

abstracts



Vernon Totanes

Day 1: Session I
8:45–10:45 am

PASYON AND REVOLT: QUANTIFYING THE INFLUENCE OF INFLUENTIAL BOOKS

In 2009, the journal *Sojourn* published a list of the most influential books on Southeast Asian studies. Of the 14 books that received the most nominations from the members of the journal's advisory board, only one was written by a Southeast Asian author, namely Reynaldo Ileteo's *Pasyon and Revolution*, which in turn was one of only two books issued by a Southeast Asian publisher. The journal's editor, acknowledging the subjective nature of the selection criteria and process, includes the long list of all 45 nominees and states that "The verdict, in the end, on which books are the most influential should lie, not with us... but with the discerning reader." But is it really not possible to determine whether one book is more influential than another through more objective means?

This paper proposes an alternative method of quantifying the influence of books on Southeast Asian studies using citations from ISI's Web of Knowledge and Google Scholar, and publication and holdings information from WorldCat. Objective evidence of the citation and publishing histories of books that made it to *Sojourn's* list are compared and contrasted with those that did not—with Ileteo's *Pasyon* and Teodoro Agoncillo's *The Revolt of the Masses*, respectively, as the primary examples to illustrate why the latter will probably continue to be underrepresented on such lists. Ultimately, this paper argues that a book's influence may be more reliably measured not by examining its content or the opinions of scholars and readers, but by ascertaining the identity of its publisher, its place of publication, and evidence of its longevity in print.



Jose Mario C. Francisco SJ

**THE CHURCH'S RECEPTION OF ILETO'S
PASYON AND REVOLUTION:
RESONANCES, GAPS, AND SILENCES**

This essay puts Ileta's groundbreaking work in the context of the Church's position in Philippine society at the time of its first publication, and examines its reception within Church circles by analyzing the response of Church academics and activists to it. The Church then was still in search of its public voice in the midst of complex social forces within and outside the Church; among these forces were nationalist sentiments associated with the passage of the Recto Bill, the local impact of the Second Vatican Council and subsequent developments, the increasing gap between rich and poor, and the authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos. Through its appropriation of Ileta's insights about the role of the pasyon in social movements, the Church has been able to come to terms with the legacy of the Philippine Revolution and of the place Christianity played in it, and this helped the Church speak with a stronger voice today. At the same time, gaps and silences in this appropriation suggest the presence of other church interests at work.



Vicente L. Rafael

**BECOMING REYNALDO ILETO: HISTORY,
LANGUAGE, AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

In this paper, I inquire into the relationship between translation and autobiography in the work of Reynaldo Ileta. The great influence of *Pasyon* is in part due to its linguistic complexity. English and Tagalog are juxtaposed throughout the book in a relationship of translation. The effect of moving between the two languages is to level the hierarchical relationship between them. English works to explicate the power of Tagalog to stir social imagination and revolutionary movements while Tagalog itself remains irreducible to the categories of English. I then ask how the politics of language in the *Pasyon* is deflected and displaced in Ileta's later autobiographical writings. In these texts, linguistic concerns seem to give way to stories about self-transformation via the overcoming of a series of paternal figures. Yet, autobiography can also work like a kind of translation, but one which moves in the opposite direction of *Pasyon*. Rather than promote the loosening of linguistic and social hierarchies, autobiography tends to reinforce them. In retracing the path of becoming who he has been, Ileta's narrative tells of the splitting and substitution of selves, the excavation and overcoming of the father's name, and the replacement of a project of "unfinished revolution" with stories of gendered and generational succession.



Ramon Guillermo

TRANSLATION AS ARGUMENT: THE NON-TRANSLATION OF *LOOB* IN REYNALDO ILETO'S *PASYON AND REVOLUTION*

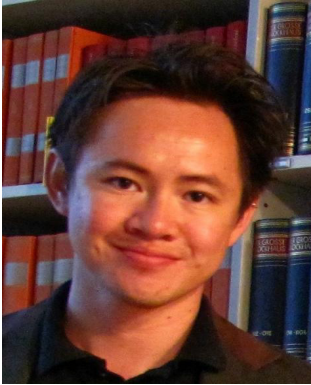
This paper discusses how Ileto's translation/non-translation of the Tagalog concept of "loob" became integral to the argument and rhetorical persuasiveness of his seminal work, *Pasyon and Revolution* (1979). Using some methods in the field of corpus linguistics, it hopes to demonstrate that reambiguating Ileto's translations could lead to different interpretations.



Jan Mrázek

A PHENOMENOLOGY OF PROFESSOR REYNALDO ILETO

When, in 2003, I was hired as a young Assistant Professor by the Southeast Asian Studies Program at the National University of Singapore, Professor Ileta was the Programme's Coordinator. In the ten years that followed, I have had the opportunity, as his colleague and cycling buddy, to learn about Professor Ileta's views of and involvement in Southeast Asian studies and Southeast Asian history, not primarily by reading theories in scholarly journals, but by sharing a part of his life journey – through everyday interaction, my involvement in his initiatives, his off-hand comments or facial expressions in reactions to my and other people's comments and initiatives, all in the context of a university department where teaching and research were equally important. What I found in him, more than in any other of my colleagues, was an idealistic, forceful, passionate vision of Southeast Asian studies and historiography which emphasized its origin in and constant return to the lived world—from teaching and activities of the department to international politics and the world order. Needless to say, one reason why I was attracted to his vision was because I shared many of his ideals and his idealism, although he has also helped me to rearticulate my own ideals and see them in new “underlying perceptual frameworks,” to use his phrase. And I was also attracted to it because it was passionate and alive with inner struggles and contradictions. My presentation will reflect on Professor Ileta's vision and practice of Southeast Asian studies, emphasizing the particular aspects of it that were brought out by our encounter: a Filipino historian and a Czech musician and art historian (all these labels hide at least as much as they reveal), in an interdisciplinary, international, yet very Southeast Asian setting; our encounter which—in Lautréamont phrase that the Surrealists liked so much—was for me “beautiful as the chance encounter of a sewing machine and an umbrella on a dissecting table.”



Julius Bautista

REYNALDO ILETO'S AUSTRALIAN STORY

Reynaldo Ileta has made significant contributions to the understanding of Philippine history. This is a fact known to all who has thought about Philippine Studies in a Filipino and even American educational environment. What is perhaps less discussed is the extent to which Ileta's scholarship has contributed to the understanding of the Philippines from an Australian context. First of all, Ileta has made significant contributions to Australian history. For example, his "Discovering Australasia: Essays on Philippine-Australian interactions," which he edited with Rodney Sullivan, is a work that has achieved much in historicizing Philippine-Australian interaction in a way that has not been done before, or even ever since. In this paper, I would like to discuss the ways in which Ileta's scholarship since the publication of *Pasyon and Revolution* has itself been shaped and conditioned by the many years he has spent in an Australian intellectual environment. What are the contours of this influence? How has his work, in turn, inspired a new generation of thinking about the Philippines outside of the intellectual milieu of the United States, the Philippines and Japan? How has this conditioned his transition into a Singaporean intellectual environment, which is another significant chapter in the evolution of Ileta's scholarship?



Caroline Sy Hau

PRIVILEGING ROOTS AND ROUTES: FILIPINO INTELLECTUALS AND THE CONTEST OVER EPISTEMIC POWER AND AUTHORITY

Reynaldo Ileto's *Orientalism in the Study of Philippine Politics* (1998), a stringent critique of American scholarship on the Philippines, provoked debate in Southeast Asian studies by highlighting the problematical relationship between colonialism and knowledge production that underpins epistemic claims made by American scholars vis-à-vis their objects/ subjects of study, the Philippines. But what happens when Filipinos themselves make epistemic claims and produce knowledge about the Philippines? This paper looks at the ways in which the target of the critique has shifted in recent decades from American scholars working on Philippine politics to Filipino-American and overseas Filipino intellectuals who publish abroad as well as in the Philippines. It examines the changing intellectual and material contexts in which Philippine-based (and often middle-class) intellectuals lay claim to epistemic privilege in representing the Philippines by virtue of "authentic" experience and knowledge of the country. These claims speak to larger issues involving the contest over the power and authority to speak (on behalf) of the Philippines and the role and subject positions of intellectuals in relation to a "Filipino nation" that is in the throes of transformation.



Preciosa Regina Ang de Joya

AN APPROACH TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES FROM BELOW

While *Pasyon and Revolution* has undoubtedly shaped and steered the course of Philippine studies, and has been critically acclaimed as one of the most influential books in Southeast Asian studies, Professor Ilego's indefatigable commitment to the writing of "a history from below" continues beyond the study of Filipino millenarian movements.

Having met him as a professor in the Southeast Asian Studies department at the National University of Singapore, I have seen how Professor Ilego has taught and inspired his students to pay heed to marginalized voices. This paper hopes to present a glimpse of his contribution to Southeast Asian studies, and how he tried to give it an identity borne out of its location in the heart of the Southeast Asian region, distinguishing itself from the American "mandalas." This paper particularly focuses on his pioneering efforts in teaching the module "Approaches to Southeast Asian Studies" (SE5151), which sought to introduce the life and ideas of the pioneering Southeast Asian scholars in the field. The contents of this module are a result of two important and related movements in Professor Ilego's thought: first, his autobiographical reflections of his own journey as a scholar, his apprenticeship and struggle with the masters, and second, the larger and sustained effort to gather Southeast Asian historians and give venue to their voices and experiences.



Charlie Samuya Veric

**MILLERS, SLAVES, AND MESSIAHS:
THE POSTCOLONIAL ORIGINS OF HISTORY
FROM BELOW**

The paper examines three historiographic texts that came out in the same decade across the continents: Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1976), Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977), and Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines* (1979). Reading Ileto alongside Ginzburg and Levine, the paper analyzes the continuities in the conceptual terms that the three historians highlight in their respective works, namely, microhistory and folk mentality in relation to history from below. The paper examines the three texts from a comparative perspective to determine the intellectual genealogy of history from below and clarify the politics of its practice. As the paper will demonstrate, history from below is a concept of remarkable analytic utility but its intellectual genealogy remains vague. The paper, then, attempts to reconstruct the conceptual origins of history from below using a specifically postcolonial and planetary optic examining the concept in the context of decolonization in the non-Western world and the corresponding cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences at large. In doing so, the paper hopes to contribute not only to the elaboration of the postcolonial origins of history from below, but also to its elucidation as a planetary cultural practice.



Kisho Tsuchiya

RADICAL DISCOURSES AND REYNALDO ILETO: AN INTRODUCTION TO NONFASCIST HISTORY WRITING

The direction of Professor Reynaldo Ileta's career sought to write a nonfascist history. Through his career, his target has shifted from the Marcos regime microfascism in history writings (in Ileta's term, "linear, development history"), to aggressive foreign policies. To tackle these various forms of (micro-) fascism, he invented several intellectual weapons during his career which includes history from below, the nonlinear emplotment of history, and the politics of remembering and forgetting. In this essay, the author finds in the changes and continuities in Ileta's works, the applicability of his intellectual weapons in writing future alternative histories.



Bernardo N. Sepeda

**THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF
JOSE W. DIOKNO:
BASIS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE**

A nation's sustainable development requires good governance. Good governance requires a nationalist political philosophy according to Jose W. Diokno, one of our foremost contemporary Filipino nationalists. This paper explores Diokno's political philosophy on the following areas: sovereignty, government, and law. This is an ideological history that critically analyzes published speeches and essays of Diokno on the said areas of our political life. This paper proposes that Diokno's political philosophy may be used as basis for our nation's development. Briefly, according to Diokno, for us to fully develop as a nation, we need to protect our sovereignty against any foreign dictation, to live out a truly democratic government, and to follow a just law that promotes the common good.

**POLICY AND NATIONALISM: REVISITING THE
POLITICS OF FILIPINO FIRST, 1958–1961**

Yusuke Takagi

Several questions remain unanswered on the policy-making process of the Filipino First. Why did the government suddenly endorse the Filipino First in 1958 while it had implemented the exchange controls since 1949? And, why did Pres. Carlos P. Garcia endorse the Filipino First in 1958 instead of 1957 when he was running for president? This paper, studying the political process in which the key policymakers worked, sheds a new light on the politics of Filipino First, which has been assumed as an amalgam of battle cry of anticolonialism, xenophobic sentiments, or politically disguised nepotism and corruption by oligarchs. Considering the political context developed since 1949, I argue that the exchange controls enhanced economic nationalism by gradually but steadily changing the established politico-economic structure. This development is worth studying because it shows an impressive capacity of the Philippine state, which has been assumed “weak,” vis-à-vis the society having been structured by socioeconomic conditions since the colonial period. This paper, moreover, aims to apply a lesson from the “history from below” approach in studying the policy-making process, as it traces the dynamic political contexts where the policy makers worked for change. This is an attempt to reconstruct the politics of nationalism within government as well as to reconsider our understanding of the concept of the “weak” state by studying a “history of the inarticulate”.



Marian Pastor Roces

MISREADING PEOPLE POWER

The proposed paper develops a critique of the current discourse in the Philippines on the political phenomenon described as “people power.” Informed by Cultural Studies, my reading of this discourse (which is in large measure homogenous) will draw attention to three tropes that I shall argue bodes ill, indeed dangerously, for the Philippines. Firstly, people power is regarded as an Aquino franchise, thought to draw from a “personality cult” around a widow-become-president and her male heir apparent. Secondly, people power is reckoned through a Political Science lens focused by analytic conventions on populism; focused, thus, by the idea of mindless multitudes set off by emotional triggers. Thirdly, the “people” are construed as available to manipulation (or, in contemporary political argot: mobilization) by nefarious, benevolent, or merely opportunistic elite actors of various ideological persuasions. None of these tropes accords agency to the mass objects of political operations. None allows explanatory value to local knowledge that moves anonymous participants to act in political upheaval. None abides by an analytic view other than that of the bourgeois subject. And all three, together, as lobes of a distinct, class-bound mind, comprise a tautological whole that is sealed off from challenge. The paper argues that this discourse prospers in domains that do not benefit from Reynaldo C. Ileto’s arguments for a history from below.

**Day 1: Session III-A
1:30–3:00 pm**



Thomas Gibson

COMPETING GENRES OF THE PAST IN MAKASSAR, INDONESIA: CHRONICLE, HAGIOGRAPHY, EPIC, AND TEXTBOOK

Inspired by Reynaldo Ilete's analysis of popular Christian narratives in the Philippines, this paper analyzes the role played by four genres of popular narrative in South Sulawesi, Indonesia: chronicles about the rulers of kingdoms and noble houses; hagiographies about Islamic mystics and *ulama*; oral epics about heroic individuals who defended their honor against tyrannical rulers; official textbooks about national heroes who played a role in the struggle for independence. Each of these genres evokes very different forms of authority, temporality, and resistance in relation to particular institutions: traditional authority, the cyclical return of ancestral power, and war against the Dutch East India Company in the context of the noble house; charismatic authority, the quest for eternity, and *jihad* against infidels in the context of the mosque; the fundamental dignity of all men, the allegorical association of individuals living in different historical periods, and martyrdom at the hands of Christian rulers in the context of the colonial state; bureaucratic authority, developmental time, and revolution against feudalism and colonialism in the context of the nation-state. As in the case of the Filipino narratives analyzed by Ilete, these narratives are used both to constitute and to contest the legitimate authority of the social, religious, and political institutions of the day. Any attempt to reduce these competing versions of the Makassar past to a single narrative would result in a profound impoverishment of our understanding of the complexity of popular conceptions of power, authority, and resistance.



Yosuke Watanabe

Day 1: Session III-A
1:30–3:00 pm

**BIRTH OF A NATIONAL HISTORY:
SCRIPTING SINGAPORE'S HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS, 1965–1984**

In Europe, the rise of nationalism that took place after the French Revolution impacted on history writing, which created national histories. On the other hand, in postcolonial states, such as Singapore, national history was written as a state project to inculcate nationalism in the minds of diverse peoples living in a newly independent state (rather than as a state's response to nationalism from below), and such a move can typically be seen in the process of writing history textbooks. Based on such an understanding, this paper reveals how and why the official version of Singapore's history was scripted by shedding light on two versions of the first national history textbooks for primary schools introduced in 1970 and its secondary school version published in 1984.

In Singapore, the teaching of national history in schools did not develop linearly. In 1970, five years after its independence from Malaysia, the Singapore government introduced national history textbooks at primary schools (though, in secondary schools, old Malaysian history textbooks continued to be used with a minimum change). However, the use of those pioneering textbooks stopped in 1974 due to the introduction of a new curriculum that valued the subjects which were seen to boost Singapore's economic growth.

Scholarly works that analyse the development of Singapore's textbooks focus only on national history textbooks for secondary schools introduced in 1984. Strangely, none of them analyses the very first national history textbooks published in 1970. This paper sheds light on the writing process and content of Singapore's very first national history textbooks and discusses whether or not their content was inherited by the secondary schools' version that was published in 1984. In other words, this paper reveals how and why the official version of Singapore's national history was scripted and evolved from 1965 to 1984.



Leong Kar Yen

**FROM THE FAR PAST TO THE INTIMATE
PRESENT: THE PUBLIC REALM AND HISTORICAL
CONSCIOUSNESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

The spectre of revisionism is haunting Southeast Asia. Historical studies in Southeast Asia are increasingly adopting a more critical and postcolonial approach to their own national histories. As younger scholars begin to undermine the hitherto accepted national narratives, the question which remains is: why has there been a sustained growth in scholarship which in the past has been taboo? What are the conditions which have let these 'alternative' discourses come forth? My paper will investigate the political and scholarly circumstances which have allowed this "new wave" of historiography to burgeon. It will investigate the scholarly historical output emanating from Singapore, the sustained activist revisionism via film and other mediums emergent in Indonesia, and also a similar historiographical renaissance in Malaysia.

Through an engagement with activists, scholars, and historical writings emerging from these countries, I posit that a separate "realm" independent from the state is beginning to emerge. Using Hannah Arendt's notion of public, private, and social realms, this paper will argue that the state's once "organic" relations with society are beginning to entangle, leading to the emergence of a "public realm" wherein citizens are carving out space with which to interpret their past, present, and future. The emergence of a historical consciousness, social media, and democratization has allowed for the "memories" and alternative views to grow, thus undermining statist interpretations of reality.

As such, events in the past, which were deemed to be detrimental to the state and society, are now being brought to the fore. Discussion of mass human rights violations in Indonesia and the role of the political left in both Singapore and Malaysia's independence have since lost their stigma leading to greater openness. This paper aims to analyze and understand the evolving patterns of historical consciousness in these three countries.



Patrick F. Campos

**Day 1: Session III-B
1:30–3:00 pm**

HISTORY, FILM, AND FORM IN THE BEGINNINGS OF “SCREEN RIZAL”

The year 2012 marked the 100th year of “Screen Rizal.” As his fiction(s) exerted influence on literary forms and his meaning contested by American colonizers and Filipino nationalists in the first decade of the 20th century, Rizal also significantly determined the beginnings of Filipino cinema.

The medium of film arrived in the Philippines two days after the execution of Rizal. Possibly the earliest film footage recorded in the Philippines and one of the early known exhibitions are related to the Rizal Day celebrations of 1904 and 1909 respectively. And, as more and more materials were filmed by Americans in or about the Philippines and shown in America, literary form, popular theater, and the new medium of film converged in the image of Rizal at the home front. The first feature films produced in the Philippines are two box-office hit biopics of Rizal released in 1912, shortly followed by adaptations of his novels. And some of the earliest works of the “the Father of Philippine Cinema,” Jose Nepomuceno, were likewise centered on the image of Rizal.

In light of the centennial of Screen Rizal, the paper traces the beginnings and problematizes the parallel developments of the symbol of Rizal and of cinema as a popular media form. It chronicles the historical developments of the “official” Rizal, which reaches a climax in 1912 and 1913, as the idea of the nation was being formalized, and comparatively analyzes how the impulses of narrative and documentary cinematic forms have meanwhile reconfigured the “popular” Rizal in the context of a nascent “national” cinema.



Christian Tablazon

**TRAUMA, ITINERANT BODIES, AND
HISTORIOGRAPHIES OF SPACE: RECENT EAST
AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN HORROR FILMS AS
TRAVEL TEXTS**

Looking into representative horror films from the late nineties to the present from several countries in East and Southeast Asia, the paper seeks to illustrate how the said genre is intrinsically historical not only in structure and logic, but more so in terms of the spaces that inform its narratives. Its transportations are carried out by the persona, the historical agent, as transactions of history between the urban and the rural, the mainland and the insular (i.e., between *local* histories); between the modern sections of the New Society (the 'nation project') and the 'buried' parts of the City, between topographies of present and past, between center and margin. Within the limina created by these "sacred" journeys, these pilgrimages, lie the complications of the agent's personal and often familial history, the intersections enmeshed in the operative roles of memory, time and place, and the multifaceted gothic motif of the return. The notion that the past weighs on the present—that the crisis in the now is rooted in what came before it and the present needs to reconfigure itself to account for the fractures in the past—is fundamental to all horror narratives. Remains proliferate in the form of corpses and haunted places and objects, alluding to forensic and archaeological modes of historicity. The aftermath is the locus of these films and their remanent spaces—the sites of trauma—become potent states of archive. Just as history chronicles the past as to not forget, Asian horror cinema extensively deals with the thematics of 'amnesia' and remembrance in ways arguably more sociologically charged and complex than its Western equivalents.



JP Paul S. Manzanilla

“THESE IMAGES PASSED BEFORE OUR EYES BEFORE WE COULD EVEN BLINK”: THE EDSA DREAMWORLD AND CATASTROPHE IN PHOTOGRAPHIC TEXTS

A history of the Filipino people power uprising of 1986 is yet to be written. In the meantime, we only have compendiums of reportage and socio-cultural and political analyses of the event. This paper seeks to contribute to the writing of that history specifically and histories of the EDSA uprisings (1986 People Power, EDSA Dos, EDSA Tres...) through a discussion of the photographic representations of the EDSA revolt in light of Reynaldo Ileteo's historiographic insights.

Pictures demonstrate that EDSA had been a passionate revolution because *damay* in the time of the Ninoy assassination has transformed the Filipino people into a “oneness” that steadfastly brought the dictatorship to its knees. The affective dimension of a political event is visualized through the medium of photography in which the martyrdom of a single figure metamorphoses into a messianic potential of the people to finally change the course of their history. This, following Susan Buck-Morss's use of Walter Benjamin's concept, is the “dreamworld” of EDSA. However, Ileteo himself warned that the “other politics” then emerging would be obscured by the “old forms appearing in a new guise, the inner versus outer, light versus glitter, problem all over again.” As it turned out, the dreamworld of EDSA has turned into various catastrophes when the old forms of conservative elite politics rule over the country to this day. This paper is an attempt to study how photographic textualizations of EDSA since 1986 made visible the already legible narratives of such politics in the Philippines.



Deirdre de la Cruz

THE MASS MIRACLE: POPULAR RELIGIOSITY IN THE POST-WORLD WAR II PHILIPPINES

In 1951, after an unusually brief investigation, the Catholic Church issued an official statement concluding that the “reported extraordinary happenings” at the Carmelite convent of Lipa, Batangas “excluded any supernatural intervention.” As is well known, these happenings involved claims that the Virgin Mary appeared to a young novice in the cloister, as well as spectacular showers of rose petals that fell on the convent grounds. This paper takes as its point of departure the curious emphasis the Church statement placed on refuting the showers of petals in order to explore what was at stake in the very public witnessing of this miracle. Outlining the matrix of conditions—social, historical, and technological—that enabled their appearance, I argue that the showers of rose petals instantiated a new kind of popular religiosity, one defined not by religious syncretism and the radical Christianity of the “masses” (as the category has been used by Iloilo and others in the historiography of the Philippine revolution), but by the ambiguous political effects of other types of “mass movements,” including the mass media.



Paul-Francois Tremlett

UNDERSTANDING POPULAR RELIGION IN THE CITY OF FRAGMENTS

Reynaldo C. Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution* marked an attempt to reconstruct the working of "the traditional [Filipino] mind" (1979: 2) in the 1896 revolution. The focus on the *pasyon* – which Ileto claimed bore "the stamp of popular consciousness" (1979: 14) – was central to the more general project of bringing "to light the masses' own categories of meaning that shaped their perceptions of events and their participation in them" (1979: 8). But beyond seeking to disclose Filipino categories of meaning at the end of the nineteenth century and their role in framing and indeed illuminating the revolution, a further critical feature of Ileto's work was to assess the role of the *pasyon* in enabling forms of association that drew Filipinos "away from their . . . relations of subservience to the *maginoo*" and undermined "traditional patterns of Philippine politics" (1979:16). In this paper I argue that in order to continue the project begun by Ileto—namely to understand processes of rapid social change in local terms and to assess their potential for progressive forms of association—a shift is required from an historical analysis of texts to the historical and ethnographic analysis of social, particularly urban, space.

In this paper I will argue that the up-shot of the different and competing territorial imaginaries is that Manila "is a city of fragments" where "wealthy neighbourhoods provided with all kinds of services, such as exclusive schools, golf courses, tennis courts and private police... intertwine with illegal settlements" (Marcello 1993: 24–25). Marcello suggests that fragmentation may enable the articulation of "formal or informal networks of mutual aid" and the "founding of interest groups around local issues, leading eventually to active participation in the political urban arena" (Marcello 1993: 32). By contrast, Harvey argues that "the spatial forms of our cities, which increasingly consist of fortified fragments, gated communities and privatized, public spaces kept under constant surveillance", has cut adrift "ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging" which in consequence have "become much harder to sustain" (Harvey 2008: 32). In this paper I assess the processes of spatial fragmentation explored by Marcello and Harvey with respect to Manila as a first step in seeking to deepen the work begun by Ileto to understand the dynamics of Filipino popular religiosities and to consider them as "singularities" and as "intensities of potential" and to assess their potential for progressive modes of association (Kapferer et al. 2010: 7).



Soon Chuan Yean

**RELIGIOUS POP SONGS AND
PENTECOSTALISM: READING POPULAR TEXT
AS “FANTASY”(?) AND “REALITY” AMONG
THE LOWLAND DEVOTEES OF THE TANAUAN
BORN-AGAIN**

The paper attempts to understand the way in which the religious guide—using popular religious songs—has been used among the devotees to interpret and to understand the world, the society, the politics, and the self, rather than see it as a “fantasy” for escapism from the hardships of everyday life. The paper is part of an ongoing research on the Born-Again devotees, a Christian Charismatic movement, in a lowland village in the City of Tanauan, Batangas province, the Philippines. The devotees' criticisms and beliefs serve as a sort of resistance not to damage or dampen the “other” but to search for liberation in the midst of the chaotic (political) surroundings.

In other words, this research tentatively argues that the Christian charismatic movement in Tanauan City showcases the way in which the devotees (or the agents) are inclining to exert their views and exercise their “rights” at the realm of religion, outside of the electoral exercises. In turn, the nature of the Christian charismatic organization and practices consent to such negotiation of power relations. With this intersubjective interpretation of the outside world and the inner being of the self, it generates a sense of confidence and “truth” in their beliefs, in which the Christian charismatic practices appear to be more, “popular, voluntary, and laity based.”



Ambeth R. Ocampo

**Day 1: Session IV-B
3:15–5:15 pm**

FORGING THE NATION: JOSE E. MARCO REVISITED

Jose Rizal's edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (1890) is rarely consulted today but remains significant as the the first Philippine history from a Filipino point of view. Rizal and his contemporaries—Pedro Paterno, Isabelo de los Reyes, and T. H. Pardo de Tavera—wielded history as a weapon against colonial rule, as a tool in the building of the nation. Their work was, to paraphrase James Joyce, a means “to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of the race.”

Forging the nation, however, has a dark side. To forge means to make, form, or create something. To forge can also mean creating something that is false or fraudulent, a forgery. Jose E. Marco has been exposed twice: first by William Henry Scott as the forger that gave us the “Code of Kalantiaw”, second by John Schumacher as the forger who gave us a novel by Fr. Jose Burgos *La Loba Negra*. Marco produced much more, from three manuscripts on bonga bark written in baybayin presented to the National Library of the Philippines in 1913, to the various Spanish manuscripts he peddled till the 1960s.

The bibliographer Mauro Garcia was the first to expose Marco's forgeries but provided the leads and the credit to William Henry Scott.

How Marco duped many scholars including James Alexander Robertson, Manuel Artigas, H. Otley Beyer, Mauro Garcia, and the University of Chicago Philippine Studies Program (UCPSP) can be gleaned from the unpublished Garcia-Marco correspondence and relevant papers from the UCPSP. Marco's half-century career is a cautionary tale on greed and academic one-upmanship. Marco did more than dupe the “experts,” he left us with a critique of the use and abuse of history, as well as questions on our notions of authenticity. Marco succeeded because he fed into a need for history in the national project. Aside from monetary gain, could we say Marco followed the footsteps of Rizal's generation by forging a nation from Philippine history?



**Feorillo Petronilo A.
Demeterio III**

FERDINAND BLUMENTRITT AND THE PHILIPPINES: INSIGHTS AND LESSONS FOR CONTEMPORARY PHILIPPINE STUDIES

Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853–1913) is certainly one of the greatest, if not the greatest, among the early experts on Philippine culture, language, history and geography. However, his stature in the Philippines is overshadowed by the fame of our national hero, and his own dear friend, Dr. Jose Rizal (1861–1896). Most Filipinos today could, at best, only associate his name with that body of letters that he exchanged with Rizal, and, at worst, to that thoroughfare in Manila, with its train station and light rail station, that was named after him. The nation had once honored him by declaring him an adopted son of this country, but to most Filipinos today, Blumentritt remains a hazy figure from a distant past. Even before Blumentritt became a friend of Rizal, and even before he became a critic of the Spanish colonization, he was already an impressive Filipinologist and an ardent Filipinist, and he continued to be so after the execution of Rizal and after the end of the Spanish rule in these islands.

This paper reconstructs the intellectual stature of Blumentritt by positioning him as a milestone in Philippine studies, a discourse which until now is still trying to soul search for its methodic and ideological niche in the sphere of local knowledge production. In other words, by analyzing and critiquing the discourse of Philippine studies embodied in his writings, this paper uncovers both positive and negative lessons and insights that can further enrich modern-day Philippine studies. This paper is a historical research, not in the sense that it contributes to the fuller articulation of the general historical narrative of the Philippines, but in the sense that it is a research in the more specialized sphere of the history of ideas. It is a project in which modern-day Philippine studies was given a chance to dialogue with and learn from the kind of Philippine studies undertaken by Blumentritt.



Paul V. Adams

**Day 1: Session IV-B
3:15–5:15 pm**

THE PHILIPPINES IN THE CONTEXT OF WORLD AND COMPARATIVE HISTORY

Since the 1980s World History has grown from an introductory-level subject taught in a limited number of universities in the USA, and occasional popular books for the educated reader into the dominant history survey course. Meanwhile scholarly versions of global and comparative history have increased to become a major field of scholarly inquiry. The *Journal of World History* and the *Journal of Comparative History* provide convenient openings to the field. Scholars around the world have become active and among the most creative contributors to the field, particularly in China, Australia, Canada, and Europe. World history is becoming a global phenomenon even as it is becoming more genuinely global in its purview.

A persistent weakness of world/comparative history has been its neglect of Southeast Asian and Philippine history. Caught between the monolithic civilizations of China and India, Southeast Asia hardly receives mention, usually none at all until the onset of modern European Imperialism after c. 1830. The Philippines even in the context of Southeast Asia goes neglected, and appears only in a few sentences ancillary to the Spanish and American Empires.

However, scholarly specialists in Southeast Asia and the Philippines have produced a superb body of historical scholarship, which if redirected from regional and national focus offers much to a new synthesis that would enrich Philippine history even as it would give it prominence in a global context.



Ruth Jordana L. Pison

A NARRATIVE OF CENTER AND PERIPHERY: DANCE=PULL'S CONTEMPORARY DIRECTIONAL MOTIVATION

So much has been written about the nation and history vis-à-vis the other fields in the humanities and arts. As a discursive practice, the nation continues to be the crucible of many cultural, historical, socio-political, religious, economic, gender, racial, and sexual discourses. Dance, as a performing art, occupies a peculiar location within and vis-à-vis the discourse of the nation. An ephemeral form, dance has elicited various, and even contradictory, valuations; most of the time it is considered a mere form of entertainment. It is undeniable, though, that dance has articulated and informed our ideas of the nation and nationhood. Seemingly marginal to other forms of arts and cultural practices, dance has always been embedded in our daily lives, as performance or otherwise. This notwithstanding, it has not been extensively “discoursed” about. Aside from the works on traditional Philippine dances as expressions of the Filipino identity—our folk dance groups have earned international recognition through the years—seldom have other dances in the country been extensively studied as performances of the nation. That the narrative of the nation may be cathected to that of dance is not surprising considering how the latter, from its earliest form as ritual art, has remained an important part in the emergence of nation states and the process of modernization. Because the body is a powerful medium for expressing social values, it was important in the nationalist framework of modernization in the 20th century—according to dance critics and historians, the “aura of the body” was embraced by national movements to represent and even solidify national values. Thus, we find the Philippine state, despite its lukewarm attitude towards the arts, still supportive of the idea of a “national dance company.” Against this background (e.g., the nation projected in the choreographies of a national dance company like the Bayanihan), the paper will look at how Philippine contemporary dance could respond to the nation-state’s “narrative” (i.e., the state’s political and cultural discourses which have enabled it to project itself as a nation) by presenting the other trajectories and issues embodied in the Philippines’ imagining of itself. It offers a space within which the narrative of the nation, one which is different from that deployed by the state, is created.



Reagan Maiquez

Day 1: Session IV-C
3:15–5:15 pm

**THE DISCOURSE, EVENT, AND
SPECTATORSHIP OF *PASYON* AND
REVOLUTION: RETHINKING PERFORMANCE
ETHNOGRAPHY/THEORY THROUGH
REYNALDO ILETO'S *PASYON AND
REVOLUTION***

In my research, I argue that through performance, one is dealing with three contingent and interrelated processes or conditions to make sense of the world or an act. These are theatrical framing (from a spectator or actor's point-of-view), theatrical event, and theatrical discourse. The theatrical frame or framing situates the meaning of a performance based on any cultural or situational reference (thus a frame) that set preconceived notions, behavior, ways of receiving or doing an act in the body, mind and imagination of a performer or an audience. It is considered theatrical because it is based on how the operations of gaze (spectatorship), performativity, embodiment, and sensorial absorption and cognition are also defined by how a notion (and a performance) of theater or theatricality is set in a particular culture, time, and location. Such framing thus informs an event to become theatrical (or not) according to the cultural and changing notion of theatricality throughout time or, vice-versa, how an event creates the notion of theatrical and the possible frames within which to understand a performance including the meaning of reality, illusion, fantasy, or any form of representation related to the said performance or event. Finally, given that events in the past (whether theatricalized or not) are also discursively imagined and interpreted, they somehow inform the meaning of a performed and spectated act through what seems to be a theatrical discourse. Each of the three mediates the other two: *frame of spectatorship* between the *theatrical discourse* and the *event*, the *event* between the *frame* and *discourse*, and the *discourse* between the *event* and *frame of spectatorship*. Given this, I would like to see how this theoretical hypothesis can be read, further hypothesized or applied in Reynaldo Ileta's study of the *pasyon* as crucial to the performance of a *revolution* [as an event] and perhaps even as a form of a (performative or theatrical) discourse. His own study—in itself a discourse of an event and the performance of faith, courage, religiosity, and ritual (in a less theatrical way)—could perhaps be considered not only an ethnographic or culturally-specific (by way of Philippine studies or history from below) lens to understand the current issues of Philippine culture through theatricality and performance but also a complex and rich discussion of how performance is crucial in both historiographical and ethnographic research.



Nikki Briones-Carsi Cruz

THE MORO-MORO'S PLACE AMONG TRADITIONAL SOUTHEAST ASIAN PERFORMANCE GENRES

In the book entitled *Theatre In Southeast Asia* (1967), James Brandon explains that “long contact with Western culture” and the “dearth of indigenous theater in the islands” has created a situation whereby, “to the average Filipino, theater meant Western theater, and that virtually all drama to which he is exposed is based on Western models.” The Moro-Moro, which Brandon used as an example of folk theater in the Philippines, is described as Christian propaganda introduced by Spanish missionaries and was thus seen as a colonial import and not a tradition indigenous to the region.

This paper will present an analysis that recovers the Moro-Moro's precolonial roots and establishes its connection with traditional performance genres in Southeast Asia. It offers an alternative account of the Moro-Moro's origins and role in Philippine history, showing how this theater form became the repository of oral traditions and fighting skills that opened up spaces for resistance to colonial rule and even ecclesiastical hegemony. In terms of its choreographic logic and centrality of dance, its devotional motivation, schematic composition, improvisational delivery of dialogue, and incremental mode of consumption, it is clear that the Moro-Moro is not based on Western models.



Joelle Jacinto

Day 1: Session IV-C
3:15–5:15 pm

DANCING THE HERO AND THE FILIPINO: TELLING (HI) STORIES THROUGH BALLET AND CONTEMPORARY DANCE

In premodern Philippines, dance was originally an activity that had a social and spiritual function in the community, performed in rituals and celebration. Dance as an art form was only introduced during the Spanish and American colonial periods. When it had originally existed as ritual or a communal activity, the concept of performance and aesthetics changed the scope of dance, but not the people's affinity to it.

Regardless, there has always been a demand to justify the importance of dance in Philippine art and culture. Dance is used as a tool to create/promote heritage, as can be seen in Francisca Reyes Aquino's collection of Filipino Folk Dances, and in the standardization of repertoire of the folk dance troupes, starting with that of the Bayanihan (now) National Folk Dance Company. Theatrical dance forms that were produced at the Cultural Center of the Philippines since its establishment have always sought the "Filipino-ness" of ballet and modern dance, or trying to define its role, function, or contribution in identifying the Filipino.

With the establishment of the CCP, along with other agenda by the Marcos and post-Marcos governments, theatrical dance as an art form had progressed with much advancement. Through its development within these political agencies, nationalism has found its way into theatrical dance. The integration of Philippine themes and folklore into theatrical dance could be seen as a conscious effort to make theatrical dance a Filipino art form. But how can this be achieved?

This paper aims to understand the implications and results of these efforts, agencies and agenda, and how these have affected the function of Philippine dance. The paper discusses the historic representations of Ballet Philippines' *La Revolucion Filipina*, which tells the story of Apolinario Mabini and Emilio Aguinaldo, and Philippine Ballet Theatre's biography on Bonifacio, entitled *Andres KKK*; these ballets were commissioned to celebrate the centennial of the revolution. The paper intends to measure the successes of each, and estimate their impact on a national audience. Then, the paper looks at how each ballet company used the learnings from these productions, in succeeding additions to their respective repertoire.



Olivia Anne M. Habana

TRAVELLING IN THE TROPICS: TEACHERS AS EARLY TOURISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1900–1912

The Philippine-American War was still raging when American colonial officials began gathering groups of frightened Filipino children into makeshift shelters and teaching them the rudimentaries of the English language. Public primary school education soon became one of the most widespread and visible colonial programs. Teachers from the United States were hired to bring the English language and American-style democracy to their new colonials. Many of the “Thomasites”, as these teachers were called, wrote personal journals and letters to family and friends back home in the United States. Some of them lived in the Philippines for extended periods of time, later writing their memoirs or giving interviews about their experiences as pioneering teachers in the Philippines. These sources have largely been used to study the American educational system and the teachers' heroic efforts to educate their colonial subjects.

Interestingly, many of these documents also included vivid descriptions of the teachers' initial voyage to the Philippines as well as their travels into the interior areas of the country. This article will use a selection of documents written by early American school teachers to reveal the state of infrastructure and the different modes of transportation in the Philippines at the turn of the 20th century. They also reveal the perspective and mindset of the American teachers as they travelled through an almost totally alien and unknown landscape. These documents which have long been associated with educational history will thus be viewed from a different perspective to shed light on a history of travel, mobility and tourism in early-American-period Philippines.



Kristine Michelle L. Santos

BIG SHOT AND THE PATRIOSCOPE: POLITICAL EDUCATION THROUGH COMICS 1939–1940

In 1939, the *Philippines Free Press* began to publish a new set of illustrations in their magazine. It began with a story of a man who initially wanted to meet the Philippine President, Manuel L. Quezon, before winning the sweepstakes which earned him the nickname Big Shot. Written by Fritz Zelezny under the pseudonym Zip, Big Shot goes around the Philippines and the region, highlighting his own mishaps with the various governments he encountered, his run-ins with technology, and his fight for democracy. While contemporary comics, such as *Kenkoy*, tackled the daily lives of the Filipino people, Big Shot's escapades were larger in scope. His themes centered on politics and the state making Big Shot a political commentary in the form of comics. This paper explores the world of Big Shot and Zelezny's method in using comics as a tool for educating readers about the political problems of the nation and the region.



Joanna Luisa Obispo

PORTRAYAL OF FILIPINO WOMEN IN TEN SELECTED TWENTIETH-CENTURY PHILIPPINE HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

“There is a growing recognition that textbooks and other learning materials are not totally free of bias and value judgments...probably most easily recognizable in history texts” (UNESCO Education 2002). For decades, feminist historians have challenged, debated, and attempted to transform the way history is and how it should be written. Contentions regarding the discrimination of women in textbooks encouraged the researcher to scrutinize Philippine history textbooks.

This paper examines women's roles from the pre-colonial to the contemporary period as presented in ten selected twentieth-century Philippine history textbooks, spanning the period from 1925 to 1999. Moreover, it touches on how despite the advocacies of women's movements since the early years of the 20th century, the stereotyped portrayal remains.



Yoshiko Nagano

**PASYON AND REVOLUTION AND
POSTCOLONIALISM: FROM GLENN MAY'S
CRITIQUE BY INVENTING A HERO TO THE
TRANSCULTURAL BATTLEFIELD OF ITS
JAPANESE TRANSLATION**

During the 1990s while the importance of multiculturalism was emphasized, the historically constructed collective memory in the nation-state was placed at the target of criticism. Since then the critical discussions on nationalism or collective memory have seemingly been the dominant discourse. Could we transcend national narrative through the cultural history approach? Could we obtain new historical consciousness through the cultural history that fragments the nation-state into multi-complex identity groups?

In order to answer these questions, this paper first argues the meaning of Glenn May's challenge against Filipino historians by his *Inventing a Hero* (1997), as one of the most striking examples as the hegemonic debate between American and Filipino scholarships in Philippine historiography. Second, the process of Japanese translation of *Pasyon and Revolution* is revisited (2004–2005) that I myself was involved as one of the translators. By doing so, the structure and significance of *Pasyon and Revolution* are analyzed from the perspectives of postcolonial studies. It is also shown how translation becomes a kind of transcultural intellectual battlefield, revealing the different stakes of Filipino and Japanese scholars in their approach to Philippine history.

CONSTRUCTING THE “MASSES” IN REYNALDO ILETO’S *PASYON AND REVOLUTION*

Joseph Scalice

In this paper I argue that Reynaldo Ileta's project in his work, *Pasyon and Revolution*, of reconstructing the ways in which the lower classes of the Philippines in the late nineteenth century perceived the world and their role within it failed to achieve its goal for several reasons. Ileta never clearly defined what class or classes constitute his amorphous analytical category “the masses.” He ignored how the source material which he studied was accessed through performance. As a result, Ileta read his sources as *texts*, in an elite manner, and reconstructed categories of perception with no demonstrable relationship to peasant or working class consciousness.

I attempt to carry forward Ileta's project in the light of this critique. I examine the legend of Bernardo Carpio in detail to demonstrate that when read with an attention to the significance derived from its performance, we arrive at a very different understanding of lower-class consciousness than that which Ileta found. Rather than a counterrational expression of peasant millenarianism, the legend was the “hidden transcript” of subversive historical memory. It celebrated the history of social banditry in the region.

I conclude with the argument that consciousness and perception, however carefully reconstructed, cannot in themselves explain dramatic historical events such as the Philippine revolution. To understand the causes of the Revolution and to account for the participation of the lower classes in it, we must give explanatory primacy to objective historical events and to the changes which occurred in the relations of production in the nineteenth-century Philippines. These changes shaped consciousness and transformed the ways in which people perceived the world.



Jason Gavilan

Day 2: Session V-C
9:00–10:30 am

“A HANGING FIRE”: MILITARY FILIPINO CIVILIAN LABOR, POSTCOLONIAL SUBJECTIVITIES, AND THE “U.S.–PHILIPPINE NATION,” 1945–1965

This paper examines cases of Filipino civilian workers in the US military from 1945 to 1965 under temporary and indefinite civilian contracts with US bases in the Philippines. As many as 9,985 Filipino civilians worked within each major US base in the Philippines, including Sangle Point, Subic Bay, and Clark Air Force Base. Okinawa, Guam, and elsewhere in Asia and the Pacific. They often worked in an array of manual and technical positions within these military bases. Such positions included storeroom keepers, security guards, food service managers, and classified correspondence technicians.

Taking a cue from the “history from below” methodology of Prof. Ileteo and other postcolonial scholars, this presentation explores case subject formations of these Filipino civilian workers and their varying degrees of postcolonial resistance, within militarized spaces. In particular, it assesses how these Filipino laborers shaped the bi-national imaginaries of the “U.S.–Philippine nation,” its politics of recognition during the period, and how the subject formations of these Filipinos were facilitated by the bi-national strictures of empire. Additionally, it examines how US and Philippine officials exercised their respective politics of recognition through daily and institutional interactions with these civilian laborers.

The paper posits that first, Filipino civilian workers were often marginalized within the militarized space by frequently being assigned to menial labor positions with minimal pay, made to fulfill duties that often went beyond regular work hours and provided with little if no benefits. Second, Filipino civilian workers sometimes resisted these conditions by writing personal letters of appeal to their officials or gathering petitions and political support from coworkers and local/national Philippine officials. Third, unilateral methods were anxiously utilized to enforce the bi-national imaginaries of equality and mutual friendship that shaped the “U.S.–Philippine nation.” While these interplays between structure and resistance reinforced the realities of neocolonialism shaping the “U.S.–Philippine nation” during the early Cold War, they also sparked further inquiry on the historical impact of more radical spaces and collectives of anticolonial resistance forged within and beyond this period.



Joanne V. Manzano

SECRETS OF THE SEAS: THE FILIPINO SEAFARERS IN RESISTANCE

Popular imagination conceives the Filipino seaman as someone who gets paid to travel around the world for free and having a lover at every port. Government reports and statistics portray sea-based migrants as modern heroes due to their contribution to the economy. However, conversations with seafarers reveal a picture different from prevalent representations.

Most Filipinos join a multinational crew under the supervision of a foreign captain, charterer, and/or ship owner. Sailing entails a hyperreality that encompasses several spaces at a given time. They work in oceans that limit their access to communication with and services from land-based institutions. While away, societies are said to be oblivious to them. This can easily result in the crew's vulnerability to various labor rights violations, especially from the captain and maritime capitalists.

The ship is a mobile kind of capital traversing different territories with distinct laws, politics, and cultures. Seafarers are believed to be more prone to abuse while navigating international waters, not part of any specific national territory or regulations, where "freedom of the high seas" applies. Fighting for justice can be complex. Victory can be won in a foreign court but the worker commonly faces the threat of being blacklisted when he goes home to the Philippines, left in the vast market of surplus labor waiting for another chance to work.

Struggling for rights is more complicated compared to land-based counterparts. Unlike employees who build solidarity through long-term interaction in the workplace, Filipino mariners join a different ship with a different crew each time they go on board. This poses a problem in developing enduring trust and unity for advocacy and campaign.

These labor conditions challenge seafarers to utilize the same ocean-space for resistance, resorting to various forms of struggle to overcome the limitations brought about by working at sea. One form is by introducing their experiences to people on land through life stories. These are accounts of seafarers' representations of themselves, Filipinos beyond stereotypes and numbers.



Francis Gealogo

**BEYOND CABESANG TALES/MATANGLAWIN:
SOCIAL BANDITRY, MASCULINITY, AND
IDENTITY IN LATE COLONIAL PHILIPPINES**

The phenomenon of social banditry has long been a feature in the social history of late colonial Philippines, represented in what Reynaldo Ileto would term the “underside” of Philippine history. Epitomized by the *tulisan*, the representations of social banditry in historical narratives and literary texts projected images that evoked both positive and negative representations that may be related to masculinity, identity formation, and social protest. The paper discusses social banditry both as a historical phenomenon in Tagalog society, and as a theme in some Tagalog historical literary texts. As a historical phenomenon, the existence of the *tulisan* signified the existence of the “other” in the colonial order. As a literary image, the *tulisan* usually embodied the obscure, mysterious, and shadowy characters portrayed either as a minor character or a major protagonist in a number of novels and plays produced during the late colonial period.



Marlon S. Delupio

**ANG SAKDAL SA HAMON NG DEKADA
TREINTA: ISANG PAGTINGIN SA SAKDALISMO
MULA SA PANANAW NG MGA MAKATANG
SAKDALISTA**

*Binigyan ang tao ng sariling Bayan
may bayan ang bawa't sa mundo'y lumitaw
ano't kami rito'y siyang agawan
ng lahat ng aming lupa't kayamanan?
Kami'y hindi tutol sa mga dayuhan
subali't kung dito'y sila ang sasakmal
habang kami nama'y siyang namamatay,
iyan ay lihis na sa santong katuwiran
at dapat baguhin ang pagsasamahan.*

Sa unang tatlong dekada (1900–1930) ng pananakop ng Amerikano sa bansa, itinala ang mga kaguluhan at pagtatatag ng iba't ibang kilusang panlipunan na yumanig sa kolonyal na pamunuan ng mga Amerikano sa bansa. May kinalaman ang ilan sa mga kaguluhan sa mga pagkilos ng mga obrero sa Maynila at pagsasagawa ng kilos-protesta ng mga magsasaka sa usaping agraryo sa iba't ibang lalawigan. Ang ilan sa mga nasabing kilusan ay ang Kapisanan Makabola Makasinag (1924–1925); pag-aalsa sa Tayug (1931); Tanggulan (1931) at mga Sakdalista (1934–1935). Mula sa mga nasabing kilusan, pinatotohanan na ang Sakdal ang pinakamalaki at pinakamalawakan sa lahat.

Pormal na isinilang ang samahan noong Hunyo 28, 1930, nang itinatag ni Benigno Ramos ang pahayagang *Sakdal*. Sa ilalim ng pamumuno ni Ramos na nakilala bilang isang magaling na makata at manunulat, mabilis lumago ang samahan at kumalat sa mga lalawigan tulad ng Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, La Union, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Rizal, at Tayabas (Quezon). Hinabi ng kilusan sa pamamagitan ng opisyal nitong pahayagan ang dalawang pangunahing layunin: (1) pambansang kasarinlan at (2) katarungang panlipunan. Sa pamamagitan ng pag-aanalisa ng ilang tulang kinatha ng mga karaniwang kasapi ng samahan na inilimbag ng pahayagang *Sakdal*, layunin ng papel na muling buhayin ang diwa at saloobin ng mga Sakdalista. Matutunghayan sa bawat saking ng tulang kinatha, ang diwa ng Sakdalismo na naging saligan ng samahan sa loob ng panahon ng kanilang pakikipagtunggali sa kolonyalismong Amerikano sa bansa.



George Emmanuel Borrinaga

PARA SA CAOPAYAN SAN CALAG (FOR THE GOOD OF THE SOUL): TEXT AND CONTEXT IN THE DIOS-DIOS AND PULAHAN MOVEMENTS OF SAMAR AND LEYTE, 1884-1911

This paper reexamines the Dios-Dios and Pulahan Movements in the Eastern Visayas, which straddled the late Spanish and early American periods. It focuses on the religious language used by the participants of these two related social movements which emerged parallel to the popular movements studied by Dr. Reynaldo Ileteo in *Pasyon and Revolution*. Using a phenomenological approach, it seeks to contextualize such language within the political, socioeconomic, and cultural conditions of the region during the period under study. The perspectives of the Dios-Dios and Pulahan as seen in their words and actions will be gleaned from archival and oral-historical sources. These will, then, be compared to novenas, *devocionarios*, and similar Church-sponsored texts hypothesized by Fr. John Schumacher as alternatives to the *pasyon* language outside the Tagalog region. The paper explores how the discourse found in these official religious literatures came to be subverted by local traditional healers (*tambalan*), thus becoming the basis for ideologies that would pose serious challenges to the Spanish and American colonial orders. It discusses the social context of a region, whose economy was primarily based on the export of abaca hemp, using more conventional sources such as official reports and chronicles, to shed light on how the two movements diverged from their contemporaries in other cash-crop based regional economies of the late–nineteenth and early–twentieth century Philippines.

**ACTIVITIES AND EFFECTS OF THE GENERAL
STAFF OFFICE OF JAPANESE IMPERIAL ARMY
IN THE PHILIPPINES 1899–1901**

Miyako Ueno

The great narrative of the history is based on the gathering of the small but important incidents. Therefore, focusing on these incidents is important to have a proper understanding of the great narrative. In July, 1905, the Taft-Katsura agreement was concluded. Consequently Japan recognized America's administration of the Philippines as a colony. The diplomatic reason provided for the agreement between America and Japan was explained in the context of the international situation at the turn of the century. However, the events that led America to conclude such an agreement with Japan is still unclear. This paper focuses on a small but important incident that occurred in the Philippines, using Philippine Insurgent Records (PIR). It will show that the activities of the General Staff Office (GSO) of the Japanese imperial army had a significant impact on Taft and American authorities in the Philippines. It will make clear, as well, how GSO members supported Filipino activists and the subsequent reaction of American authorities.



Karl Ian Uy Cheng Chua

KALIBAPI FAMILY: THE MODEL FAMILY FOR THE GREATER EAST ASIAN CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE

During World War II, the Japanese Imperial Army had implemented various programs and policies to win over the Filipinos. However, they realized that they were not successful in many of these attempts. They attributed this failure to the pervading influence of American culture among the Filipinos and attempted to eliminate such American influence. One of the strategies of the Imperial Army was to emphasize the Asian identity of the Filipinos so as to establish stronger Filipino linkages with the “Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere,” a concept espoused by Japan to justify their military expansion in Asia. Such a strategy emphasized the importance of Filipino values and practices, as well as the consumption of local products. Besides this strategy, the Japanese also attempted to win over Filipinos by promising independence to the Filipinos. However, such a promise of independence was conditional: the Filipinos had to cooperate with the Japanese to build this “New Philippines.” The comic strips in this paper will highlight these two strategies by the Japanese to win over Filipinos.



Akiko Sugiyama

**THEORETICAL VIEWS ABOUT THE FAMILY AND
ISSUES ON PERIODIZATION IN MODERN SOUTH-
EAST ASIAN HISTORY:
A CASE ON INDONESIAN HISTORY**

Recent historical research has made significant contributions to the development of theoretical views about the family. One such contribution, which has traced the origin of the modern world to a set of ideas and values collectively called “developmental paradigm,” analyzes the transition into the modern era as led by the evolving traits of family behavior and structure, most notably individualism and autonomy of family members, egalitarianism between the sexes, primarily nuclear households, and monogamous marriage formed by couples’ mutual consent. Since around the late-eighteenth century, the developmental paradigm became a philosophical foundation among intellectuals and policy makers to pursue their modernizing projects first in Europe and then in colonies overseas. As such, the aforementioned notions and practices of a modern family came to epitomize a model reality to be adopted by families in Europe and beyond. In marked contrast to the linear assessment of transition into the modern era in the developmental thinking, other theoretical views on the family have stressed continuity in the relationship between states and families. For example, Tony Day’s *Fluid Iron* characterized state formation in Southeast Asia from the classical period to the present as “familyism,” as taking place through kinship networks of marriage and alliance and the kin-term infusing ideologies of control which conceived de facto rulers and their ancestors as the father and mother-like protectors of their subjects.

Building on these preliminary observations, this paper explores the possibility of the loosely termed “family” as an analytical tool to examine issues of periodization and the nature of continuity and change in modern Southeast Asian history. The paper takes the case of Indonesian history during the period from around 1900 to 1945, which spanned two colonial regimes, that of the Dutch (1900-1942) and the Japanese (1942-1945), and also encompassed the years of critical developments in Indonesia’s nationalism, leading to the declaration of independence on 17 August 1945. During this period, Dutch and Japanese policy makers as well as educated Indonesians in Java aspired to make their understandings of the family a linchpin of the modern state and society. Nonetheless, colonial and nationalist understandings of “family” were diverse and fluid, with commentators often opting to employ alternative vocabularies, such as “marriage”, “housing”, and “household”. Such relative absence of “family” (or *keluarga* in Indonesian), in turn, calls into question conceptual and epistemological constructs embedded in the prevailing theoretical views about the family.



Vincenz Serrano

Day 2: Session VI-C
10:45 am–12:15 pm

MONTAGE AND NONLINEAR EMPLOTMENT IN JOSE F. LACABA'S "THE ANNOTATED CATECHISM"

I aim to examine "The Annotated Catechism" (1970), a long poem by Filipino poet Jose F. Lacaba (1945-), with regard to the way in which its use of montage interrogates linear and developmentalist discourses of Martial Law. Published in *Philippines Free Press* a year before Martial Law (1971–1982), "*The Annotated Catechism*" offers a dystopic view of Manila, where mansions stand next to hovels, where "political power grows / out of the color of your money" and where even though the "[w]orld turns worm / turns sun rises sun sets . . . nothing changes."

Lacaba's key aesthetic device is montage: this approach enables him, using American literary critic Jahan Ramazani's terms, to "aesthetically encode intersections among multiple cultural vectors." I offer two arguments. First, I claim that montage—which emphasizes rapid shifts in attention, multiple addressees, fractured perspectives, and discrepant temporalities—enables Lacaba to articulate intersections and collisions among social, cultural, and political vectors during the period. This aspect of my paper takes its cue from German literary and cultural critic Walter Benjamin. For Benjamin, montage—a strategy where the "smallest individual moment[s]" evoke "the crystal of the total event"—results in an "assembl[y] of large-scale constructions out of the . . . most precisely cut components." The assemblage of discrete moments in "The Annotated Catechism," in other words, is an expression—in distilled, crystalline form—of Lacaba's historical moment.

Second, I argue that such a form exemplifies what Filipino historian Reynaldo Ileto calls "non-linear emplotment." This approach aims to place in the foreground elements which "linear history tends to conceal": interruptions, repetitions, and resistances. The use of montage in poetry, therefore, when seen from the perspective of nonlinear emplotment in historiography, stands in opposition to linear and developmentalist conceptions of the Philippines privileged by the Martial Law government.



Francisco Roman F. Guevara

**THE PARADIGM OF RESISTANCE:
A STUDY OF *LETRAS Y FIGURAS* IN
EMMANUEL LACABA'S POEM "THE DEATH
CYCLE" AND MARC GABA'S STUDY POEMS
FROM THE BOOK *HAVE***

This paper aims to reconsider the radical tradition of Filipino poetic practice from Jose Honorato Lozano's invented form *Letras y figuras* (Letters and figures) in the mid-nineteenth century to Emmanuel Lacaba's *The Death Cycle* (1976) to Marc Gaba's "studies" from his book *Have* (2011).

The radical moment in Lozano's invented form *Letras y figuras* is evident in the historical circumstances of its invention. In 1849, a decree from Captain-General Narciso Claveria required colonial subjects to have surnames, therefore families were forced to choose from Spanish names prepared by the government while names belonging to the elite or the noble class of pre-colonial times were forbidden.

The form *Letras y figuras* is dependent on the name of the person who occasioned the work together with the foreground and background of everyday life in relation to the painted name. While names are the primary material used for the form, they are a circumstance of a resistant albeit multivalent surface. When the viewer stands far enough to see the name, s/he is obstructed from the relation of everyday life inside the letters in relation to the painting's background. When the viewer looks closely at the painting to access the relationship between the figures in the letters in relation to the background of the painting, s/he is obstructed from the relationship between the name and the background. While one can read the form as an attempt to reinforce the symbolic implications of naming into the subjectivity of its colonial subjects, one can read the obstructions created by the form as a form of resistance because of how the viewing engagement created by the form's surfaces never allow the name to settle in relation to its frame. This paper will argue for the strategic deferral of the aforementioned form's reading engagement as a paradigm for the poetry of Emmanuel Lacaba and Marc Gaba in order to begin mapping a radical tradition of Filipino poetry in English.



Ellaine Rose A. Beronio

THE MANANANGGAL OF MORATO: WRITING HOMOSEXUALITY INTO NATION

The struggles of the women's movement and the work of feminist scholars have brought to fore the gendered character of the writing of history, contributing not only to the development of alternative histories but also to a broader understanding of the workings of gender hierarchies. Such efforts, however, have remained largely heterocentric, ignoring the heteronormative discourses that structure their articulations. LGBT scholars and artists have produced works that call heteronormativity into question and elucidate nonheterosexuals' position and participation in society. This paper examines Ricky Lee's novel *Amapola sa 65 Kabanata*'s articulation of the relation between (homo)sexuality and the nation. Not marketed to gay readers in particular and wearing its pop culture heart on its sleeve, the novel, whose protagonist is a *bakla*, *manananggal*, and prophesied savior of the Philippines, reimagines the 1896 Revolution to include what has been cast out by straight society and colonial religion, thereby reinvisioning the subject and agent of history. The paper analyzes the rhetoric of visibility and identity in the work of inscribing marginalized sexualities in narratives of the nation. It argues for the critical interrogation of constructions of homosexuality, the workings of sexual discourse, and sexuality's engagement with other relations of power in the making of the Philippine nation.



Michael Charleston
"Xiao" B. Chua

**PASYON, PISTA, PAKIKIBAKA!
ANG PAG-AANGKIN NG EBANGHELYO SA
LABAN NG URBAN POOR ASSOCIATES
PARA SA PABAHAY SA MGA MARALITANG
TAGALUNGSOD**

Karl Marx said that religion is the opium of the masses, implying to some that religion is an obstacle to liberation. Reynaldo Ileteo's book *Pasyon and Revolution* was important not only for emphasizing "history from below" as a historical methodology but also for stressing that Filipino spirituality was instrumental in various social movements during the nineteenth century including the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

This pattern, as shown by Ileteo, can still be seen in different contemporary struggles for freedom, including the EDSA People Power Revolt of 1986. The paper will discuss how the urban poor sectors of Metro Manila perform during Advent, *Panunuluyan*, the re-enactment of the finding of the inn by Christ's parents, and during Lent, *Kalbaryo*, commemorating Christ's death and passion as a form of protest or reminder to government of their responsibilities to help the poor. As offered by the *Pasyon* narrative of the finding of the manger and of the resurrection of Christ from death, these cultural and religious practices give the message of hope to the marginalized so they can be inspired to continue fighting for decent homes toward real freedom from poverty.



Kevin Fogg

Day 2: Session VII-A
1:15–3:15 pm

POPULAR RELIGION AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN HISTORY BEYOND THE PHILIPPINES

The influence of Reynaldo Iletto's masterpiece *Pasyon and Revolution* has been felt far beyond the historiography of the Philippines and popular Catholicism; it changed thinking on popular religion and political movements in Southeast Asian studies more generally. This paper examines the echoes of Iletto's work in the historiography of Vietnam, Burma, and especially Indonesia, to show how ideas about popular religion inspiring political and social action have now become a major focus of scholarship. While this paper also points to some contemporaries of Iletto whose work also addressed themes such as local rebellions and religious nationalism (such as Sartono Kartodirdjo and Michael Adas), emphasis is placed on the unique insights of Iletto's work and its influence on a current generation of scholarship. Of particular interest are the focus on historical actors among the common people, nonelite narratives of political movements, and popular religious understandings of national movements. Finally, the paper points out some fields where other historians of Southeast Asia have not yet fully integrated the lessons of *Pasyon and Revolution*, with hopes that scholarship might grow in these areas.

THOMISTIC FORTITUDE IN *PASYON AND REVOLUTION*

Monica Jalandoni

Reynaldo Ileteo's work on the influence that the *Pasyon* had on the peasant masses supports my claim that Filipinos as a society possess the inclination to Thomistic fortitude. Unlike Aristotle, who encouraged a very martial sort of courage, Thomas Aquinas was concerned with the endurance of suffering that enabled people to remain steadfast and hold to the good. The two Filipino concepts that Ileteo elaborates on, *damay* and *loob*, incline people to fortitude. More than simply an experience of suffering, in *damay* the common folk construe their suffering as participation in the passion of Jesus Christ and this experience of solidarity moves them to act in ways that imitate him. Imitation of Jesus Christ in his passion is precisely what Thomas hoped for in choosing Christ's passion as the model of fortitude. The Filipinos believed that to triumph as Christ did necessitates a transformation of their *loob* to one that is firm and able to withstand trials and temptations. Their emphasis on a steadfast *loob* correlates strongly with Thomas's insistence that the virtuous person develop fortitude, firmness of soul. This paper will use Ileteo's *Pasyon and Revolution* together with Thomas Aquinas's treatise on fortitude as the foundation for a retrieval of fortitude from philosophical, Christian and Filipino contexts that contributes toward the flourishing and equality of all.



Jovino Miroy

FILIPINO PHILOSOPHY, POPULAR RELIGION, AND CULTURAL CHANGE

The philosophy of religion aims to do a critical reflection on religion both as an institution and an experience. Sources and methods range from Scholastic and contemporary Christian Philosophy that argue for God's existence to Philosophical and Atheistic Humanism that demonstrate the psychogenesis of religion. On the one hand, global religious behaviors show that, even within the same religious tradition, religious institutions and experiences are not univocal and monolithic. This might explain the growing irrelevance of doing the philosophy of religion, especially those that intend to defend religious belief against a secular and atheistic culture. In other words, traditional and western sources and methods in the philosophy of religion have proved to be deficient in addressing the Histories of religions. Moreover, the emergence of the history from below and cultural studies, have made the human science turn to serious consideration of popular literature, media studies, as well as folk traditions. In the Philippines, the foremost example of this is Reynaldo Ileteo's *"Pasyon and Revolution."* These developments force those engaged in the philosophy of religion, especially in Asia, to ask how philosophical discourse on religion should engage popular consciousness. Thus, this study wishes to ask the following specific questions: Could (Filipino) philosophy treat popular religion more positively? How would the philosophy of religion be enriched by an encounter with popular religion in the Philippines? Given the notion of (Filipino) philosophy as contribution to democracy, what is the role of popular religion in cultural change, conceived as evolution of mental models and social enactments? Ultimately, the paper would like to ask whether the notion of cultural change necessarily involves the critique of popular religion.



Ariel Cusi Lopez

**FAMILY AND POLITICS IN MAGUINDANAO, CA.
1680–1760**

This essay recasts the historical narrative of eighteenth century Maguindanao by focusing on the political rivalry between the members of its ruling family. In particular it reconstructs, mainly through hitherto unutilized VOC (Dutch East India Company) sources, the rivalry between Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar (r. 1702-1736) and the *raja muda* (later Sultan) Jafar Sadiq Manamir (r. 1710-1733) and the concomitant economic and geopolitical ramifications of this rivalry. In so doing, this essay dilutes the upland-lowland (Sa-Raya/ Sa-Ilud) dichotomy as an explanatory tool for Maguindanao political history. It shows that in the early eighteenth century, there was no singular upland-lowland divide, but rather there was an effective alliance between one faction of the lowland Maguindanao sultanate under Bayan and the coastal Iranuns, upland Buayan and archipelagic Sulu. By looking into the political function of traditional family networks, this paper also suggests some probable clues into the “conundrum” of Iranun mass migration to the Sulu archipelago.



Cesar A.M. Suva

**Day 2: Session VII-B
1:15–3:15 pm**

ALL THE SULTAN'S MEN: REACTIONS TO AMERICAN COLONIAL RULE IN SULU, 1899–1920

The Sulu Sultanate, at the start of American colonial rule in the Philippines in 1899, had already been reduced from its prominence as a trade and manpower based “mandala” state earlier in the nineteenth century, to a Spanish protectorate with a high degree of internal autonomy. Its sultan, Jamalul Kiram II, however, persisted with claims of absolute authority over his people as he attempted to negotiate a new treaty of autonomy with the newly arrived Americans. Open conflict between datus or chiefs in Cagayan Jolo and defiance from influential leaders such as datu Kalbi and Joakanain highlighted the divisions within the Tausug political elite and belied to the Americans the true diffuseness of power in Sulu. Why, despite the sultan’s pretensions, was the Tausug elite so fragmented at the arrival of the Americans? What impact did this have on Sulu’s incorporation into the new colonial state? Through an examination of transcripts of dialogues between Tausug leaders and the Americans, US military reports as well as local oral histories, this study will propose that in addition to his decreasing economic prestige, the Sultan’s inability to grasp the reality of his situation and his attempts to preserve the pretensions of the sultanate backfired, resulting in dissatisfaction amongst key members of his elite as well as the distrust of the Americans. The datus alternately sought to individually preserve their own power either by aligning themselves with the Americans, as Hadji Butu did, or exploiting the power vacuum by establishing themselves within their communities through acts of defiance, as did Panglima Hassan. This fragmentation of power and the way the Americans reacted to it, however, allowed Tausug communities to preserve their system of loyalty to individual datus. This may have helped slow the encroachment of the colonial state upon Sulu’s social and political structures, reflecting a condition of relative anarchy that has similarly aided other ‘marooned’ Southeast Asian societies on the borderlands limit the penetration of the colonial, and consequently the independent nation state.



Patricia Irene Dacudao

SUBVERSIVES AND TRAITORS IN THE REALM OF RESETTLEMENT POLICIES IN THE 1930S

In the 1930s, two marginalized groups, peasants in Central Luzon and farmer-settlers in Mindanao, rose to national prominence, mainly through reports in Manila-based newspapers. In an era of strong nationalist sentiment, these two groups were reported in the papers as subversives or as puppets of foreign masters and traitors to the country. In the midst of these negative depictions, this paper studies the response of the Commonwealth government toward these two “problems,” and looks at each group’s role in the creation of an ambitious and expensive resettlement project by the government. Were they actors or pawns, agitators or reactionaries, in the formulation of a national agenda on opening up of the Mindanao frontier, fostering mobility among Filipinos, during the Commonwealth era?



Alton Carl Carroll

**CORDILLERANO AND LUMAD PEOPLES:
A HISTORY FROM BELOW IN CIVIL–MILITARY
CONFLICTS**

This paper proposes to discuss *Pasyon and Revolution's* influence upon my own research and writing on indigenous and tribal soldiers in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and ultimately on Cordillerano and Lumad peoples and their place in ideas of nationhood in the Philippines. The paper will outline a portion of a future book of mine, comparing Cordillerano and Lumad experiences, especially their recruitment by the military, under both American colonialism and Filipino governments since independence. I will also discuss *Pasyon and Revolution's* influence on my writings on indigenous people of Latin America and North America, especially the use of religious consciousness and symbolism by subaltern peoples.

Anna Melinda
Testa-de Ocampo

**TRAVEL AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN CHIRINO'S
*RELACION DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS***

Written as a report to his Jesuit superiors, the *Relacion* of Fr. Chirino combines travel writing, ethnography, and the writing of history. The report covered twenty years of the Jesuit missions to the Philippines in 1581–1600. This paper examines the representations of the early Filipinos through the gaze of one of the foremost historians on the Philippines in this period. Using the framework of Michel Foucault and Hayden White, the *Relacion* presents an ambivalent view of a Jesuit fulfilling God's will, while at the same time recognizing the need to convert and to educate the "pagans." As the text was written as an *historia* or inquiry and as a travel narrative, this paper hopes to interrogate the "pregeneric plot structure" that Chirino had in mind in writing the text.



Michael D. Pante

Day 2: Session VII-C
1:15–3:15 pm

THE JOKE AND JOKER OF MANILA SOCIETY: *KUWENTONG KUTSERO* IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Kuwentong kutsero is a colloquial and pejorative Tagalog term that refers to an exaggerated story or claim. Taken at face value, this popular expression, which literally translates to coachman stories, suggests that *cocheros* are notorious in Tagalog-speaking societies for spreading tall tales that range from the hilarious to the outrageous. This paper is an attempt to understand the social significance behind this term using historical and literary sources. From the late nineteenth century to the early postwar years, a period that corresponds to Manila's gradual shift to a motorized land-based transportation system, *cocheros* became the butt of jokes as they were being increasingly marginalized. Descriptions of *cocheros* were often added as comic relief or exotic curiosities in travel accounts written by Western visitors. Mainstream newspapers featured *cocheros* in caricatured forms in editorial cartoons that dealt with the ills of Manila society. That they became the joke of Manila is a testament to their ubiquity in society, as evinced in their visibility in various literary forms such as Jose Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*, Lope K. Santos's *Banaag at Sikat*, and Epifanio Matute's *Kuwentong kutsero*. These literary works, however, reveal something more. I argue that the term *kuwentong kutsero* can be linked to the *cocheros*' reputation as a source of unorthodox forms of knowledge. This stems from their specific positionality, defined in this paper in terms of both their literal proximity vis-à-vis their passengers, which gives them access to the more private aspects of their customers' and employers' lives, and as well as their socioeconomic status as the face of urban Manila's working class. *Cocheros*, for a time, were Manila's pedestrian philosophers.



Laurence Marvin S. Castillo

**THE (ANTI) COLONIAL SONG OF JUAN TAMAD
DIDACTICISM AND SUBVERSION IN
THE METRICAL ROMANCE *BUHAY NA
PINAGDAANAN NI JUAN TAMAD NA ANAC
NI FABIO AT NI SOFIA SA CAHARIAN NANG
PORTUGAL***

In 1920, a version of the Juan Tamad story entitled *Buhay na Pinagdaanan ni Juan Tamad na Anac ni Fabio at ni Sofia sa Caharian nang Portugal* was printed by J. Martinez in Intramuros. Like many corridos and awit printed during the eighteenth until the twentieth century, the identity of the author of the said metrical romance remained unknown. Despite this and by virtue of the positioning of its emergence within the interregnum between the weakening colonial power of Spain and the threatening conquest of the United States of America in the Philippines, this poetic narrative of Juan Tamad invites a reading that involves discovering its literary sources and influences as a cultural product that emerged from the cultural space of a country slowly recovering from the tumult of more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. Such reading allows the tracing of Juan Tamad's discursification from an offspring of the precolonial *pusong* or trickster hero who functioned to interrogate the exclusive consolidation of power, then a bearer of colonial didacticism, gathering extensive moralizing and instructive semantics from clerical and secular texts like *Urbana at Feliza* and *Doctrina Christiana*, to a cultural symbol that gave birth to the semanticization of indolence as a symptom of a social malady that afflicted Jose Rizal's generation and continuously plagues the contemporary period hounded by *noinoying*.



Louie Jon A. Sanchez

ARCHIPELIGIALITY AND THE *PASYON*

The various editions of the *Pasyon*, from the benchmarking “*Mahal na Passion ni Jesu-Christong Panginoon natin na Tola*” (1704) of Gaspar Aquino de Belen, to the current and still widely used *Pasyong Pilapil*, have become very important master-texts in the explication of the Philippine literary canon, and even in the understanding of Philippine culture. In the 1970s, scholar Reynaldo Ileto reread the *Pasyon* as formative of the popular revolutionary consciousness. The *Pasyon*’s textuality has certainly transcended its dynamic, becoming not merely a retelling [and/or (moral/spiritual) re-imagination] of the Christian myth instituted to displace our earlier (pagan/animist) fictions (the poet-critic and National Artist for Literature Virgilio S. Almario calls the process as “intrusions”), but also a performative cultural practice, a traditional utterance and a sign post of foreign culture assimilated in the continuing national narrative. In this paper, notions of “archipelicality”, or the geocultural conceptualization of the Philippine island nation, would be utilized to reread the *Pasyon* as a text that first embodied, in its epical length, the revisioning of the Philippines as a colony through suppression in the name of God. The exploratory postcolonial paper seeks to explain the processes, interrogations, and integrations of these colonial revisions from “within” and from “without” the text, consequently elucidating key ideas that would further show the nature of archipelicality as an agency of conquest in the Philippines. Much had been said about the *Pasyon*’s power of cultivating the primal ideas of freedom and the collective reading of salvation as liberty in its mass audience. This paper desires to look into the earlier scholarly conclusions about the text by re-locating these notions within issues of geoculture.



Mark Dizon

***SUMPONG* AS A NONLINEAR EMPLOTMENT OF HISTORY**

In psychology, *sumpong* is considered a deviant behavior that is irrational. In the spirit of Reynaldo Ileto's historical studies that make sense of seemingly irrational peasant movements by situating them within the framework of folk Christianity, this paper makes sense of *sumpong* by putting it in the historical context of animism, specifically that of eighteenth-century Ilongots and Aetas of central Luzon. As a form of perception and action, historical *sumpong* is temporally flat since past, present and future do not succeed one another in a linear fashion. The paper explores the role of *sumpong* in cases of murder and conversion to Christianity.



Nancy Kimuell-Gabriel

Day 2: Session VIII-A
3:30–4:30 pm

ANG PINAGMULAN NG SALITANG KALAYAAN

Iminumungkahi ng pag-aaral na ito na hindi nanggaling ang *laya* sa *layao* bagamat magkaugnay o “maggpinsang” dalumat ang mga naturang salita. Ang sabay nilang pag-iral ay katunayan na hindi maaaring galing ang *laya* sa *layao*. May mga patunay na ginagamit na ng balana ang salitang *layá*, mula kay Raha Laya (1521), at sa mga katagang *ilaya-iraya-idaya* ng iba’t ibang grupong etniko at malaki ang probabilidad na ang *laya* ay kaugnay ng *daya* ng ibat ibang wika sa Pilipinas, *raya* ng Bahasa Malay at Indonesia, at *meraya* ng Iban. Nangangahulugan ito na naririto na ang dalumat at kataga sa malaong nagdaan at may batayan pa nga sa kabuuang kalinangang Austronesyano. Maraming kataga noon ang hindi kaagad makakapasok sa mga diksyunaryo subalit naririyon na sa komunidad pangwika ng iba’t ibang grupong etniko.

Gayunman, umaayon ito sa obserbasyon ni Ileta na nagkaroon ito ng konotasyong pulitikal sa ika-19 na dantaon lamang. Hindi dahil wala tayong konsepto ng kalayaan. Ipinaliliwanag ng papel na sa matagal na panahon, ang orihinal na dalumat ng bayan sa kalayaan ay ang *katimawaan*. Sa yugto ng himagsikan, sabay na ginagamit ang *katimawaan* at kalayaan sa dating kahulugan ng *katimawaan* – ang paglaya mula sa pang-aalipin. At ito’y maisasakatuparan lamang sa pamamagitan ng himagsikan. Positibo pa ang idyolohikal na gamit ni Bonifacio sa *katimawaan* na palaging naghahanap ng kataga at dalumat na maiintindihan ng pinakamalawak na bilang ng sangKapilipinuhan. Pero *kalayaan* na ang gamit ni Jacinto, na nagsabing bago pa ang salita (sa konotasyong pulitikal nito) at kakaunti pa lamang ang dito’y lubos na nakauunawa, kahit ang artikulasyon niya ay pareho rin ng dinadalumat na *katimawaan* ni Bonifacio. Sa bandang huli, mas magiging popular ang *kalayaan*, na makakapasok sa kauna-unahang pagkakataon sa mga diksyunaryo nina Calderon at Serrano-Laktaw noong 1914–1915.



Theresa Ventura

WHO CURED BERIBERI? WHAT A UNITED STATES HISTORIAN LEARNED FROM ILETO

Reynaldo Iletto's seminal *Pasyon and Revolution* placed peasants at the center of the Philippine Revolution, offering a "view from below" of events previously understood as elite-led. The 1979 work both mirrored and anticipated the social history that historians of the United States would develop in the 1980s. The temporal convergence of Iletto's work with US social history make it all the more remarkable that US historians working on the American period in the Philippines have yet to offer a social history of the occupation—one that accounts for the vast and varied experiences of peasants and working peoples and the ways in which such peoples influenced the American state. In its stead, US-based historians have focused on interactions between American administrators and elites (two upstanding works in this vein are Cullinane's political history and Kramer's postcolonial cultural history) and, as Iletto criticized in *Knowing America's Colony* (1999) and *Orientalism and the Study of Philippine Politics* (2001), too often view these interactions through the problematic lens of patron-client networks. This paper offers two ways in which Iletto's example and criticism might inform US historians seeking to better understand the reciprocal and complicated relationship between Americans and Filipinos. Doing so may place Philippine knowledge and practices at the center of new global histories.

First, it suggests that an integration of environmental history with postcolonial history is, quite literally, a way to write history from the "ground up". Here, I build upon Iletto's 1985 demonstration of how *gutom* swayed the revolutionary fighting in Western Batangas to consider how commercial agriculture, years of war, and American land policy, from the Torrens registry to the creation of forest reserves, forced small farmers to migrate ("Food Crisis During the Revolution: Western Batangas, 1897-98"). The Bureau of Lands categorized these poor migrants as *kaingeros* and, unsuccessfully, sought ways to restrict their access to forest goods. Second, a case study of beriberi, the severe thiamine deficiency born of commercially milled rice and mono-cropping, shows that long before Euro-American doctors had a conceptual understanding of vitamins Filipinos had used a tincture made of discarded rice hulls called *tiqui-tiqui* for protection against the disease. The American appropriation of *tiqui-tiqui* would result in a revolution in nutritional knowledge. The policing of migrants and the creation of modern nutrition both led to new approaches and ideas about the human body, poverty, aid and development that would dramatically reshape the post-World War II international order. Thus Iletto's ongoing contribution to Philippine and US history not only enriches our understanding of the past but also shows how the figure of the peasant came to dominate modern development theory.

**AT THE INTERSECTION OF “BELOW”
AND “ABOVE”: TRANSNATIONAL
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH
AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Yoshiya Makita

This paper examines the global circulation of modern ideas on health and hygiene at the turn of the twentieth century through an analysis of the institutionalization process of public health measures in the Caribbean and Pacific islands. Since the “Spanish-American-Philippine War” in 1898, the US Army had continuously sent its physicians and nurses to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. While working at army hospitals and camps, the American medical staff set up public health programs for indigenous people in these islands as well. Initially launched by the US military administration and later transferred to the civilian governments, these programs and other hygiene measures mobilized a large number of American physicians and nurses for their enforcement in local communities.

The previous historiography of colonial medicine has pointed out much about the transmission of Western ideas on health and hygiene to colonized areas. Yet, institutionalization of public health measures in the Caribbean and Pacific islands did not mean unilateral imposition of Americanized notions of health and hygiene. In the midst of the devastation of intermittent battles, those colonized reinterpreted the American sanitary programs in their own words and often appropriated these novel medical ideas for their own ends. As Reynaldo Ileto vividly described in *Pasyon and Revolution*, indigenous people possessed a unique system of meanings, through which they understood disastrous events of armed conflicts and drove themselves for revolutionary efforts. While Ileto methodologically paved the way toward history as seen from “below,” this paper reveals that institutionalization of public health in the Caribbean and Pacific islands occurred at the intersection of “below” and “above,” through an interaction of colonizers and the colonized inbetween the different systems of meanings. Through both comparative and causative analysis on the circulation of medical ideas and practices in the Caribbean and Pacific islands, this paper illuminates geopolitics of medicine and hygiene at the turn of the twentieth century from transnational perspectives.



Katherine G. Lacson, MA

SELLING THE IMAGE: GRAPHIC AND LIWAYWAY PRINT ADS AND THE MANILEÑA, 1924–1940

When the Philippines was ceded to the United States by Spain, it opened a new chapter in the country's history. Colonization brought in development in the urbanization and modernization of Manila and the women that reside in it. Commerce specifically in trade instigated changes not only in the economy but also in the cultural face of the Manileña.

American products became subtle cultural artifacts that changed the lifestyle of the Manileña's everyday life. These products entered the Manileña's realm through print advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Print ads became one of the more useful cultural artifacts that subtly propagated a culture that was American. This was very much evident in the utilization of the products and the change in the look and lifestyle. Print advertisements in the 1920's created a new Manileña image through the material culture embedded within its contents. Women came out of their cocoon and started hobnobbing with men in different arenas, cut their hair short, started using cosmetics to emphasize their looks and downplay their weak areas. They preferred white flawless skin and utilized beauty products to recreate a beautiful brown American. Even though they were given the "gift of modernity" women actually became stuck with more black and white stereotypes and these images were constantly affirmed in the print ads where women were often shown as either consumers making decisions or as part of the intangible rewards that go with the product. They were still single women looking for a man, housewives whose main purpose in life is to take care of their family and household or they were sex objects for the male viewing pleasure. It created both a sense of freedom from old stereotypes and images but it also constructed new images that became a gilded cage for women.

**FASHION, REVOLUTION, AND NATIONALISM:
THE SEMIOTICS OF FASHIONALISM IN THE
PHILIPPINES AND BEYOND**

Schedar D. Jocson

Fashionalism, a term coined by fashion designer Rhett Eala, is a conjunction of two words: fashion and nationalism. Fashionalism refers, then, to designs and clothes that use the Philippines' national symbols and/or icons. As a fashion trend, fashionalism makes uses of images of Jose Rizal, the Philippine flag or the Philippine map as a design put on shirts, caps, jackets and even rubber shoes.

The paper looks at how the Philippine society, through and influenced by the fashion industry as well as the media, is being forced to make Philippine patriotism as a commodity. Analyzing the historical context of the late 1980s until the present, the study shows how various nationalistic aspirations of the Philippine society, in general, has shaped and reshaped the thinking of the Filipinos about nationalism. Clothing companies, such as Collezione C2, Pidro Shirts and Spoofs Unlimited, have initially capitalized on such a trend from the 1987 EDSA People Power until the centennial celebration of the declaration of Philippine independence in 1998.

A new clothing company, Team Manila, in 2001 launched its own series of fashionalism. Using Jose Rizal, they reinvented the image of Jose Rizal and made him more up-to-date by putting aviator glasses, a cap and the national hero using a mobile phone and earphones (ITouch). Such was the success of the design that it was used by numerous clothing companies like Bench and SM's Kultura.

The concept of nationalism, consumerism and identity, and pride of race has shaped the Filipinos' thinking of what should be nationalistic. However, the paper argues that given a limited time and the fast changes in the fashion industry, fashionalism will eventually fade and be out-dated. Alongside being out-dated, being nationalistic will also suffer.