or in a resort, it is the same performance with the same attendant practices.

As long as the drum is able to sound, its life likewise continues. Should any of its parts deteriorate and become unusable, these may be replaced by new material and the drum repaired. The whole process of asking for permission from the spirit-owners of the materials and the dedication of the drum to *fu t'nonggong* is repeated for the newly-repaired and re-born drum. The broken materials are either kept or buried in the yard. The process of rebirth continues until the body of the drum itself breaks beyond repair. As its resonator, this is the source of the drum's sound. Without it, the life of the drum ends and it falls into eternal silence. *Fu t'nonggong* then leaves the music instrument. The *kulit* may be taken and transferred to another drum of the same size or left in place. The broken *t'nonggong* is carefully stored or in rare cases, buried. Throwing the drum into a fire would invite fatal illness. In death as in life, the T'boli's respect for the spirit-owners and the *t'nonggong* is enshrined.

Summary

The *t'nonggong* as a music instrument is an object in which T'boli culture is embodied. In tracing the life of the *t'nonggong*, I have situated the drum as a cultural object manifesting the T'boli belief in spirit-owners, and how this is articulated in life of the *t'nonggong*. Drum-makers, drummers, and dancers, and to an extent, other T'boli, engage with their spiritual beliefs as they engage with the *t'nonggong*. As the drum lives with the same cultural orientation as that of the T'boli, it is receptive to the same rhythms and flows that characterize their lives. The T'boli continue to dialogue with the modern world and with tourism. These are enacted in the everyday reality in which performances take place in resorts and homestays, *t'nonggong* makers secretly buy deer skin to make a drum to sell at one of the many souvenir shops, an adept is also a farmer trying to make ends meet, and in which T'boli women dress in their finest *t'nalak* and beads for a photo shoot. Amidst all these, the T'boli continue to assert their cultural presence, transforming themselves if necessary. Change is inevitable but the tenacity by which the T'boli fasten on to aspects of their culture even as they open themselves to external forces allows transformations suitable to their needs to take place. Tourist-oriented performances may be derided as artificial contexts of performance but for the T'boli musicians, the opportunity to perform is valuable and they recognize these as important markers of their identity. Just as there are no tourist *t'nonggong*, there are no tourist performances. There is just the drum, the performances, and the T'boli.

END NOTES

[1]Ethnomusicology as an anthropology of music was posited by Alan P. Meriam in his seminal work, "The Anthropology of Music" published in 1964.

[2]Sue Carole DeVale. "Organizing Organology." Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology 8(1990): 22

[3]Igor Koptyoff. "The Cultural Biography of Things." The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1986), 64.

[4]Ibid, 66.

[5]Ibid, 67.

[6]Sue Carole DeVale. "Organizing Organology."Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology 8(1990): 22

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Sue DeVale. "Musical Instruments and Ritual: A Systematic Approach." Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 5:89–123.

[10]Mary Douglas. Purity and Danger (New York: Routledge, 2002), 79.

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Response to 'Sounding the Spirit: The Life of the T'boli T'nonggong'

by Manolete Mora

One of the key points made in '*The Life of the T'boli T'nonggong*' is the attachment between the T'boli musician and spirit guide. I will respond to this point, in particular, so as to enrich our understanding of how the T'boli conceive of musical ability as well as the close connection between music and spiritual power. Moreover, a closer understanding of the attachment between musician and spirit guide highlights aspects of T'boli relations, more generally, that may provide important lessons for those of us living in urban environments that more often than not regard nature as primarily an economic resource.

Let me begin, with Umeg, the *t'nonggong* player mentioned in this article, and his father Genlal both of whom I knew well through my fieldwork in Lake Sebu in the 1980s and 1990s. Like many T'boli adepts or *tau hulu* as they are called, Genlal was a specialist healer and spirit medium and underwent a period of ritual ordination during childhood. In my experience, there was always a close relationship between the role of the adept, whether they be musicians, epic singers, weavers or other artisans, and spirit mediums

and healers. The T'boli recognize children who exhibit uniqueness or distinction in some way and are referred to as *tau todo henuluhen*. The term *henulu* or 'having uniqueness' derives from the root word *hulu* (or *mulu*) or 'to plant'. But few become what the T'boli call *tau mulung* or `one who knows'. Genlal was one such individual and provided a model for his son, Umeg, to follow.

The contact with a renowned adept (*tau totol*)is crucial for it stimulates the neophyte's *nawa* (lit. 'breath') and promotes desire and aspiration (*hendun nawa*) to learn. As in Umeg's case he became attached to a renowned adept from within his family, his father. But regardless of whether the adept is a relative or not, the association between neophyte and adept is not highly formalised but is nonetheless considered intimate; the two are regarded as'close like relatives' (*sedu mu le*). Both Umeg and Genlal not only learned their craft but also secret knowledge such as magic (*bulung*) and proper ethical conduct from their teachers. The knowledge gained through the relationship with an adept is sanctified through later contact with a spirit guide, initiatally through dreams. Thus the path to adeptness begins with the attachment to an adept and then later to a spirit guide.

The neophyte's calling through dreams normally occurs between late childhood and early adulthood. As in Genlal's case, the pre-initiation learning stage, the constant playing and practice on the drums, drew negative attention from his family and neighbours (a situation which many musicians the world over seem to experience!). Genlal's efforts to learn were intially regarded as time wasted but his persistence was eventually considereda sign

of musical potential that was recognized by those around. This change of attitude was a recognition that Genlal's aspirations were sanctioned by his contact with the spirit world and that his received knowledge would be of benefit to the community. More generally among the T'boli, the sign of both aspiration and spiritual contact is connected to the neophyte's dramatic recovery from the serious affliction that immediately precedes a revelatory dream and which is normally caused by a transgressive act, as Genlal recounted to me from his own experience.

> When I first began to play the *t'nonggong* I played continuously for a whole month. My parents were annoyed and became angry with me. I got mad at them in return and I destroyed my drum with a *tok* (a type of kris). My parents scolded me for destroying the drum and warned me that I would suffer a curse (*metefu*).
>
> "You know what you have done is *lii* (*tabu*)", my parents said. "The drum has a purpose. Never before has anyone destroyed one. Do you know why the *moninum* (grand ceremony) cannot start without the drum? It is because it can be heard from far away, whereupon people say: "Oh! The *moninum* is being celebrated from the place of the drum (*Tugono le moninum*)".
>
> That night an old man appeared to me in my dream. "You are the one who destroyed my property", he said "and now you will be cursed".

I replied that I destroyed the drum because I found it difficult to learn. "That is because you are `hard-headed' (*megelkulu*)", the old man retorted. "I know how to play the drum", he added.

So I asked him to help me learn, to rub his sweat into my palms. But he told me instead to take my own hands and wipe the sweat from his brow and rub it into my hands. He then went on to say: "You must play the drum tomorrow at noon. The first utom you will play must be t'bollem owong (`drumming in the boat'), followed by *t'bolhelos* ('continuous drumming') and then *la kulu* (`no head').

At noon the next day after fishing, I began to play the drum. Everyone was surprised to hear me play well.

When Genlal recovered from his affliction after fulfilling the instructions from the spirit guide he was subsequently empowered with knowledge. That knowledge and spiritual power was intimately intertwined with his vocation as a healer and spirit medium. Genlal's ordainment as an adept, his relationship to a personal spirit guide and, more generally, T'boli mimetic musical practices that hinge on encoding natural sounds in musical composition or *utom*, reminds us that there are different ways of understanding and experiencing the world. It is instructive to know that peoples like the T'boli have found other ways of disclosing and relating to the nonhuman, whether natural or spiritual.

The case of the *t'nonggong*, like other T'boli musical practices, is significant for it highlights a relational ontology that once governed

T'boli lifeways; relations that reston mutuality between subjects in the social world and between subjects in the social world and objects in the natural and spiritual world. In the context of T'boli traditional religion, the spirit and natural world is the metaphysical basis for all relations, the spiritual suffuses reality, making everything sacred and worthy of respect. The lesson to learn from this way of thinking is that humans are closely connected with dimensions of the world we normally regard in modern urban environments as having no claim upon us. In a world troubled by ecological degradation, oppression, bigotry, injustice, and mistreatment of animals this way of thinking, in its broadest sense, has the potential to evoke greater compassion and responsibility among human beings thereby helping to forge a more liveable and value laden world.

Response to 'Sounding the Spirit: The Life of the T'boli T'nonggong'

by Hans Brandeis

The first thing that caught my eye when I saw this article was the similarity of its title with the title of Manolete Mora's article "The Sounding Pantheon of Nature. T'boli Instrumental Music..." (1987), which does not appear in the bibliography of the present work. Speaking about the bibliography, the book by Mary Douglas: Purity and Danger (2002) is mentioned in one of the endnotes, but why is this source not included in the bibliography?

The second thing I immediately saw was the way indigenous terms are written in this article. In many of these terms, an apostrophe is included. Nowadays, however, the use of this apostrophe is obsolete, as it implies that a vowel has been omitted that has been substituted by an apostrophe. This, however, is not the case because e.g. between the "T" and "b" of Tboli, there is simply nothing… Regarding the present-day way of writing Tboli terms, I may refer to the *Tboli-English Dictionary*, compiled by Silin Awed et al. (2004), which can be considered the "state-of-the-art" dictionary of the Tboli language.

I wish that the author would have discussed the Tboli terms a little bit more in detail, just to avoid confusion. I will, therefore, discuss them in short, in their order of appearance:

•T'boli = Tboli (Awed et al. 2004). At least, the spelling "T'boli" is still better than the spellings "TBoli," "T'Boli" or "Tiboli." And the worst name for the Tboli, by far, is "Tagabili," which is highly derogatory, being used by the Christian settlers, with a connotation of "illiterate, lower class." The commonly accepted spelling by the people themselves is Tboli. (The same, by the way, refers to the name of a neighboring people, the Blaan, formerly often written as "B'laan" or "Bilaan," the letter being used with the same derogatory meaning as "Tagabili.")
•*t'nonggong* = *tonggong*. First of all, it should be stated that the actual name of the Tboli drum is "*tonggong*," while "*tnonggong*" refers to a verb form, as in the sentence "*Tnonggong gel nadal le, ne klintang snéen*" ["They usually dance to the playing of the drum and the kulintang also"] (ibid.: 555). However, the term *tnonggong* seems to be generally used, nowadays.
•D'wata = Dwata (ibid.: 191).
•*k'nidang* = knidang (ibid.: 339).
•*k'sal* = ksal (ibid.: 346).
•*b'lowon* = blówón (ibid.: 147).
•*k'na* = kna (ibid.: 338).
•*t'nalak* = tnalak (ibid.: 551).

Examining the life circle of the *tnonggong* drum by looking at its birth, life and death is actually an appropriate approach. However, what is not mentioned in this article here is the fact that

the whole framework constituting the lifecycle of the *tnonggong*, including its production processes, spiritual and social contexts etc. themselves are "intangible objects" that underly the same processes of birth, life and death within Tboli culture as does the *tnonggong*. This multidimensional expansion of the concept would cover and include the historical processes of change within culture, like acculturation, inculturation, enculturation etc.

If we look at Philippine traditional music in a broader context, we can state that vocal music provides the main means of musical expression, with ceremonial chants and sung epics representing the most serious genres and a whole range of handed-down and/or improvised songs the everyday musical repertoire. The instrumental music roughly comprises music for individual use, e.g. for flutes, lutes, violins or jaw's harps, and music for communal use, mainly using percussion instruments like gongs, drums, percussion tubes or beams and alike, usually providing dance rhythms during social events. The *tnonggong* is associated with this latter repertoire of communal music.

Looking at Mindanao as a whole, the number of different drum types is rather limited. We know goblet drums *debakan/ dadabuan* and barrel drums *gandang* as part of the *kulintang* ensembles. There are also reproductions of Spanish military drums, used by the Maranao (*tambor*), Magindanaon and Higaonon (*tambul*) and probably others. The *tnonggong* of the Tboli, however, a small cylindrical drum with two skins, belongs to a type of drum, which has the widest distribution in Mindanao. It can be found among the Agusan Manobo (*gimbê, gimbae*), Kulaman Manobo

(*gimbal*), Mandaya and Mansaka (*gimbal, gembal, gimbaw, kimbaw*), Bagobo (*gimbar*), Tboli (*tnonggong*), Blaan (*tagonggong*) and other ethnic groups in Mindanao. The same type of drum is also used by the Tagbanwa of Palawan (*gimbal*) where the connection with Mindanao music is obvious.

The author describes the *tnonggong* as a "small circular double-headed drum." It is not really clear what is meant here. Generally, drum heads have a circular shape, or, as perfect circles are hard to achieve, an oval shape so that this also should be taken for granted in the case of the *tnonggong*. One of the main criteria for distinguishing different types of drums is the shape of their body. If the body of the *tnonggong*, aside from the round shape of both ends, was circular, it should look like a ball. Instead, the *tnonggong* is a small cylindrical double-headed drum.

The concept of spirit-ownership, connected to the concept of guardian and guiding spirits seems to be rather universal among the traditionalist people of Mindanao. For example, just as the relationship between a Tboli player of the *tnonggong* and its spirit-owner determines the quality of the performance and gives the player strength, so does the relationship of a Bukidnon singer with his guiding spirits and the spirit of his voice. When I wanted to record an ulagíng epic in Bukidnon, in the 1980s, the singer was completely hoarse, but the appropriate invocation of his guiding spirits made it possible that he could sing the *ulagíng* with a clear voice, for a period of four hours.

In Mindanao, drums of different types are often played

together with a gong, e.g. among the Agusan Manobo and Higaonon (*agung* and *gimbê*), Mandaya (*agung and gimbal*), Bukidnon and Magindanaon (*agung and tambul*). This instrumental ensemble is often used in ceremonial context. However, little is known about the connection of the drums with the spiritual world. Therefore, even though the present article only exemplifies this connection for the case of Tboli music culture, it is a significant addition to our knowledge.

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Comments on the Responses to 'Sounding the Spirit: The Life of the T'boli T'nonggong'

by Earl Jimenez

RESPONSE TO DR. MORA

Indeed, as pointed out by Dr. Mora, one of the key points in the article is the relationship between the musician/adept with his spirit guide. This has been discussed extensively by Dr. Mora in his many writings. There are many accounts of Umeg of his experiences with his spirit guide including being told that he would surpass his father in playing the drum. Conversations with other T'boli have also yielded many anecdotes involving spirit-guides. Additionally interesting is that the relationship between musicians and spirit-guide extends beyond music. In the case of Genlal and his son Umeg, it includes being taught how to cure snake bites, something which Umegstill does today. This goes on to show how this spirit connection permeates other aspects of Tboli life.

RESPONSE TO DR. BRANDEIS

My choice of title comes from my personal perspective of how the drum sounds out the spirit which it contains. In addition, the phonetic play of "sounding" and "spirit" makes for a somewhat catchy title. Well aware of Dr. Mora's "Sounding the Pantheons of Nature," article, I did not include it in the bibliography as I did not reference the work in my article. *T'nonggong* was the name by which the drum was referred to by the people in Lake Sebu while I was there. Queried as to the verb form of music instruments, it was "m" that was affixed. Hence, *t'nonggong* was *t'mononggong*, *k'sal* (percussion sticks that plays with the drum) is *k'msal* and so forth with the rest. However, as Dr. Brandeis has pointed out, *tonggong* is the real name of the drum. It would be interesting to look into this and see how and why the linguistic transformation into *t'nonggong* took place. My orthography was based on information from my resource persons. Other comments of Dr. Brandeis have been duly noted as significant information enriching my research.

The Nightingale Meets Nipper the Dog: Maria Evangelista Carpena and the Beginnings of Recorded Music Technology in the Philippines, ca. 1900-1915

Gloria Rosario Sta. Maria-Villasquez

This paper discusses the beginnings and appropriation of the recording industry in the Philippines as it investigates the role of Maria Evangelista Carpena in popular entertainment and modern media at the turn of the 20th century. Regarded as the "Nightingale of the Zarzuela," and "First Filipino Recording Artist" of one of the leading and pioneer record labels at the time, Carpena popularized the Tagalog zarzuela in the early 1900s, a Spanish-derived musical theatre, and the Tagalog art song called kundiman whereby both genres metaphorically express nationalist ideas and sentiments.

When Thomas Edison's invention of the phonographor speaking machine came forthin 1877 and patented thereafter in 1878 at Menlo Park, New Jersey, under U.S. Patent No. 200521,people'sattitude towards music listening transformed considerably. The patent description states that the primary objective of the phonograph invention was "to record in permanent characters

the human voice and other sounds, from which such sounds may be reproduced and rendered audible again at a future time." In the 1880s, Alexander Graham Bell and Charles Sumner Tainter introduced a further enhancement on the Edison phonograph, now named as the graphophone. This machine used wax-coated cardboard cylinders that are more durable than the tin foil cylinders and able to do multiple playbacks. Further in 1888, Emile Berliner patented a third innovation on the recording machine. Instead of a cylinder, the flat disc on the gramophone machine was used as recording medium. The first set of discs was made of hard rubber prior to its replacement in 1897 with a shellac compound. Mass production was now possible as copies were stamped from a metal master. The cylinder business started to wane around 1910 and was completely eclipsed by the shellac flat disc in the late 1920s. In the past where repeat performances arelimited and considered distinct as they are experienced "live" in a concert venue or within an intimate social gathering, the flat disc technological break through allows one to listen privately tothe same performance over and over at the comfort of one's home. As the musical material becomes accessible at any time and place, one is then exposed to a broad range of repertoire in a way that has never been possible before. One is able to listen to the music trends of the past while performance styles are easily reviewed, studied, and elevated as model references for future artists.

The introduction of recorded music technology, particularly Berliner's flat disc alongside its trade and culture at the turn of the 20th century transformed music entertainment in the Philippines into a new phase of modernity while holding on to some aspects of the past. The zarzuela which was normally performed live

on local plazas and theaters beginning in the late 19th century subsequently made its way into the shellac record enabling listeners to reviewmusicexcerpts at their own convenience. Artists were faced with a new set of performing conditions where by a song from a zarzuela shifted from a "live" audience to a recording machine. Moreover, the listening audience extended its boundaries beyond the four corners of the theatre and on towards a national and global audience.

Maria Evangelista Carpena: a brief biography

Maria Evangelista Carpena was born on October 22, 1886 in Sta. Rosa, Laguna (formerly Barrio Bukol before its separation from Biñan), a municipality that was founded on January 15, 1792 and named after its patron saint, Sta. Rosa de Lima, Peru. A church was built in her honor and the first Mass was celebrated on August 30, 1812 under Fray Francisco Favie, O.P., the first parish priest. Until the 1980s, the municipality of Sta. Rosa principally based its economy on agriculture and fishing. Today, the city of Sta. Rosa is proud to have become a first class municipality and noted as the financial nerve center of Southern Luzon.

One of eight children, Maria was born to Camilo Carpena and Maria Evangelista. Camilo was a rice grower, leaseholder of friar lands, as well as a *tahor* or cockfight organizer, while Maria Evangelista was a devout homemaker fromBiñan, Laguna, whose roots originally hailed from Meycauayan, Bulacan.Maria Carpena's interest in singing began as a church choir tiple at the Sta. Rosa de Lima parish church and said to have impressed the local parish

priest who subsequently offered her voice lessons. Songs were learned by rote locally known as *oido* since she did not know how to read western notation. Her interest for music eventually deepened but had difficulty convincing her father to cultivate this talent. Disowned by her father due to her insistence in becoming a performing artist, she left home and stayed in the historic area of Manila in Intramuros under the care of the Sisters of Charity at the Colegio de Santa Rosa, formerly a beaterio recognized for taking care of orphaned girls. There she studied music under the renowned zarzuela composer Fulgencio Tolentino. In return, Maria paid her keep through embroidery and singing. At the age of 15 in 1901, Maria performed in a charity concert at the Zorilla Theatre, known as one of the major theatres of the time. Contrary to her father's wish, she performed in a Tagalog zarzuela under the directorship of Cirilo Samonte. This moved Maria's father to disown her completely even until death (*hanggang magpantay ang mga paa*). Those were Camilo's actual words as echoed by Maria's descendants. Meanwhile, her stay at the Colegio did not last long as she stopped schooling and got married to Jose "Pepe" Alcantara, a kalesa or horse-drawn carriage entrepreneur whose shop was located at Azcarraga Street or present-day Recto in old Manila. They had two children namely Florita and Jaime Alcantara.

The famous playwright, Severino Reyes, also known as "Lola Basyang," discovered Maria's prodigious talent at a church in Biñan, Laguna. Reyes at that time was the founder and director of the Gran Compania de Zarzuela Tagala, an organization that made possible the production of various Tagalogzarzuelas in the early 20th century such as "WalangSugat" (Unwounded), an expression of Filipino

nationalism amidst the Spanish colonial regime, and "R.I.P." (Requiescat in Pace), among others, a work that scorned the *komedya* to be buried along with Spanish colonization and its influences. Formed in 1902, the group performed at the Zorilla Theatre and traveled in nearby towns and provinces. Maria's performance in 1902 at the Zorilla Theatre came upon the invitation of Reyes to portray the lead role in his three-act *zarzuela*, "Minda Mora" (Minda the Moor), a collaborative work with composer Juan de Sahagun Hernandez. Here, her performance was so well received that she was further offered singing engagements in local fiestas and special activities at the town plaza. She became an overnight celebrity and her pursuit to become an accomplished singer and stage artist finally materialized.As Amado C. Aristorenas, nephew of Maria, claimed, Maria's voice was so powerful that it could shatter glass into pieces and be heard from afar. Likewise, Prof. H. Otley Beyer mentioned that Maria was a real nightingale. Amidst a crowd of around 20,000 people gathered at the Luneta Park in Manila, her voice could be heard at the Manila Hotel. During her affiliation with the *zarzuela* company, Maria also performed other Tagalog *zarzuelas* and was paired with tenor actors like Andres Ciria Cruz in "Lukso ng Dugo" (Leap of Blood) and "La Confianza Mata al Hombre," (Confidence Kills Men), andVictorino Carrion in "WalangSugat." Carrion was often teamed with her in stage performances.

In 1904, Maria was widowed at the age of 18. Her husband's untimely death happened in the middle of a performance which she bravely completed. When she was widowed, she continued appearing on stage and performed in other singing engagements while taking voice lessons under the Italian maestro, Enrico Capozzi.

Maria's talent and beauty attracted many admirers. She eventually met someone and bore a son named Mauro Carpenaon March 12, 1908.

In her later years, Maria became very sickly and said to have developed goiter. At that time when she was performing her final piece at the Zorilla Theatre, Maria experienced severe abdominal pain. She was then rushed to San Juan de Dios Hospital and was diagnosed with acute appendicitis. A then famous military surgeon, Dr. Gregorio Singian, apparently performed a follow-up surgery but Maria's condition worsened. She died in the evening of March 8, 1915 at a young age of 28. During the wake at the Funeraria Nacional, fellow musicians performed in her honor. The Oriental Orchestra, one of the well-known orchestras of the time, rendered a requiem Mass and Chopin's funeral march. Antonio Garcia and Jose Estella conducted. Maria was buried a week after at the Binondo Catholic Cemetery presently known as La Loma Cemetery in Manila. It was attended by noted church music composer, Marcelo Adonay, whose piece "Liberame" was performed under his baton. Tenor Victorino Carrion also rendered a vocal work. In the necrological service (*Luksang Parangal*), three key people offered their messages namely Dr. Dominador Gomez (1st Philippine Assembly 1907), Hermogenes Ilagan (Father of Tagalog *zarzuela*) and writer Patricia Mariano. In Gomez's exact words, "Just as the Filipino with its three stars is concealed in a dark corner, so Maria Carpena is the fourth star to be interred." Today, one of the streets of Quiapo district in Manila is named in her honor.

The recognition of Carpena as an accomplished performing

artist was publicly celebrated years after her death in 1915 when two non-government organizations namely, Sentrong Pangsining at Kultura Alaala kay Maria Carpena, Inc.(Center for Arts and Culture in Memory of Maria Carpena, Inc.) and Museo de Maria Carpena, were established in her home province in Laguna. Both hold annual festivals to commemorate her musical contribution as one of the best singers of her time. Moreover, a play was staged in her honor entitled, "Ala-Ala Kay Maria Carpena" (In Memory of Maria Carpena) on October 14, 1997 at the Tanghalang Leandro Locsin in Intramuros, Manila. In 2008, she was given a posthumous award at the PanlalawigangSentro ng Kultura at Sta. Cruz, Laguna, for being the PinakamaningningnaAlagad ng Sining (The Brightest Artist), respectively.

Maria Evangelista Carpena and the Recorded Music Technology in the Philippines

The shellac flat disc record reached Philippine soil at the turn of the 20th century where it was considered a novelty item in homes of affluent families. It quickly became the new source of domestic music entertainment after the piano. Instead of gathering around the piano to listen to "live" singing or instrumental renditions, people with record players now displayed their new appliance in their living rooms to play music at anytime of the day.

It was through a Spanish-born entrepreneur, Francisco Pertierra that the business of selling records and players began. His Fonografo Pertierra (ca. 1896) was situated at the ground floor of the Casino Españabuilding, No. 12Escolta, Manila. This listening salon

business was twin-billed with the first public film screenings of the *cronofotografo*, a French invention that projects moving photographs and said to be the precursor of film technology in the Philippines. In the early 1900s, other shops located at the main financial district of Escolta, Manila,that also sold records and players, included La Estrella del Norte, La Puerta del Sol, and Erlanger and Galinger. Erlanger and Galinger owned the largest stock of records and also sold victrolas, a brand of gramophone, for as high as 450 pesos each.Record labels sold locally were all foreign-based. These were the Victor Talking Machine, Columbia Records, Odeon, and Parlophon. All these labels featured foreign and local Filipino artists. Meanwhile, locally owned record companies only came after World War II, specifically in the 1950s and 1960s. Among the local pioneer labels include Bataan, Dyna, Mico, Royal, and Villar Records, respectively.

It was under the Camden-based American label, Victor Talking Machine,which isidentified with the "Nipper the Dog" or "His Master's Voice" logo that the earliest set of recordings by a Filipino was published. Then Governor General and Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, invited Carpenasometime around 1908 together with other artists to record in the United States. It was not, however, mentioned in which city the songs were recorded at. In general, recording sessions then werebasedin Los Angeles, New York, or RichmondVirginia and disseminated to Asian communities in the United States. Apart from the recording of Filipino artists, Victor Label also recorded artists from China, Japan, Korea, and India. Essentially, Victor Label became the medium for the introduction and popularity of Asian artists in the global market.

Issued under the 22000 and 42000 Victor catalogue series (ca. 1900-1910) as sourced from the Discography of American Historical Recordings (formerly Encyclopedic Discography of Victor Recordings or EDVR) of the University of California in Santa Barbara, as well as from Richard K. Spottswood's Ethnic Music on Records, these 10-inch shellac records feature the earliest song renditions by Maria Evangelista Carpena. Based on the Santa Barbara archives, only one record from the Philippines exists under the 22000 one-sidedseries. A one-sided shellac disc plays only 1 track with an average time of three to four minutes. Meanwhile, the rest of the recordings under this series 22000 and 42000 are mostly Chinese.

The only Philippine recording from the 22000 series is the song "Ang Maya" (The Sparrow) (catalogue no. 22018), a *kundiman* or Tagalog art song taken from the patriotic *zarzuela* entitled "Filipinas para los Filipinos" (Philippines for the Filipinos) by well-known writer Severino Reyes and music composed by Jose Estella. It equates the agility of Filipinos to the maya or sparrow. A second "take" of the "Ang Maya" was also recorded butwasnever issued according to Victor discographer, John Bolig.

Under the 42000 Victor double-sided catalogue series, five songsmention the recordings of Maria Carpena. Double-sided discs, which came after the one-sided counterpart, could play one track per side with an average of three to four minutes each. These song srendered by Carpena are "*Ang Maya-Valseng*" (catalogue no. 42753), "*Miguel y Julia*" from the *zarzuela* "*WalangSugat*" (catalogue no. 42755), "*Julia, Puton y Tenong*" from the *zarzuela* "WalangSugat"

(catalogue no. 42759), "*Y*day(Ynday?)yTino" from the *zarzuela* "Veni, Vidi, Vici" (catalogue no. 42760),and "Choleng y Emilio" (catalogue no. 42763). Titles for the other catalogue numbers, 42754, 42756, 42758, 42761, and 42762, respectively, remain anonymous. They may probably refer to other solos by Carpena as noted in sources like "Ang mga Ibon" (The Birds, a Tagalog valse or waltz), "Ang Babaing Naulol" (The Woman who went crazy, a Tagalog *danza*), excerpt from "Cavalleria Rusticana," "Ave Maria," "Ang Geisha" from the "La Venta de Filipinas al Japon"(The Sale of the Philippines to Japan).Her duet renditions include "Maura y Felix" from the *zarzuela* "Minda Mora," "Torcuato y Filotea" from the *zarzuela* "Ang Pag-aasawa ni San Pedro" (The Marriage of Peter), "Filotea y Gonzalo" from the *zarzuela* "Ang Pag-aasawa ni San Pedro" and "Tinang y Luis" from the *zarzuela* "Lukso ng Dugo." Of all listed recordings by Maria, only two remain extant. These are "Ang Maya" (catalogue no. 22018) and "Choleng y Emilio" (catalogue no. 42763). Meanwhile, other artists were also presented in the 42000 catalogue series. They are Socorro Basilio and Adriana Nicolas in "Anday y Gloria,"(catalogue no. 42763). Victorino Carrion in "Choleng y Emilio," (catalogue no. 42763), and Orquesta Molina for "Ang Maya." (catalogue no. 22018). Orquesta Molina was founded in 1906 by Juan Molina and was one of the famous orchestras in the early 1900s that performed in operas and *zarzuelas* at the Zorilla Theatre and the Manila Grand Opera House.

Maria Carpena and local popular entertainment

When Maria Carpena's popularity as a *zarzuela* artist

shifts from "live" theatre performance to the shellac record, her voice is encapsulated, preserved, and amplified to an audience that transcends across time and space. Her two extant recordings (ca. 1908-1910), "Ang Maya" and "Choleng y Emilio," marked her outstanding performances on stage that have been made available to many generations of listeners and artists, thus earning her the title of the "First Filipino Recording Artist." Shortly after Carpena's death, the success of "Ang Maya" recording somehow inspired other artists like Atang de la Rama and ConchingRosal, to include the song in their standard performance repertoire. Furthermore, Carpena hasbecome a global artist at the turn of the 20th century, initially in the United States where her records, together with other Asian artists, were first distributed to its Asian communities.

Already known as a *zarzuela* superstar prior to her recording of the "Ang Maya," Carpena's recordings on excerpts from *zarzuelas* set the trend in early popular music entertainment allowing subsequent artists to emulate the genre she popularized. Two artists that performed along her style years after Carpena's death were Atang de la Rama and Sylvia la Torre, both practitioners of the Tagalog *zarzuela*. As songs were captured on the record, the corresponding genre is consequently identified with the artist. This in effect paved the way for the attachment of honorific names to artists as a means to formalize publicly their popularity of a particular genre or style. In the shellac record era, three artists represented local popular music. Maria Carpena was known as the "Nightingale of the Zarzuela" (1900-1915); Atang de la Rama was the "Queen of the Kundiman and of the Zarzuela" (1919-1950s); and Sylvia la Torre was also known as the "Reyna (Queen) of the Kundiman" (1960s). In the

vinyl era, artists include Pilita Corrales known as "Asia's Queen of Song" (1960s-1970s) and Nora Aunor, the "Superstar" (1970s). In the cassette era, it was Sharon Cuneta, known as the "Megastar" (1980s) who caught the attention of many listeners. Further into the Compact disc (CD) era, Regine Velasquez was known as "Asia's Songbird" (1990s). In the digital era that covers till the present time, Sarah Geronimo is the people's "Popstar Princess" (2000s-present).

When recording technology was introduced to the Philippines between 1900-1910 through the shellac record, *zarzuela* excerpts were used as repertoire and interpreted by *zarzuela* artists of the time. These artists, like Maria Carpena, who performed in *zarzuela* theatres around Manila such as Zorilla Theatre and Teatro Libertad, were brought to the U.S. to record songs under foreign-based record labels. Though the technology was originally American, the Filipino artist's response was to appropriate the medium with the local popular music genre of the time and interpret it in the local language. With the introduction of radio in the Philippines in the 1920s, these records penetrated the airwaves across the country alongside American popular music. Filipino artists then accepted colonial music as their own yet created their own version of it.The recording music technology further sparks a new fabric of modernity at the beginning of the 20th century. Maria Carpena set a new approach to stardom in popular music in the Philippines by way of the record becoming a significant means to gain popularity. She opened a new level of performance as local talent is introduced into the global scene.

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Popular Culture in the Philippines at the Time of Maria Carpena

by Elizabeth L. Enriquez

Maria Carpena died too soon, in 1915 at the age of 28, at the time her star was shining so brightly as the undisputed queen of *zarzuela*, a genre of musical drama that the Tagalogs adapted from the Spaniards, who introduced the theatrical performance to the natives during the Spanish colonial period. Had she lived another 15 to 20 years, she might have ruled not only the stage but also the airwaves. Already immensely popular as a stage performer, her fame spread when she became the first of Filipino music recording artists around the first decade of the 20th century. Had she lived to go on the air, she would have been the leading radio star singing the *kundiman*–Tagalog love songs sung in serenades and thought to be metaphors for nationalistic and revolutionary messages–long before Atang dela Rama and other *sarsuwelistas* and *bodabolistas* dominated radio with their blocktime variety programs inspired by the *bodabil*.

Carpena led the first group of Filipino singers who waxed their first recordings in the United States. Buyers of their

records included not only wealthy Filipinos who owned the early phonographs, later called gramophones, but also a sizable Filipino migrant population in the US, particularly in California. When American recording companies Victor and Columbia realized a market for the records of Filipino songs in the US, more Filipino singers were brought to the US to record the songs. The artists were also invited to guest in American radio in the early 1920s, where the audience reception was noted to be warm. The record business was and still is a business, so to make the most of their investment, Victor and Columbia sent copies of the records for distribution in the Philippines.

As early as 1913, recordings of Filipino music began to be made in the Philippines, years before radio had its debut. William H. Anderson supervised the recordings in a studio he set up on the second floor of the Manila Hotel. Anderson was the local representative of Victor Talking Machine (a gramophone) and Victor Records (recordings on shellac), which were sold in the department store he owned,the Erlanger and Galinger. These recordings, both those pressed in the US and in the Philippines, became important material to fill radio airtime when the first radio broadcast stations were established in Manila, even as live music also made up a significant amount of programming. Thus, Maria Carpena was heard on the air even after she was gone.

The first radio experiments in Manila began in 1922, but it took a few years before the business stabilized. While there were Filipino businessmen invested in the first companies that invested in radio, Americans set the direction of the new business as the

technology was brought in from the U.S. Consequently, the initial programming was made up of American and other western recorded music and other radio material. However, by 1929, as the budding radio industry began to establish itself, Filipino music and musicians were enjoying a distinct presence on the air. National Library Director Teodoro M. Kalaw credited radio for the music sheets of kundimanoutselling the music sheets of jazz. Kalaw praised radio for reviving the renewed popularity of Philippine music such as the *kundiman* as well as the *balitaw*–an extemporaneous poetic debate between a man and a woman that is sung and danced simultaneously –and folk songs.

The American colonial administration, counting on radio to help "Americanize" Filipinos, encouraged and even subsidized radio broadcasting in its first few years of operation. But radio was a business and its investors expected what was seen as a healthy bottom line, expressed in advertising which, in turn, supports programs believed to have had a wide following. So when American station managers noticed increased advertising in programs with Tagalog content, and when more and more listeners mailed their requests for musical numbers not only in Tagalog but also in other Philippine languages, station managers had to hire performers who could perform the requested numbers, and sell airtime to blocktimers (independent program producers) to mount programsthat featured the *kundiman* as well as novelty songs, Filipino musicians including those who played and sang jazz and other American popular music, and comic skits in Tagalog.

Hence, while the American colonial period, during which

Maria Carpena thrived as a local opera star, was a time characterized by a shift in the Filipino's cultural orientation, it was also a time of resistance and insistence on what had already been appropriated as Filipino. The music recording and radio broadcast technologies, foreign as they were initially, became the media of an emerging Filipino popular culture.

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Transforming Manila from a Spanish to an American City

by Christina E. Torres

Spanish colonization from 1565 to 1898 left its indelible mark on Manila as the center of colonial rule. Intramuros was established as a medieval fort to protect the colonizers from outside attacks and foreign invasions. Stone walls were built to surround the city with fortresses set up in strategic points to ensure its adequate defense. (Morga, 1609) Like other medieval forts, a moat was dug around the walls for extra protection and draw bridges were constructed to connect the medieval enclosure to the outside world. Intramuros followed a triangular shape facing Manila Bay in the west, Pasig River in the north with the south and eastern portion facing the surrounding land area. The plaza mayor was the city center where the Palacio del Gobernador, the Ayuntamiento, the seat of the city council and the Manila Cathedral were located. The streets within the walls followed the grid pattern where other important churches such as San Agustin and Santo Domingo were built. Several well-known surviving social institutions today were originally built in Intramuros, including educational institutions such as Ateneo Municipal de Manila, Santa Isabel and the Universidad de Santo

Tomas and hospitals like San Lazaro and San Juan de Dios. Intramuros was generally intended as a residence and haven for the Spanish colonial elite and their families. (Gatbonton, 1980) Spanish colonial administration was characterized by the union of Church and State where there was power sharing between the Spanish bureaucrats who exercised political and administrative powers and the Spanish friars who exercised control over the socio-cultural life of the city.

Outside the city walls was Extramuros which had unlimited territories for expansion. The earliest China town evolved from the Parian, the ghetto set up by the Spaniards to keep the Chinese traders near enough to be able to access China goods loaded into the galleon ships and distant enough to keep the Spaniards safe from Chinese revolts. The Parian was set up outside the city walls with direct access to the market square inside and a gate was constructed to facilitate commerce and trade. Immediately adjacent to the city walls was Bagumbayan that served as a promenade area for horse drawn carriages. Luneta served as a multipurpose park for military drills and execution site for heroes like Gomez, Burgos and Zamora as well as Jose Rizal, the national hero. Extramuros continued to expand as the population of Manila increased during the three centuries of Spanish rule. The villages, called *arrabales* were inhabited by people coming from different ethnic groups and socio-economic classes but each district began to develop its own distinct characteristics. (Licuanan and Mira eds, 1991)

South of the Pasig River were Ermita, Malate and Paco, where famous Catholic religious images were venerated in churches

built by the friars.Ermita was home to the image of Nuestra Senora de Guia to whom the people prayed for the protection of seafarers and protection from foreign invasion; Malate was home to the image of Nuestra Senora de los Remedios to whom mothers prayed for the healing of their children. It was also the site where the fort of San Antonio Abad was located. Paco was the site of the image of Nuestro Senor de Sto. Sepulcro. In terms of economic life, Ermita was famous for its sinamay cloth and pina; Malate for its salt beds due to its nearness to Manila Bay; and Paco for its yellow turmeric as it was originally called San Fernando de Dilao from the name of its Franciscan founder. Sta. Ana and Pandacan were also located on the southern side of the city. Sta. Ana, site of the pre-colonial settlement of Lamayan was renamed after St. Ann where a church was built by the Franciscans in her honor. It was populated by farmers and craftsmen whose goods were carried by merchants who plied the Pasig River that connected Manila Bay to the inner towns along Laguna de Bay. Pandacan that derived its name from the pandan leaves abundant in the area was also subjected to intensive Christianization with a church being built in honor of Sto. Nino. (Medina, 1994)

North of the Pasig was the thriving district of Binondo that developed as a commercial center due to the expansion of the Parian, inhabited by Chinese traders who settled in Manila. Trade and commercial activities overflowed further to nearby Sta. Cruz that flourished after the construction of the Colgante Bridge in 1852. Quiapo and San Miguel became the residential areas where rich businessmen like Pedro Roxas and the Ayalas bought lands for their residence. Malacanang was originally a summer residence along

the Pasig River before it eventually became the official residence of the Governor General. In contrast, Tondo was home to the native population, most of whom were fishermen due to its nearness to the sea while farming was the means of livelihood in Sampaloc. Churches were built in all these districts, some of which became important religious landmarks today, such as the shrine of the Black Nazarene in Quiapo. (Camagay, 1992)

While the focus during the Spanish period was on religious values and rituals, things changed with the advent of American rule. The Americans established their colonial government from 1898 to 1935 when they granted autonomy to the Filipinos to govern themselves under American tutelage. The core values of the American colonial administration highlighted secular education and democratic governance. Public education led to the secularization of daily life that resulted in the weakening of the influence and power of the Catholic Church. Public schools were established and public buildings were constructed in accordance with the Burnham Plan that meant to transform Manila to become the "Washington D.C. of the Orient." (Torres, 2010)

Manila was still made up of the North and South districts divided by Pasig River and additional bridges were constructed to connect the two sections. A new Americanized downtown area was created bounded by Rizal Avenue, Plaza Goiti, Escolta and Plaza St. Cruz. Businessmen met in Silver Dollar Saloon and Tom's Dixie Kitchen in Sta. Cruz or in Clarke's in Escolta that became the premier shopping center. Calle Azcarraga, a circumferential road from Tondo to Legarda St. developed into a theater and restaurant

row where *zarzuela* houses like Teatro Libertad and Zorilla were located. The theaters expanded their repertoire to include American plays presented by theater groups and variety shows meant to entertain American soldiers and theaters also served as venue for political meetings before the advent of Hollywood silent movies. The Manila Opera House located at the San Lazaro friar lands became an important landmark in Sta. Cruz when it was chosen as site of the first Philippine Assembly, the first Filipino legislature set up in 1907. At the same time, world class operas like Aida, Tosca, La Traviata were also presented that featured Atang de la Rama and other famous Filipino singers. (Buenaventura, 1994)

The Americans also popularized sports events with the establishment of sports facilities and Wallace Field became famous for track and field, baseball and tennis events. The Rizal Memorial Stadium was built as site for major sports events;the Manila Jockey Club was reopened as the San Lazaro Hippodrome in 1901; and the Philippine Racing Club was founded in 1937 in Sta. Ana. Yearly carnival events were started in 1908 that featured booths that showcased industrial and commercial products but the highlight of the event was the coronation of the carnival queen who usually was known for her good breeding and education. Cabarets were set up by former American soldiers to entertain servicemen and they were set up at city boundaries to maintain peace within the city boundaries. The most famous was the Sta. Ana Cabaret that gained a respectable stature with regular patrons like Manuel Quezon who met his American counterparts in the cabaret dance halls. Well-dressed male clients danced the tango and fox trot with their female partners whom they the dined and wined to spend their leisure

hours. (Joaquin, 1990)

Colonization has exposed the Filipino to different cultural streams that ranged from the religious influences of the Spanish friars to the risqué entertainment forms of the American soldiers to the cultural and political genre provided by the American environment. However, the expensive types of leisure were only available to the social elites who had access to the Americanized entertainment. The common man entertained himself by watching the Sunday serenata at the Luneta, religious processions in Intramuros and attending fiestas in the various arrabales of Manila. Filipino culture is made up of local customs and traditions reinforced by the aggregate historical foreign influences that shaped the Filipino psyche.

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Photo by Lilymae Montano

From Village Ritual to Banaue Imbayah Festival: The Case of the Ifugao Himong Revenge Dance

by Lilymae Franco-Montano

Ifugao province is considered one of the main tourist destinations in the Philippines. The marketing design of the local government and Department of Tourism portrays the province with picturesque rice terraces, indigenous inhabitants garbed in colorful ethnic attire and with a unique eco-tropical adventure. In addition to its attraction is the Imbayah Festival. The festivalis a new context of expression that based on Ifugao culture. In the case of the Imbayah Festival 2014, it became an extraordinary event with the performance of *himong*, a revenge dance. *Himong* was never performed in the past Imbayah Festivals because of its sensitive meaning. *Himong* in the village ritual context is crucial in the carrying out of Ifugao customary law which sanctions the taking of human life in revenge in order to bring back the grace and honor of a murdered person and of the bereaved family. The dance is performed by male members of the community three days after the victim's death. Each person holding and sounding a wooden percussion beam called *pattung*, they dance along mountain trails leading to the victim's house, to

show publicly the family's responsibility to avenge as well to signify their strong feeling of resentment. The sounds of the interlocking pattern reflects the anger of the participants as they play on the percussion beams.[1]Still today, it is performedin its village ritual form in cases of murder. In contrast, *himongat* the Imbayah Festival 2014 is commodified, abbreviated, and de-ritualized, not only for tourist's entertainment, but also as a learning experience.

Tourism is part and parcel of modern life which has various forms, such as heritage tourism, ecotourism, medical tourism and cultural tourism; the latter being the most popular form in the Philippines. Greg Richards defines the term "cultural tourism" as "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs, not just consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the 'way of life' of a people or region."[2] This idea was popular in the West at a time when urban life is experienced as bustling and fast resulting in nostalgia for simpler and tranquil past traditions. Thus, modern-day tourists seek to collect experiences through activities that they can join in. Such experiences must be new each time they visit to fulfill the idea of connectedness with the past and its nostalgic feeling. This view on cultural tourism situates the strategic plan for a tourist's visit in Banaue's community festival known as "Imbayah".

In this understanding, cultural tourism as discussed by Smith and Robinsons acknowledges the "cultural nature of, and the role of, tourism as a process and set of practices that revolve around the behavioural pragmatics of societies, and the learning and transmission

of meanings through symbols and embodied through objects."[3] Thus, the transmission of tradition in a festival re-contextualizes the original form by passing through a transformational transition.

One vital aspect of tourism is marketing. The festival becomes an avenue for commoditization of tradition which has been a consistent debate among scholars. Most often it illustrates a negative outcome of tourism. Greenwood (1977), as quoted by Bulilan, emphasizes authenticity that says anything that falsifies, disorganizes, or challenges the participants' belief in the authenticity of their culture threatens will collapse."[4]Moreover, Greenwood added that the effect of tourism on indigenous rituals commoditizes, commercializes, and transforms it into a tourist attraction, thereby destroying its locally perceived authenticity and power to unite the people.[5] Also, Bulilan mentioned that cultural commoditization alters the cultural value of material culture, thus, it is expropriated and exploited.[6] However, these assumptions of expropriation, exploitation, disorganization, and falsehood may not always be appropriate in situating Ifugao culture today. In this paper, I argue that Ifugaos negotiate transformation as an integral process of change within a continuity of cultural reproduction.This idea is supported by Boissevain (1996), who argues that commoditization does not necessarily destroy a cultural system, it only imbues new meaning into traditional practices.[7]

Description of ImbayahFestival 2014

Studies on festivals proliferated during the modern period and one influential perspective is due to Emile Durkheim's notion

of "collective effervescence" which he explains as, "the festive process that generates a collective excitement that frees the society from its everyday ups and downs, engaging the social substance in its sacred substrate." [8] In the context of Imbayah, collective participation of the community from preparation period until its post-production expresses the collective effervescence celebrated in the festival. This effect is shared not only by the locals, but also with tourists, foreign and Filipinos.

The Ifugao Imbayah Festival is celebrated every three years in the town of Banaue. It is seen as a community celebration initiated in 1979 by an Ifugao himself, the late Banaue Mayor Adriano Apilis, Jr. The town center or Poblacion, being the seat of local political power, plays host to its nineteen (19) villages or barangays. The term imbayah is derived from a village ritual called *bumayah* which is a prestige feast that marks the transition of a commoner to the rank of *kadangyan* (traditional wealthy/elite). The prestige feast is usually done after harvest time when rice wine locally called *bayah* is produced abundantly. It is an expensive rite requiring the butchering of animals and the feeding of the whole village for days and nights to attain social rank and prestige. This exemplifies the sacred substrate mentioned by Durkheim. However, due to economic constraints and increased population, the holding of prestige feasts has become rare in the villages particularly in the Poblacion and nearby Barangay Bocos where most wealthy (kadangyan) individuals and families reside. Here, social engagement enters with the idea of transforming the prestige feast into a larger community celebration. Hence, the Imbayah Festival marks the continuity of the tradition to perpetuate the *kadangyan* social class. In the case of the late Mayor Adriano

Apilis, the Imbayah Festival can be viewed as an affirmation of his social prestige and political power, and by extension also maintains the high rank and power of the mayor who continues to host the festival after Apilis. Thus, the Imbayah Festival becomes an occasion to mark the prestige and authority of the Mayor just as much as it encompasses the whole community and becomes an instance of collective solidarity.

One of the characteristics of festivals is themed public celebrations. [9] As for the Banaue Imbayah held in April 26 – 30, 2014, its theme was "Re-Living the Glory of Banaue's Nobility" (see Figure 1), celebrating its eleventh year. The four-day festival wasfilled with various activities ranging from the holding of rituals by traditional priests (*mumbaki*), street parades, ethnic games, sports competition, cultural shows, beauty pageant, and feasting (see Figure 2). All nineteen barangays were represented and the public grounds or plaza located in front of the municipal hall and public market became the main venue of activities.

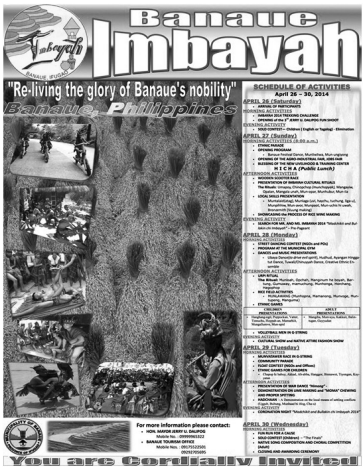

Figure 1: Banaue Imbayah 2014 theme "Reliving the Glory of Banaue's Nobility"

Figure 2: Imbayah Festival 2014 Calendar of Activities

On the first day, April 26th, the festival started with a trekking challenge. All the registered participants hiked through the rice terraces, which started from Barangay Viewpoint where they descended the stairway down to Alimit River and then ascended towards the forest. They later emerged at a village called Ittidong and continued to the center of Barangay Bocos, which was adjacent to the Poblacion. Following the path surrounding the Ifugao houses, the participants reached the highway and crossed another river through a hanging bridge that eventually led them to Banaue's town proper or Poblacion. With 500 pesos as registration fee, hikers received an Imbayah trekking shirt and were led by trained and licensed guides with prepared snacks and water. This activity by cultural tourists is one vital characteristic of cultural tourism in which they "walk through" how Ifugao life is lived in the slopes and

around the terraces. Other scholars like Urry and Graburn, cited by YanjunXie and Jufeng Xu, have postulated cultural tourism as the transient consumption of aesthetic 'difference', often of the exotic 'other'. [10] The other activity during the first day of the festival was the 3rd Jerry U. Dalipog Fun Shoot. The remaining part of the first day was allotted for practice and preparation for the second day's major events. In the evening, a singing contest elimination round was held, with children performing their competition pieces in English or Filipino.

The second day, April 27th, began with a welcome program that started at 8 AM with an ethnic parade where all participants from the 19 barangays wore full traditional attires of colorful costumes, headdresses, and ornaments. The parade was led by police officers carrying flags and banners, including the Philippine flag. All groups marched to the sound of gongs, while guests, tourists, and locals filled the grounds awaiting each barangay's presentation. As each barangay reached the municipal ground, members rendered their presentation in the allocated ten (10) minutes.

Some barangays danced the Ifugao traditional dance (*chuyya*) with choreography accompanied by gong music. Other barangays depicted rituals using either live chicken or effigies of pigs made of husks. Interestingly, Barangay Bocos, where I have been conducting my research, depicted the whole Ifugao agricultural cycle. The parade also became a venue for displaying important cultural objects that were carried by the participants, such as real native pigs, chickens, bundles of rice grains and baskets; musical instruments, such as gongs, bamboo buzzers and coconut shells; and other things, such

as spears and shields.

After the parade, people proceeded to the municipal gym where a traditional Banaue Ifugao dance was performed by government officials. This signaled the opening of the second day's cultural program, which included a performance of a solo flute (ungiyong) and welcome speech. The opening of the Agro-Industrial Fair and the blessing of a new livelihood and training center also added relevance to the festival activities. By noon time, a public feast, in which food was distributed to the whole Banaue community and guests, seemingly replicating the *hicha*, or a lavish show of abundance by feeding the whole community as part of the prestige feast of a kadangyan. In the Imbayah Festival context, the Mayor as host indicated his high social status in the community.

Heavy rain in the afternoon prevented the racing of the unique Ifugao scooters made of wood. In this context, local priests (mumbaki) held a ritual inside a traditional Ifugao house erected near the municipal hall to ask the gods to stop the rain. When the rain stopped slightly, the local priests continued with the celebration of the *imbayah* ritual, which was the highlight of the afternoon's event. The holding of the *imbayah* ritual was meant to re-live a "real" imbayah to represent the glory of Banaue's *kadangyan* class. For the native priests, their festival rendition of *imbayah* is shortened but adhering to actual ritualistic form. During the festival, each step of the *imbayah* ritual was announced and then explained although few tourists were present. Simultaneously though, the presentation of local skills, such as wood carving and bronze smithing, was being carried out at the adjacent municipal gym. The second day was

concluded by an evening pageant for Mr. and Ms. Imbayah 2014, which heightened the excitement in the audience.

The third day, April 28th, opened once more with a street parade, this time participated by non-government organizations (NGO) and private institutions. In comparison with the ethnic parade on the second day (April 27th), the street parade on the third day (April 28th) was more contemporary in terms of the costumes, dances, and paraphernalia. Indeed, it was a juxtaposition of new and old; Ifugao and non-Ifugao paraphernalia. The parade finished at the municipal gym where more activities were scheduled held. The main program began with the singing of the national anthem and the Ifugao hymn. A choral group sang a Tagalog folksong with Ifugao lyrics to the tune of "Paru-parongBukid," followed by a rendition of an inspirational song by a Christian fellowship group and an ethnic dance performed by the Ayangan Hinggatut Dance Troupe. A Department of Tourism representative gave a speech on the promising future of Banaue. The remaining cultural numbers showcased several Ifugao community dances. Next, as a group of young male and female singers also sang the *hudhud* (a form of chanted epic), an all-male dance troupe simultaneously danced to the music, driving away evil spirits called *ubaya* and simulating a village celebration where varied performances typically overlapped. The final part of the program featured a contemporary band that played modern Cordillera country music, which instantly changed the predominant "ethnic" sound of the festival.

The afternoon events featured demonstrations of different ethnic games (*kakkait, balintugan,* and *guyyudan*).[12] These traditional

games are no longer popular among the Ifugao . The local government aims to promote them through demonstrations and contests during the festival. The most popularand much awaited event was the race of the Ifugao-made wooden scooters. The race began at the high point of Barangay Viewpoint and finished at the town market. People waited along the National Highway to witness the race of wooden scooters laden with interesting designs and carvings. Its popularity even reached Manila because of DOT's advertisement of the race. After the race, amateur and professional photographers surrounded the winners keen to have their photographs taken. This was followed by a volleyball game held outside the municipal gym, in which all the male participants wore traditional G-strings. Volleyball was adapted by the Ifugaos from the Americans and considered it as one of their own games. While fun games were happening at the Poblacion, rice field activities were being conducted in the village of Barangay Poitan where the preparation and planting in the rice terraces were demonstrated. The rain, however, prevented many people from going to Barangay Poitan. After the demonstration of planting rice, people went back to the Ifugao house near the municipal hall to witness a ritual called *urpih*, a thanksgiving ritual actually done right after each household finishes planting.[13] Like the rendition of *imbayah*, *urpih* ritual was shortened but followed ritualistic form. Only few people witnessed the ritual because of bad weather and the lack of information on the schedule. Fewer foreign tourists showed interest as days of the festival progressed. Nevertheless, a cultural and native attire fashion show captured the attention of the captivated audience (mostly locals) at the end of the third night.

The fourth day, April 29, showcased a community parade featuring Ifugao-inspired floats that are made of native organic materials. Presented by NGOs and other offices, each float had a theme, such as rice terraces in miniature, farm with vegetables and fruits, and so forth. Afterwards, exciting native children's games were held, such as spinning tops, walking on stilts and more (*chapup hi baboy, akkad, ab-abba, hangor, binnawot, tiyongan, and kayyatan*).[14] In the afternoon, the inclusion of a short performance of a *himong* revenge dance became a new and striking addition in the Imbayah Festival 2014 (which I will discuss later). The 4th day culminated with the coronation of Mr. and Ms. Imbayah in the evening. The fifth and final day of the festival, April 30th, started with a Fun Run for a Cause, which was participated in by sports enthusiasts. Cultural events for the day included the final rounds of the children's singing contest, native song composition, and choral competition. Finally, the five-day Imbayah Festival concluded with an awarding ceremony.

Himong Performance at the Imbayah Festival 2014

As mentioned earlier, the very controversial *himong* rite was performed in the Imbayah Festival 2014. *Himong* is a revenge ritual that incorporates music and dance. What makes it different is that it is a village ritual that is only done when a murder happens. In the old days, headhunting was the only form of justice that can compensate for a murder. Vengeance is a strong family obligation and, by extension, it becomes a communal action as family members, close relatives, and villagers express strong feelings of anger and resentment as they participate in a dance called himong. They use

their bodies to objectify their anger and their worship. During the ritual dance, important objects are used to further strengthen the symbolic movements of the dance, including a headdress with red plants called chongla, spears, shields, white leglets, and a wooden musical instrument shaped like a coat hanger called *pattung* or *bangibang*.

The *himong* dance movements mimic calls for a fight. The first two pairs of dancers point their spears to the ground to symbolize captivity and death. The dancers with *pattung* intensely play their wooden instrument with vigor to curse the murderer. The movement where they flick their arms against their body signifies a call to fight. The participants who are involved in the ritual commit themselves to undertake revenge. Ifugao customary law sanctions a family to commit murder to attain revenge, following the rule of taking a life as payment for a death. *Pattung*, is a vital object and musical instrument in himong; its sound is believed to call the attention of both benevolent and malevolent spirits. The *pattung* is a wooden percussion shaped like a hanger and is played in interlocking pattern with the rest of the instrument. It comes in different lengths and sizes, thus creating a soundscape of interlocking tones. Today, revenge may take the form of a natural death caused by falling from cliffs, snake bites, or drowning and not always through headhunting.

Although its inclusion was suggested by the 2014 Program Committee, some barangay officials opposed the enactment of the himong ritual, which is considered inappropriate when done out of context, such as in occasions like the Imbayah Festival. To resolve the issue, a forum was held among Banaue councilors and

barangay captains to discuss and decide on the issue. Its inclusion in the program events naturally created a silent opposition from some officials who are native priests or mumbaki themselves. The primary reason in expressing their opposition against the performance was that it was not a ritual that can be performed for mere entertainment. *Himong* is a revenge dance highly revered by the Ifugao community and seen as a "dangerous" act of human behavior. Moreover, the ritual actions of revenge entail cursing and emotional outpouring of anger, hate, and vengeance. However, in the end, the dominant position of the Mayor through the program committee decided that the performance of himongshould push through, but under the supervision of Barangay Poblacion. Under the direct jurisdiction of the municipal mayor, Poblacion participants complied. The negotiation that occurred exemplifies Sassatelli's definition of festival as "sites for contestation and democratic debate."[15] Interestingly, the dynamics of transformation had began.

During the Imbayah Festival, a voice-over narrative explained the performance of *himong*. The performance was specifically addressed to those who do not understand what *himong* was all about. Next, ten (10) men in their full attires entered the municipal gym dancing to the sound of *pattung* (percussion beams). Two pairs of men were holding spears and shields while the other six men were striking the *pattung* in interlock (Figure 3).

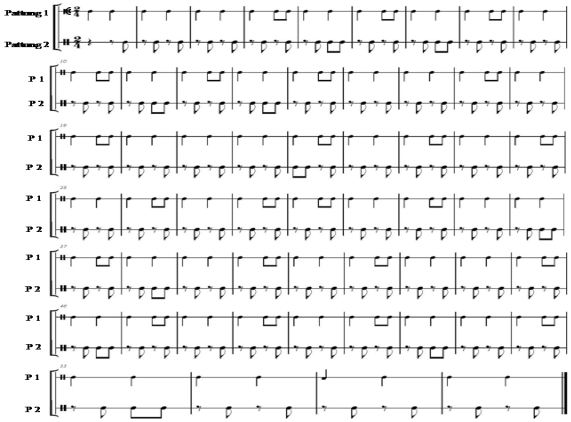

Figure 3: Musical transcription of *pattung* playing with the first 2 players during a revenge ritual (*himong*) in Banaue, Ifugao 2005. *Pattung* player 1 has a low-sounding *pattung* while player 2 has a high-sounding *pattung*. Other 6 players also interlock with each other producing a pattern of low and high sounds.

Transforming the *himong* involved changing the ritual materials and objects to allow its performance outside of the appropriate ritualistic context. As Kapferer points out "the transformation of a context must involve a transformation of its constituent elements."[16] In other words, material culture as an important element of ritual can be transformed so as to change its meaning. In the *himong* festival version, six changes were observed. First, the white headdress that held the red *chongla* plant was replaced with another type of bark. Second, some dancers totally omitted the white armlets and leglets. In the real rendition of *himong*, these two paraphernalia are used to call the spirit's attention to the fact that a person has been murdered. Third, the wearing of bolo was limited and not followed by all dancers. Fourth, some pattung were smaller compared with the bigger ones used in an actual *himong* ritual. Fifth, the flickering arm movement became more casual and the

arms were moved about less vigorously. Likewise, the flickering of their arms did not sound in interlock. Finally, the strong expression of the intense emotion of revenge was missing. By carrying out these six key changes, the Poblacion participants had evidently transformed and de-ritualized a powerful dance to fit a new context of the Imbayah Festival.

Barangay Ujah opposed, in silence, the simulated presentation of *himong*. People of Ujah, a distant village from the town center, live more traditionally compared to peoples living near and at the center. Ujah is where the most number of *mumbaki* (native priests) live and where the youngest and most knowledgeable *mumbaki* in the whole Banaue resides. He also serves as a barangay councilor, and according to him, *himong* was inappropriately included in the program. However, apart from the fact that a penalty was imposed on any barangay that did not render support, their compliance is a sign of support for thelocal government. To maintain their silent opposition, community members of Barangay Ujah left the venue during himong'sperformance to indicate their disapproval of the de-ritualization of a revered Ifugao tradition. During this kind of transitional period, festival may serve as a ground for conflicting ideas. Such differences are usually settled by the people's interests in supporting a common identity required as part of a national society.

As a consequence of having performed *himong*, members of Barangay Poblacion had to conduct a traditional sacrificial rite called *honga* in their respective homes. *Honga* ritual entails the sacrifice of three to four chickens and prayers to appease the spirits not to harm them. This serves as an antidote to their involvement

in *himong* performance. The Office of the Mayor provided financial support to purchase chickens for their *honga* ritual.

Impact of Tourism

Tourism is one of the reliable profit-generating agencies driving the economic growth of the Philippines. The Department of Tourism (DOT) has exerted every effort to build a sustainable tourism strategy and maximizes the potential of the country's various tourist destinations. This duty is further fortified by the national policy for tourism, known as Tourism Act of 2009, which enables the national agency (DOT) to act upon all areas concerning local and global development, including the creation of necessary infrastructures, enhancement of transportation and aviation services, and other substantial projects to promote Philippine culture and heritage. In line with this, the DOT has explored different kinds of possible activities for tourists to enjoy and learn from, such as those related to sports, food, health and wellness, local crafts, natural scenery, history, and culture. In recent years, it has also been part of the DOT's strategy to create promotional slogans, such as "Islands Philippines," "WOW (World of Wonders) Philippines," "Pilipinas Kay Ganda" (Beautiful Philippines), and "It's More Fun in the Philippines." Of these, the last has been the most celebrated slogan produced for tri-media advertisements and social media platforms. This slogan was displayed in the 2014 Imbayah Festival in Banaue, thus signifying the government's support and cooperation with its local unit. These strategies provide a mechanism to encourage investments, create employment in the localities, and promote our culture for the advancement of the national interest and identity,

which are the main goals of the DOT.17

Summary

The Banaue community accepts cultural change as seen in the performance of *himong* at the Imbayah 2014 festival. The dynamics of transformation generally goes through negotiation among local officials, but in the case of *himong* presentation, the mayor's leadership imposed the final decision. Limiting the dance performance as well as excluding significant ritual materials is necessary for it to be performed as an attraction for tourists' consumption. Tourism then can be viewed not only as an economic force that takes advantage of Banaue's cultural capital as its main source of commercial interest, but also a venue for political exercises. Imbayah Festival is an organization that involves programming and decision-making by local officials under the authority of the Mayor. Culture, thus in Levi-Strauss' perspective "recognizes its implicitness not as something set against life, or overlain over it, but as substituting itself to life as a constructing power and transformational process which is processual and practical."[18] The local unit viewed it necessary to add *himong* presentation as for touristic purposes. Thus, transformation necessitates practicality, however, it may not always be acceptable; thus, negotiation among local officials takes place. Decisions by the highest local official, which is the Mayor, are often respected and seen as representing collective unity and social effervescence. The Mayor is a person of "*kadangyan*" status, who symbolizes authority, wealth, and wisdom. Moreover, the integration of village traditions like *imbayah, urpih,* and *honga* in a modern context such as festival shows that the ritual

substrate can find a place in modernity. Thus, different meanings are translated- *himong*, as a representation of tradition; *imbayah* and *urpih*, are real re-enactments of the tradition; and *honga*, an actual ritual to stop the rain during the festival and to appease the spirits not to harm the participants of himong. The festival then, became a site to express, transform and negotiate Ifugao culture.

In addition, Imbayah Festival provides an opportunity for economic growth. The inflow of people to Banaue generates employment for the locals as well as trade for businessmen. As part of the dynamism of the festival, the commoditization of tradition is mounted on "stage" todraw tourists'. The *himong* dance is commodified as a new attraction for the tourists' benefit. However, the majority of the populace in the festival are localsand not tourists which is why the 2012 statistics indicate that Banaue is not on the list of top 20-Tourist Destinations. According to research done by the DOT Regional Offices, the top three tourist destinations in the Philippines are Camarines Sur, Metro Manila, and Cebu—all three have over 2 million tourists. [19] In 2011, the DOT has a partial report on the distribution of regional travelers in the Philippines indicating that Cordillera Administrative Region contributed only 955, 133 or less than a million. [20] Ifugao was visited by only a total of 87, 401 travelers in the year 2010-11 that includes foreigners, overseas Filipinos, and locals; placing third in position after Baguio and Benguet. The office of the Mayor, admitted that they want tourists to visit in order to provide economic opportunities for the region. Thus, we should view commodification of tradition not always as exploitation, but as involving another level of meaning associated with it. However, if the question lies on Imbayah Festival's future,

the local people seem to prefer not to be completely overwhelmed by touristic needs. Tourism may not reach its full capacity because the Ifugao value their tradition strongly. They welcome social change and economic progress but at the same time wish to maintain the essentials of their ritual practices. In an interview with Carmelita Mondiguing, chairman of Cordillera Tourism Council and sister of the late Mayor Adriano Apilis Jr., explains, "We realized that due to booming tourism, the Ifugaos were beginning to forget their culture and traditions. The festival aims to remind them of the importance of preserving them."[21] It is primarily an event for locals to re-live a diminishing Ifugao tradition (imbayah) of the *kadangyan* class. Public feasting, playing of gongs, dancing, holding of rituals by local priests (*mumbaki*) and the communal spirit of village life are important facets of Ifugao culture that are re-contextualized in the Imbayah Festival.

ENDNOTES

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9 G. Gibsonet.al,Festival Spaces: Revitalising Rural Australia, eds.G. Gibson and J. Connell (Bristol: Channel View Publication, 2011), 5.

10 YunjunXie and Jufeng Xu, "Cultural Tourism vs Tourist Culture: Case of Domestic Tourism in Modern Beijing," Tourism Recreation Research 29, no.2 (2004): 81-82.

11 I personally documented a rehearsal by Barangay Bocos during the first day of the festival, April 26th. Around 2PM, children and adults gathered in the barangay hall. The barangay captain was there to supervise the rehearsal. Children were gathered by an elder woman to rehearse their dance movement for the parade. Women were in charge of the planting and harvesting scenes. Men, on the other hand, were discussing the rituals to be incorporated in the sequence of their parade. The elders served as consultants. They practiced several times to be able to render the agricultural cycle within the allotted time of 10 minutes. The rehearsal became a venue for remembering and executing sequences in a traditional imbayah ritual.

12 *Kakkait*(royal rumble), balintugan(gripping of the opponent's leg), and *guyyudan*(tug-of-war).

13 The main objective of *urpih* is to ask the gods and deities to protect the seedlings that were planted and it may grow abundantly with full of grains and can withstand during heavy rains.

14 *chapup hi baboy*(catching of pig), *akkad* (race using poles for running), *ab-abba* (race carrying a teammate), *hangor* (hand wrestling), *binnawot* (a game using wooden top), *tiyongan*, and *kayyatan*

15 Liana Giorgi, Monica Sassatelli, and Gerard Delanty, eds., Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere (London: Routledge, 2011), 2.

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A Response on "From Village to Banaue Imbayah Festival: The Case of the Ifugao Himong Revenge Dance"

by Hiromu Shimizu

I suppose the author of this paper is an Ifugao herself and am very happy that she would be able to contribute a lot to widen and deepen the arena of Ifugao studies and the cultural anthropology of tourism. Frankly and honestly speaking, however, the draft at this stage is still a kind of work done by a nonfiction writer who tries to report the program of Imbayah festival for general readership with a special reference and superficial explanation of *Himong*, a newly included revenge dance. The author fails to articulate her analysis and discussion in a proper manner for an academic journal. The theoretical framework is based mainly on Durkheim's "collective effervescence," but the situation and context of Imbayah 2014 is totally different from what Durkheim observed and analyzed more than 100 years ago. And the author does not consult with preceding works in newly developed anthropology of tourism.

Traditional rituals/festivals in Ifugao were revised and re-invented (such as wooden scooter race from the View-Point to the town center) for the community people (municipal residents) as

well as for tourists. I believe the latter reason must have strongly influenced the Municipal mayor's decision to include *Himong* revenge dance in Imbayah, despite strong objections from some community components, for example,Brgy. Ujah. Ujah is located near the boundary with the Municipality of Hungduan, far and remote from Banaue town center and which seems to still keep the sense and sensibility of "old and traditional" Ifugao life ways.

Judging from my own interviews, observation and participation of Imbayah and Tungoad Hungduan festivals in April 2008, both festivals were revived by the strong initiatives and leaderships of then mayors and municipal officials. According to my interview (2006/3/18) with Hiralio Bumabangan, the mayor of Hungduan, Tungo festival was revived by Mayor Andres Dunuang in 1993 through inspiration by preceding Imbaya success as well as with strong support from National Commission for Culture and the Arts. Mr. Bumabangan was a municipal councilman at that time and clearly remembered that Mayor Dunuan initiated the revival of Tungo to attract tourists for the sake of municipal economic development as well as to enhance the young generation's consciousness of Ifugao cultural heritage.

I was just wondering why the Banaue mayor included Himong Revenge Dance in 2014 Imbaya festival. This is a very basic but important question, and should be asked directly to the mayor. What is the reason, purpose, result, and background contexts for this decision and implementation? Is it just to make the Imbayah festival more attractive for tourists by adding some exotic and esoteric elements in cultural performance?

I believe the author has considerable knowledge and information about the procedure, the meaning and significance of Imbayah festival and can kindly share them with us by revising this draft with further analysis.

A Commentary on Franco-Montano's "From Village to Banaue Imbayah Festival: The Case of the Ifugao Himong Revenge Dance"

by Takeshi Kumano

Montano's article on the Imbayah festival at Banaue, Ifugao province, where I conducted a short term research in 2003 to compare with the same type festival at a neighbor municipal as my main research site, Tungoh at Hungduan, adds a new dimension of the studies, especially modern tourism developments in Ifugao and the Philippines. Banaue was my old research site too, and every time I go to Hungduan, I drop by there to meet some friends and have couple of interviews with them or for purchasing some commodities.

The structure, or schedules of festivals was almost the same starting at the native processions by respectable villagers, opening ceremony by local and national politicians, ethnic sports and games with lots of variances, and beauty contests, though the size or scales were different. They were basically three days and nights long those days, although imbayah proper rites performed by native priests,

munbaki, were added and ended at the first day of the Festival in Banaue.

A few weeks earlier than the Imbayah Festival, Tungoh at (ad) Hungduan is held at the backyards of the Municipal Office every year in the last ten years or so. Those festivals are now booming at some Ifugao municipals. However, they used to have taken place during dry season, *tungoh*, with the ritual aspects, for example, tug-of-war, *pun-ok*, and *dopapp* (or *bultong*, *chopapp*) wrestling near the river.

Tungoh signifies dry season before harvesting on agricultural cycle, or yearly attraction of agricultural intermission, in addition, time for rice ripening, and beginning and even conception. In contrast to the term, imbayah means making rice wine, *bayah*, and is used to involve Ifugao social prestige promotion rites, *bumayah*, as Montano points out as well, though it is a result of successful harvests.

In the case of Tungoh ad Hungduan 2004, a few old folks in a village, barangay, have introduced into a hinmong type procession. One of them took initiative to go ahead and perform with two lances aggressively, another with a lance and a shield, the several followers beating a wooden instrument, bangibang, with a rhythm stick as other males and females, young or old, proceed after them.

Even the processions of several villages in Imbayah 2003 were observed to follow the *himong* styles, but not the proper way, like only one performer holding two lances with some followers raising

up agricultural harvests, or beatingagong, *gansa*, except *bangibang*, so that multi-meanings or symbols were full of the procession scenes; happiness and wealthiness, healthy life versus misfortune and grief, revengefulness, etc.

Montano was concerned with some cultural or social conflicts to accept revenge rites caused by violent death intothe festival processionamong local politicians. The process of making decisions is very interesting. It is natural feelings to resist them, however, in my opinion, these ideas are fitted with old native agricultural meanings and senses or former ethnological studies on agriculture as dynamic cycles of death and regeneration of human beings, crops, and animals at the same time.

Considering an origin of those Ifugao festivals was related with the American's big feast at Quiangan in 1907, *canyao*, to take advantage of native sports with additional modern attractions in order to conciliate Ifugao peoples to its governmental policy and regulations basedon the anti-beheading law and its campaigns. A pole pasted with grease climbing is one of those attractions that we can sometimes observe, but very few pig catching at the festivals. American feasts were gradually initiated at Banaue in 1908 and Mayoyao in 1909 (Jenista, 1987).

Even the procession of hinmong rites was soon invented and arranged by Mr. R. F. Barton, an American teacher and later anthropologist,for awelcome ceremony to an American Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, Dean Worcester, in 1910, though some of Ifugao villagers expressed emotional displeasure against

Barton and American officials because of revenge procession passing inside their own villages (ibid.). Judging from these points mentioned above, these Ifugao festivals are a cultural amalgam involving the Ifugao and Americans at the very beginning of the new colonial era. As for the local politician's leadership and the first Imbaya festival, it seems to me that it has some room for furthermore studies, since Montano's explanation that the festival started was under the then mayor, Mr. Apilis Jr., seven years after the Martial Law declaration. However, Hapao, now one of barangays in Hungduan Municipal, was a part of Banaue municipality before the declaration in 1972. I suppose it may be a little earlier because the first Banaue town mayor was from Hapao, the late Mr. Alipio Mundiguing who, when younger, was an excellent business man of Baguio in 1960s. His importance was underestimated after he was arrested for attempted ambush-murder case of the then governor of Ifugao in 1970. In addition, his daughter was aformer activist of a Philippine communist party. Mr. Mundiguing was captured and released some five years later.

As for extended festival days of Banaue, it is to be noted that NPO groups and some younger generation joined in. But there is a question about the tourism strategy to attract tourists from the Philippines, domestic or foreign. I had heard of scooter races from the View Point some ten years ago, but as a small scaled play just as mimicry ofbicycles or motored one. Although I could not expect it to became one of programs of the festival, is it a sustainable way for tourist attraction, or does it become one of their own cultural creations. They are my questions to share with Montano or some other scholars. It is good to think about the case, for example, of a

Japanese TV team that wentto Banaue and aired some races on TV in Japan a few years ago.

My concerns about Ifugao Culture started at Banaue on tourism influences upon Ifugao society conducted over six months in 1986 but not completed due to a lack of resources. However, I fortunately became acquainted with above-mentioned local politicians as well as others. I moved into Hapao, Hungduan to study further about traditional Ifugao culture, and seeing them as part of social changes. Recently my study themeinvolves anthropological studies of ethnic sports and games as cultural resources for tourism, and cultural change. Consequently, Montano stimulates my studies about tourism developments in Ifugao at many levels.

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Responses to the comments of Takeshi Kumano and Hiromu Shimizu on "From Village to Banaue Imbayah Festival: The Case of the Ifugao Himong Revenge Dance"

by Lilymae Franco-Montano

Thank you for reviewing my article entitled "From Village Ritual to BanaueImbayah Festival: The Case of the IfugaoHimong Revenge Dance". I noted your comments and revised some portions of my paper reiterating the focus that a village ritual is re-contextualized in a festival and that the transmission of from village to festival entails transformational processes. Bruce Kapferer's theoretical framework on ritual process guided me with ideas. Through this process, social and economic issues were raised such as cultural tourism, impact of tourism and commoditization. Amidst all of these modern entities, Ifugaos keep their tradition as an identity—a sense of belongingness pressed by modernity and globalization. Thus, the main goal of Imbayah Festival is to educate the young people of Ifugao and to preserve their tradition. Nevertheless, it cannot escape change. The processes of negotiation and transformation are vital to reach an agreeable state among the people. Here, comes the concept of

Durkheim's collective effervescence to emphasize their sense of community.

As a young scholar of Ethnomusicology, we view musical activity as the central data where we draw our understanding of its meaning. I discussed the *himong*, as a dance and music entity of the ritual in the context of a village ritual which I witnessed in 2005, and contextualizing it when I watched it performed in Imbayah Festival for the first time.

Regarding your comment about ethnic sports, I have few data on it, but I will surely keep it in mind as I work on my dissertation.

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Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

MIGRATION REVOLUTION

Philippine Nationhood & Class Relations in a Globalized Age

Filomeno V. Aguilar

BOOK REVIEW

Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr. Migration Revolution: Philippine Nationhood and Class Relations in a Globalized Age

(Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014.)

by Raul Pertierra

Migration Revolution: Philippine Nationhood and Class Relations in a Globalized Age is a major contribution to Philippine Studies. With his latest book, Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr has given us an impressive analysis of migration and class relations in a globalized world. While most of the essays in this book have been published earlier, Migration Revolution reads as a seamless collection of related topics. Many of the earlier chapters have been revised and rewritten for this publication. This book is not only relevant for students of migration but more importantly for scholars interested in the consequences of modernity, particularly its effects on class and popular culture. It will stimulate much debate about the nature and origins of a national consciousness and the formation of a national imaginary in an increasingly global and pan-national

condition. The concluding chapter on transnationalism gives us tantalizing, if necessarily incomplete, insights on contemporary aporias. Earlier chapters cover the experiences of Filipino seafarers and their intrepid voyages to distant lands where some eventually settled. Other chapters deal with the issue of global labour and its effects on subjectivity, including notions of shame and betrayal for having left the homeland. Notions of citizenship in an increasingly flexible and transient mobility are critically and originally explored, including attempts by the nation-state to incorporate its extra-territorial citizens. All these topics interpenetrate and Filomeno Aguilar provides us with many important insights in an increasingly transhumant global condition.

While migration has attracted much interest both globally as well as in the Philippines, surprisingly little serious academic research has been conducted in this field, apart from the economic and policy implications of this phenomenon. Aguilar's contribution relates its historical origins with contemporary factors such as the progressive intercalation of the global economy and culture. The strength of this publication lies in its broad treatment of the topic and in expanding the analysis to include neighboring countries in Southeast Asia such as Indonesia. His observation that the Philippine workforce (referring to nineteenth-century Filipino seamen) was, in the first instance, global before it became national, reveals the historical and cultural complexities of this phenomenon (p.58). The book's historical chapter locates the contemporary condition of migrant labour and transnational consciousness within a wider perspective rarely encountered in the literature.

Aguilar's grasp of both the theoretical and empirical literature is impressive, not much escapes his critical gaze. In addition, he has drawn widely from his cosmopolitan and diverse academic postings such as his lectureships in Singapore and Australia before his position at the Ateneo de Manila University. Trained as a sociologist but drawing on inter-disciplinal perspectives, Aguilar guides the reader through a complex field with remarkable ease.

Nevertheless, I would have wanted a fuller discussion of several issues affecting both migrants and their home communities. The notion of a globalized homeland has received some attention recently (e.g. Migration, Diaspora, and Information Technology, eds L. Fortunati, R. Pertierra & J. Vincent, Routledge, 2012). A recent study of the role of the new media in maintaining ties between Filipina mothers based in London and relatives in their home villages, is provided by M. Madianou & D. Miller - Migration and the New Media, Routledge, 2012. These studies raise issues discussed by Aguilar in a pre-social media era. However, they are relatively recent publications and may have preceded Aguilar's essays. A more puzzling omission, given Aguilar's encyclopaedic grasp of the literature is G. Bankoff & K. Weekley Post-Colonial National Identity in the Philippines Ashgate, London, 2002. While this latter study mainly discusses the 1998 centennial celebrations, its suggestions regarding a post-national, transnational or regional consciousness support most of Aguilar's earlier contentions. This is perhaps not surprising since the authors (Bankoff & Weekley) are familiar with Aguilar's writings on the topic.

The topic of sexuality is not mentioned by Aguilar, except

for a passing mention of lax village moral standards and the acceptance of Japayukis. Surely an important consequence of this migration revolution is the opening of alternate sexualities so tightly controlled in the local discourse. The antics of "Saudi boys" on their way back home while visiting Hong Kong and other ports is common knowledge, as well as the behaviour of Filipino seafarers while visiting foreign ports. Equally well known are the indiscretions of husbands and wives whose spouses are overseas. Here Aguilar could have profited from A. Pingol - Remaking Masculinities, U.P. Press 2001, a pioneering study of masculine Ilocano sexuality caught in the web of absent spouses. The effects of migration on family stability has also been receiving much attention recently. The other area Aguilar neglects is the significance of religious practice among migrants. The strong presence of Filipinos in overseas congregations is easily observed, particularly in formerly staunch Catholic countries such as Spain and Italy. Aguilar has himself participated actively in these overseas congregations while living abroad. Finally, Aguilar could have given more attention to the consequences of the new communications technology on migrants and their village kin. Important studies on migration, diaspora, and ICT have appeared in the last few years. This neglect may be due to the fact that most chapters were written over a decade ago. However, more contemporary insights are provided in Aguilar's final chapter, including an incisive discussion of the incorporation of overseas migrants and dual-nationals in re-imagining the nation in post national and global conditions. In other words, the possibility of a globalized homeland.

Despite these shortcomings, I am not quibbling about the

importance of this book. It will be recognized as a major study of Philippine migration and its historical roots as well as its cultural consequences. Aguilar writes well, and one reads his chapters as though they were journalistic accounts rather than serious academic research. There is no doubt about the thoroughness of his investigations.

My final quibbles refer to minor points: one is the small print or font of the Ateneo Press version, making reading the text sometimes difficult; the other is a presumably (unless she won a major lottery) mistaken reference on page 78 to a domestic worker returning home to purchase 10,000 hectares for her poor relatives.
I congratulate the academic institutions in Singapore and Kyoto for recognizing the importance of these essays and encouraging their re-publication as a book. I can only hope that studies of this standard become more common among Filipino scholars and their Southeast Asian counterparts. Filomeno Aguilar as shown us the great merits of exhaustive scholarship combined with lucid writing. We remain in his debt.

BOOK REVIEW

Sovereign Cultural Analysis

by Niels Mulder

Joaquin, Nick. 2004. Culture and History. Pasig City: Anvil Publications, © 2003, 4th reprint 2013. 411 pages. ISBN 971-27-1300-8.

It is unfortunate that Anvil's reprints of Nick Joaquin's Culture and History: Occasional Notes on the Process of Philippine Becoming(1988) appear without the original's subtitle, because the idea of Becomingis the very key to Joaquin's work. After all, history is the story of becoming, of the grounding for transformations of the time to come, of evolution and development. In the absence of it, you are among folks without history.

It is deplorable that much that is taught as 'history', in school and in the mind of the general public, is political through and through, a succession of reigns, wars and exploits that are all ephemeral to the substance of becoming. In the steps of McLuhan—the means is the message—Joaquin's approach privileges the

dynamics of culture. It is the changes of the extensions of man—tools, technology—that give birth to history as an open-ended process. Think of the wheel, the plow, roads, bridges, new crops, the printing press and, nowadays, the internet and mobile phones! All these at one time new extensions of man changed the worlds of the people concerned, and with it, their world view and mentality. Whence established, there is no return to the previous condition; they are the motor of history in the true sense of the word.

With the idea of Philippine Becoming, the reader lands immediately in the contentious field of the official school-representation of Filipino history (Mulder 2000; 2014). Besides, people are comfortable with the ensuing self-deception, a kind of masochism that blames outsiders for anything wrong. It was the colonizers fault; they robbed the Filipino of his pristine condition and dressed him up in foreign apparel. "We are a hopeless case"; "This going-nowhere country"; "I do not deserve to have been born here", or, in Joaquin's own words, "Why are we as a people so disinclined to face up to challenges?"; the list of self-flagellating statements is sheer endless.

With the advent of Spain, a state came into being that placed country and people in the orbit of both Asia and the West. More importantly, during the long Spanish *perioda* Filipino sense of identity and nation was formed that, toward the end of the 19th century, culminated in the writings of Rizal, Mabini, de losReyes, etc. Whereas contemporary Filipinos are heirs of this early becoming—for instance, expressedin the preference for mestiza looking women, the prominence of hybridity, a culture of

hospitality and a general cosmopolitanism—they are unaware of its sources. On the contrary, to attribute the dynamics of change and its results to early colonization does not sit well with the multitude that has been taught to take American deceit for benevolence and that glorifies the second colonizer for placing the Philippines in the modern world. As a result, a well-known fellow-social critic accused Joaquin of being pro-Spanish!

In my outsider's view, Culture and History should be required reading for all who teach, study or are interested in the history of country and people. Alas, this is not precisely what educators and even some notable scholars desire. The first stick to the chronology of political events; the second aspire to relive and substantiate identity through revealing the pristine and unchanging essence of the 'true Filipino'. As I see it, both feel comfortable in avoiding the challenge of history and of being a self-confident partner in the modern world. Why?

Whereas many of us are familiar with the quest for their deep past of certain prominent ilustrados, such as José Rizal, Isabelo de los Reyes and Pedro Paterno, these did not convey the idea that they were persons without self-confidence or satisfactory selfhood. Of course, if we take the identity we derive from our collectivity seriously, all of us, such as said *ilustrados*, need the feel of its becoming if we are to connect the past to our present. Somehow, this simple truth was lost during American and post-colonial days; the past was irretrievably cut off by the change in language and educational brainwashing that taught Filipinos to disdain what they had become as 'Spanish colonial' and to pattern themselves on

the second colonial master. At the time independence was granted, educated Filipinos found themselves to be without identity as a free nation and, as they felt comfortable in leaning on the great US of A, they were reluctant to face the challenge of nation-building.

The history of becoming is irreversible, and I never met a bumptious nationalist who proposed to give up Catholicism or who refused to drive a car because the 'original Filipino' worshipped other statues and was without the wheel. After all, and in agreement with the historian Horacio de la Costa, SJ and outstanding essayist Nick Joaquin, identity is substantiated inwhat we have become today. This being as it is, educated Filipinos may characteristically suffer from a measure of identity insecurity for which they blame the foreign intrusion into their original condition.

The Ateneo de Manila-based psychologist Jaime Bulatao, S.J. firmly rejects this blaming of the foreign intrusion. To him, insecure personal identity in the big-big world outside results from typical family relationships, socialization practices and inescapable togetherness that foster the experience of being a part of an encompassing whole or a part of a closed group (Bulatao, 1964). As a result, the Filipino is characterized by a low level of "individuation" (if compared to members of other nations) and lives in an interpersonal world that is his primary source of emotional gratification, reassurance, recognition and acceptance (Lapuz, 1972). Accordingly, one's self-esteem depends on how one is regarded by relevant others, thus making for conformity to group opinions, timidity and unassertiveness (or what is known as "Filipino tolerance"), while leading to the satisfaction of role fulfillment. As

Bulatao surmises, this situation, in which the self finds no room for development, often results in a low level of self-esteem or an inferiority complex that has nothing to do with colonial intrusions (Bulatao, 1964).

The American intervention destroyed the memory of becoming and pride in nation—the first Asian country to defeat a western power!!!—among people who, from a culture-and-personality perspective, score low in self-confidence. Next to these factors, Joaquin notes the tendency to shy away from innovation, thus rutting in the familiar way of doing things and to be content with "a heritage of smallness". He illustrates this, among others, with examples taken from the arts, whether in pottery, sculpture or literature. Once forms have developed, they will be repeated over and over again. In sculpture, the Filipino shies away from the challenge of hard materials (stone, marble, ivory) and repeats—to perfection and ad nauseum—what he has done before. In literature, it is short story upon short story; the challenge of the novel is not met.

In the essay "Our Heart's in the Highlands?" Joaquin notes that, in the quest for 'true identity', 'We are haunted by aboriginal purity' and thus go up into the highlands to find our pristine selves. So, a party was formed to travel around and visit a variety of up-country people and to sample their tribal way of life. They were struck by the timelessness of their ways, the endless repetition of what they had done before, and, especially among the Igorot males, a total lack of drive and comfort in an indolence that left all work to women. Stuck in the atavistic ways, thesepeoples of the highlands

impressed as people without history. After this confrontation with 'aboriginal purity', the members of the party breathed with relief when they wereback in the lowlands and rejoiced at the dynamism of the Christian way of life!

The 1960s, however, inspired hope. In the middle of that decade, Joaquin wrote "Junking the Heritage" in which he confidently predicted that the nation was breaking out of the vicious circle of stagnation and resignation, of self-deception and masochism. Alas, in September 1972, Ferdinand Marcos smothered the hope-giving vistas that had resulted from the Second National Awakening, or Second Propaganda, of the 1950s, and that culminated in the First Quarter Storm (1971). Now, some fifty years further on, with the Philippines lagging behind most of its neighbors and with millions of Filipinos taking refuge on foreign shores, the nation does not live up to the challenge of the times but is caught in the treadmill of merely plodding on. It is sheer irony that this seemingly confirms the track of those who construct the mythology of the sinaunang Pilipino, of the history-less original Filipino who sticks to his primordial essence.

Niels Mulder (1935; Dutch) has devoted most of his professional life to research on the mental world of members of the urban middle classes on Java, in Thailand and the Philippines. His latest work is Life in the Philippines: Contextual Essays on Filipino Being (University of the Philippines Press, forthcoming). <niels_mulder201935@yahoo.com.ph

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BOOK REVIEW

Naked in a Nipa Hut: I'm a Cybersex Gurl and I Wanna Tell You My Story

by Ryan Indon

Paul Matthew's book, Naked in a Nipa Hut: I'm a Cybersex Gurl and I wanna tell you my story... (Warrior Publishers, 2015) is a compilation of previous papers by the author on his research on "Asian Cam Models" (ACMs), and some reactions to his work, as well as the stories about the personal lives of his informants. In doing so, he hopes to portray the women and their ideas of their livelihood as they see it, not as the media, the government, or society seems to label these women.

Very quickly, ACMing as described by the author, involves women performing sexual activities in front of a live web camera. These "ACMers" perform these activities in their homes, or other people's homes. Customers from around the world can see and chat with these women through certain websites. Parts of the website are open to visitors, meaning the women and customers can see and chat with each other freely. In these open sessions, women use

teasing and conversation to persuade customers to chat with them in "prvt" mode. To go "prvt" means customers pay money by the minute, and supposedly enjoy exclusive time with their chosen webcam model. In prvt, customers may then ask women to perform all sorts of sexual performances. This is the main income generator for the ACMers and the website.

In describing the women in this book, a number of themes are apparent. These women justify their livelihood as simply a means to attain legitimate goals like providing for their families, or getting an education. ACMing is not their first choice because many of them admit that their livelihood is seen as immoral. ACMing also entails costs like electricity, having a room, or possibly being arrested by the police or having their equipment confiscated. But, given their current situation, they do not see any other better means of making the money they need.

ACMing offers the women flexibility in managing their schedule between things like taking care of their families, getting an education, or ACMing. They also see it as cleaner way of sexual work, as opposed to outright prostitution, since ACMing is "performance" and is "not real," unlike actual sex with strangers. It is not "authentic" sex, they said. Also, ACMing could be an opportunity for them to find a foreign spouse, thinking that marrying a foreigner will guarantee financial stability.

In contrast to this, as the author virulently expresses in colorful language, certain social institutions such as the state or the media are threatening these women and their livelihood because

they are seen as outright sex workers who are working illegally.

Or, in a more nuanced expression of this position, the women are painted as helpless victims who are sexually abused by profiteers or their own kin. Either way, these women should be stopped from working, they should be arrested or "rescued" from their abusers. This conflict is highlighted by the author when he talks about how he was approached by a group of people who at first presented themselves as TV reporters who would like to do a story on the real lives of ACMers. In the course of assisting these people, he discovers that their real target is to find an alleged mastermind behind ACMing, and that instead of highlighting the stories of the women as the women saw themselves, the author claims that the reporters spun their stories into a story of abuse and powerlessness. This, the author claims, was the main impetus for him to write this book.

Indeed, many stories about sex work often pit the competing moral agendas of the people who do sex work, and the social institutions that seek to control them. In this sense, there is nothing particularly new about this book. The disciplining forces of society, such as the state or the media, often need sites of power in order to express their moral supremacy and to reinforce favored social and moral ideas. They tend to create moral panic over activities that they label as anti-social and destructive. Often, the target of such disciplinary measures fall on people who tend to be on the social fringes, like sex workers. From the view of sex workers, while they do not totally reject some of the moral arguments that these powerful institutions make, they do insist that their activities are in support of pro-social objectives like providing for their families or paying

for an education. Moreover, if economic opportunities were more abundant and lucrative, ACMers would choose different means of making a living.

A more interesting dimension though of the book is the implied question of whether these women are freely doing what they do, or, are they helpless victims. That is, if they have or do not have agency. As the author makes clear in his account of these women's lives and his dealings with them, these women often resorted to manipulation in order to get what they want. The women manipulate their images of sexuality, manipulate their outward feelings, in order to entice customers, making customers feel that they are in charge over these women. In fact, as the women put it, the customers are in fact being manipulated by them.

Women also manipulated racial and social undertones between them and the male customers. Portraying themselves as women in need of a man who can help them, male customers, and even the researcher himself, gave money to some of these women who claimed they needed it for helping their sick relatives, taking care of their children, or getting an education. How valid these stories are cannot be verified, but the author admitted that some of these were possibly untrue. Perhaps this element of manipulation plays into themes of Western men coming to the rescue of some poor third-world woman, a theme that these women understand.

However, the women are not in complete control of their situation. As workers who are paid based on a quota instead of the actual time they spend doing work, there is an element of abuse there.

But, as the author points out, this is not what social institutions are "rescuing" them from, these institutions are just stamping their moral imperatives on sexuality over them.

Overall, while the book raises important points about the changing meaning of sex work, and illustrates the conflicts that exist between different groups over ideas of sexual morality, the book suffers from a lack of coherence in trying to make these points. Occasionally, the author unnecessarily resorts to diatribe and colorful language to criticize what he perceives as unfairness and real abuse that the state or the media is inflicting on ACMers. Also, the stories of the women, although interesting, often do not seem to link properly with sound analysis or illustrations of coherent theories. The reader is left having to piece together the stories, filter out the diatribe, and arrive at their own analysis.

Another limitation of this work is the apparent bias of the author when it comes to ACMers. Throughout the book, he was personally involved in the lives of some of these women, responding positively to some of their requests for money. Indeed, there is much recognition now that researchers cannot completely isolate themselves from the people they study. Nevertheless, being overly close to the subjects of one's research poses serious questions about the validity of the responses, the data collected from the respondents, and the analysis that the researcher provides. Still, to the credit of the researcher, he did not hide the fact that he assisted his respondents, and seems to be honest about his biases towards ACMers.

This work presents an interesting view of ACMing, a side of

sex work that is only beginning to be noticed. It is also informative on other types of sex work. In one chapter, it gives an interesting firsthand look and comparison of certain types of sex work in Manila, as well as descriptions of the wages and living conditions of these sex workers. Unfortunately, it suffers from a lack of focus on linking these stories to sound analysis. It hints at compelling questions, but does not fully pursue them. Nevertheless, credit should be given to this book for tackling a side of sex work that is only starting to be noticed in the age of inter-connectivity, and posing questions over the agency of sex workers and how to accommodate that in making social policies.

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