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Reinhard Wendt



Jesuit padres reported to Rome from the Philippines at the beginning of the 17th century that festivals were organized in their mission-parishes with as much ceremony, diversity and entertainment as possible. The purpose was to promote an impressive image of the grandeur and splendor of the Catholic Church, to anchor the Christian message more strongly in the minds of the population, and to outshine through extravagance and color the pre-colonial festival culture and customs.¹ Members of the Order made every effort to attract not only the local population, but also people from neighboring and far-flung districts. During the early phase of the Spanish colonial era, and at later times in regions where populations that had been converted to Christianity bordered non-Christian peoples, these fiestas often included members of "pagan" or Muslim ethnic groups.

At the middle of the 17th century a Jesuit reported to Rome how Moros, motivated by curiosity, came to visit the church of Zamboanga (ARSI, Philipp. 7:1, fol. 375). In order to ensure that the fascination of the exotic and unusual left a lasting impression, the padres covered the roof of the house of worship with clay tiles, a symbol of status and the highest splendor in that part of the world, as the Jesuit chronicler Combés (1897) noted, and marked the completion of the building works with a spectacular festival featuring fireworks and bullfights. The Easter ceremonies of the year 1641 in Zamboanga were

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attended by a number of *principales* from the region, who came to see for themselves how the Christians celebrated the memory and the story of the Passion and death of Christ. The Masses, the Holy Sepulcher which had been erected in the church, and in particular the processions on Good Friday and on the morning of Easter Sunday had the desired effect. The guests were much impressed by what they saw and began asking questions about the meaning of the events, which the padres were only too eager to explain (ARSI, Philipp. 8, fol. 16-17).

In contrast to their approach in Latin America, in the Philippines the Spaniards based their occupation not so much upon military force as upon rather more peaceful, or at least less bloody, subjugation strategies. Charged with their implementation was the Catholic Church, and in particular the various religious orders. As part of their campaign to win the Filipinos for Christendom and at the same time to bind them to the nascent colonial state, the Spaniards were faced with the task of encouraging an indigenous population living in scattered settlements to move into enclosed localities, called *reducciones*. This was necessary if they were to Christianize and Hispanize the native population, which was at the heart of colonial policy throughout the Spanish Empire. Only in an urban environment, the Spaniards believed, were people able to develop their full potential (Phelan 1967, 44; Cuesta 1974, 35-36), and only in well-structured settlements was it possible to exercise the controls which the development of a new socio-cultural order required. The American historian John Leddy Phelan (1967, 47) noted that in the perusal of these policies the religious orders relied heavily on specific enticement techniques. The most important lure, he stated, was "the colorful ritual of the Church," in particular the feast of the patron saint, but also religious festivals such as Easter, Corpus Christi or Christmas as well as festivals for special occasions such as the consecration of a church building or the canonization of a member of an order.

Although the native inhabitants were subjected to pressure of varying degrees in order to persuade them to abandon their traditional settlements, and although this occasionally involved the use of physical force, the main emphasis was laid on attraction-strategies.² The Jesuits displayed their agricultural skills, craftsmanship or medical knowledge (Aduarte 1962; 1963, 1:164, 166; de la Costa 1961, 160-65), built schools and hospitals, and above all used the ceremony, color and entertainment value of Church festivals in order to found and reinforce the new settlements necessitated by colonial interests.³

During the fiesta period, people were drawn from near and far into the main settlements of the reduction areas by the lure of these unusual attractions. In these places people celebrated together; Christians went to confession, took Holy Communion, heard sermons, everyone attended theater performances or enjoyed the spectacle of fireworks displays. Little by little the process of resettlement began to gain momentum.

However, the role of the fiesta in the service of Spanish power was not limited merely to the reinforcement of administrative structures. Jesuits and others used the pomp and circumstance of these festivals to carry their concepts of the true faith, of civilized life and of a political order ordained by God, into the most remote areas of the colony. They were deliberately deployed to ensure collective attitudes and behavior conformed to those of the colonial power. Containing both didactic and entertaining elements, these festivals disseminated the new faith, values and ways of life. Success was dependent upon the fiestas becoming the socio-cultural high points of the year. The festival architecture and façade decorations played a part in this, lending the settlements for a few days a particular aesthetic fascination, or the singing and music which now rang out everywhere. Priests donned their splendid robes. Lighted processions with illuminated festival carriages bearing pictures of the saints, bejeweled and wreathed with flowers, glowing in the light of candles and oil-lamps, were an awe-inspiring spectacle. Song and dance, theater and zarzuela performances, fancy-dress parades, balls and festival banquets, fireworks and cockfights, sporting competitions and tests of skill, as well as fairs, agricultural shows and trade displays increased the attraction of the festivities further still.⁴

In the multitude of people which flocked together on these occasions the Jesuits found an eager audience for their ideas and teachings. Their sermons were heard by an unusually large number of listeners. The people pressed forward in front of the confessionals, which boosted the sanctioning, disciplining and norm-fixing effect of this sacrament.⁵ Instead of merely preaching the Christian message from the pulpit, or enforcing its norms in the confessional, the *padres* were also able to dress this message in the processions, songs, dance or plays, in festival decoration and architecture, or even in pyrotechnics. Small bamboo canons were not only fired to produce noise, they also saluted Madonna and the saints, marked with their explosions the highlights of a Mass and accompanied processions. On the occasion of the canonization festivities for Francisco Javier and

Ignacio de Loyola at Manila in the early seventeenth century, fireworks drew images of the saints against the night sky. With fire and flaming sword they attacked heresy, unbelief and vice, all of which appeared as allegorical figures on a *castillo de fuego* (Velarde 1952, fol. 24).

Feasts of patron saints and major religious festivals were not just used as a means to win hearts and minds for Christian teachings and values. One issue they always embraced was the safeguarding of the temporal colonial power's legitimacy. During the fiesta period, the streets of villages and towns were therefore decorated with national flags. Almost every band of musicians included national tunes in their repertoires.⁶ If (as was regularly the case at many localities across the archipelago) the Immaculate Conception was being celebrated, then not only the local patron saint, but also the patron saint of Spain and its colonies was honored at the same time.⁷ The greatness of Spanish power and the superiority of Iberian civilization were topics which were constantly raised during fiestas.⁸

Self-determination and Resistance During the Fiesta

The role and function of the fiesta under the colonial system of government can therefore best be summarized in the following words of Renato Constantino (1982, 2), "The molding of men's minds is the best means of conquest." However, this is only one side of the coin. Festivals were by no means simply a cultural-imperialistic instrument in the hand of colonial masters, used to establish and buttress their power. The same festivals, steeped in the traditions of the Christian West, presented the indigenous population with a means to assert themselves culturally under changed political and economic conditions, and even eventually to resist heteronomy outright. Recent research has shown that this was possibly due to the structural heterogeneity of the cultural element "festival." In the past, attempts to analyze this complex tended to be one-dimensional, both in terms of the character of festivals as well as their social function. At one time they were considered to be acts of excess,⁹ at other times a form of contemplation.¹⁰ In both cases they were seen as instruments used to reinforce and legitimize existing conditions. In contrast to these assessments, other interpretations viewed festivals as attempts to criticize and even to break down the ruling order.¹¹

As these very divergent explanations are all backed up by empirical evidence (notwithstanding the fact that the respective authors

chose precisely those examples best suited to prove their own individual interpretations), in recent years theories have been drawn up which view festivals as fundamentally heterogeneous, complex-structured forms of human interaction which do possess all the elements and activities described. These, however, are not clearly differentiated, but are in complex association. Two poles determine their range. The first enables people to leave their everyday lives behind them, to reflect at a distance upon the norms and constraints to which they are subject, or even through excess to overstep these and thus spontaneously and in a self-determined manner (individually as well as collectively) to form and confirm identity once again. The second pole of the festival contains elements which are often organized and directed "from above", transmitting ideas, values and concepts which legitimize and glorify the existing order.¹²

This basic structural character of the festival presented the Filipinos with opportunities to incorporate, and thereby preserve, their own traditions in the fiesta. Native and imported attributes commingled in the new collective attitudes and behavior, and the celebration of festivals played a key role in the development of this process. A colonial culture developed, with not only Spanish padres and officials, but also the indigenous population taking part in its genesis. In time this culture could even be used against Western dominance. Five phases can be distinguished during this process, partly sequential, and partly parallel.

Old Traditions, New Forms

The first two phases along the road to cultural self-determination within the framework of the colonial festival culture are closely linked. On the one hand elements taken from traditional culture were accorded new attributes, and on the other hand modes of behavior handed down from generation to generation lived on in new forms. As evidence of the former it is possible to cite the multitude of traditional songs and dances which entered into fiesta programs and now bore Christian attributes. A good example is the custom of singing the *doctrina* to native melodies, which became one of the most important means of internalizing the core principles of the Catholic religion. The driving force behind this development came not just from the representatives of Spanish religious orders.¹³ The indigenous population created such "pious songs" themselves, based on the cat-

echism or on the texts of sermons. These they then performed in the traditional style, so that they—as a Spanish Father wrote—“praised God with the same music with which at former times they had so blindly served Satan.”¹⁴

Staged presentations such as, for instance, the *pasyon*, the rendition of Christ's sufferings in song, combined Western attributes with the epic traditions of South East Asia (Trimillos 1992, 16–21). The holding of improvised poetry competitions, which became a feature of many fiestas, was already a popular recreation during the pre-Hispanic era.¹⁵ Festive decorations drew a large part of their appeal from the vivid colors and voluptuousness of the tropical materials, branches and flowers, out of which they were created, and lent the stages on which the fiestas were held an unmistakably Philippine flair. During the pre-colonial era temporary arbouresque structures had been built for specific ceremonies, decorated with foliage and lit up with small lamps (Concepcion 1788–1792, 1:15). The colonial festival architecture cannot have been very different, particularly in the countryside.

The second form of continuity preserved by the indigenous population from the pre-Spanish era into the colonial period can be observed particularly in a series of functions inherent to both traditional ceremonies as well as Christian festivals. In an agrarian society such as the Philippines, concern for the success of the crops stood at the center of ritual activities. During the Spanish era, the task of ensuring protection from evil spirits and their dark powers was transferred to the Catholic Church and its saints. At numerous fiestas held throughout the country, worshipers now thanked San Isidro Labrador, the patron saint of farmers, for rich harvests, and sought his blessing for the coming year.¹⁶ Women wishing to bear children danced before the images of San Pascual Bailón, the “Virgen de Sarambao” and Santa Clara de Asís during pilgrimages to Obando (Andrade 1976), very likely a continuation of pre-Christian fertility rituals in modified form.

The adaptation of the festival calendar to local climatic conditions is a particularly clear indication that the indigenous population tailored the fiesta to suit their own needs. An analysis of the feasts of patron saints, as listed in the Catholic Directory, shows that the month of May is the most popular festival month in the Philippines today. This could be seen as a reflection of Spanish customs, for on

the Iberian peninsular May was and still is a popular month for such celebrations. However, other factors may well have played a greater role. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the number of fiestas honoring the local patron saint in May had already reached 13 percent of the total (in the light of Spanish influence, perhaps not surprising). By the present day the share of those May-fiestas has increased still further to 21 percent, while at the same time the month of August, popular in Spain, has steadily declined in importance.¹⁷ This reveals a growing tendency to take local conditions into account during the seasonal festival cycle. In the most populous low-land regions like the plains and coast regions of Central Luzon, May is the month which marks the end of the dry season and the beginning of the work in the fields. It is an ideal month, therefore, to celebrate important festivals. However,—and this underlines my contention—the popularity of May is not evenly distributed throughout the country. In the diocese of Malolos, to take an example from Central Luzon, where the hot, dry summer lasts until May, to be replaced by heavy rainfall, the vast majority of town and barrio fiestas take place during this month. This peak is much less marked, for instance, in the diocese of Tagbilaran in Bohol. There the precipitation is evenly spread over the whole year. On Samar, finally, which has no dry season, but where rainfall is heavy during the winter, the month of May loses its preferred status entirely and the majority of festivals are held during the course of the summer.¹⁸

A final example of such continuity is presented by the distinctive cult of the Virgin Mary in the Philippines, which some authors interpret as a distant memory of pre-colonial creator goddesses and priestesses (Demetrio, Cordero-Fernando and Zialcita 1991, 157). Although it must be said that worship of the Mother of God was also very widespread in early modern Spain, a quantitative analysis of the patron saints of Philippine churches demonstrates that the importance of Mary increased steadily over time.¹⁹ While 20 percent of all churches were dedicated to the Mother of God during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the twentieth century this was the case in 32 percent of newly-consecrated churches.²⁰ It is obvious, therefore, that the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Philippines not only fell on fertile ground, but blossomed ever more strongly as the Filipinos came increasingly to determine their own religious life. This, again, could be explained with reference to ancient patterns of belief.

Festivals as Focal Points of New Identities

The third phase of cultural self-determination involved the mutual celebration of festivals in which new influences were combined with old traditions. The *patrocinium*—prepared, performed and finally celebrated together under the direction of missionaries—generated a sense of coherence among the new settlers in the reduction areas (in 17th century Antipolo, for instance). The Christian enclaves in the Muslim south of the archipelago (such as in eighteenth and nineteenth century Zamboanga or Isabela de Basilan), lessened differences and helped to cement the associations which were gradually being formed (Wendt 1996). During the fiestas, people were able to behave spontaneously and informally, to step over established norms and follow self-determined patterns of behavior. Pilgrimages such as the one to Antipolo, which combined colorful gaiety with religious fervor, spread ecstatic dances before the images of saints, or boisterous, noisy processions bursting with pulsating vitality, such as that of the Black Nazarene of Quiapo. They gave the population the chance to take an active part in the celebrations within a pre-determined framework, and to form a new identity under the colonial conditions. It is no coincidence that in the artificial colonial construct named Philippines new feelings of solidarity were initially formed at local and regional levels, and that they frequently had as their focal points a patron saint, above all a Madonna.²¹

Appropriation of the Fiesta by the Indigenous Population

Catholicism had a far-reaching effect upon the native way of life, and it was the fiesta which made a significant contribution to the process of change. However, it also enabled the Filipinos to preserve handed-down structures and conditions, to take on, modify and develop foreign influences and thereby, by bridging the gap between their own and alien cultures, to lay the foundation stone for new collective attitudes and behavior. Filipinos gradually appropriated formerly alien cultural elements and made them their own. Three examples illustrate this fourth phase in the process of self-determination.

The first concerns the pilgrimage and fiesta of Antipolo. Here the Spaniards originally celebrated a Madonna which guarded over the galleons traveling across the Pacific between Manila and Acapulco,

a Madonna which held its hand protectively over the colonial state and thereby lent the Spanish administration and claims to leadership a higher, divine legitimacy (Velarde 1749, 210–12, 216–20). The Jesuits responsible for the spiritual welfare of Antipolo deliberately encouraged the population of the Tagalog provinces to take part in the pilgrimage and fiesta.²² They created an impressive architectural framework, provided lavish decoration for the image of the Mother of God, and staged the celebration of their cult more and more extravagantly.²³ The objective was, no doubt, to promote the notion of a colonial society in which Spaniards and natives were united in their mutual veneration of the Madonna who spread her protective mantle over all sections of the population, and in which at the same time made the existing social and political order appear natural and willed by God.

The Filipinos, or at least the inhabitants of the Tagalog provinces, followed this call and from the end of the seventeenth century onwards streamed in ever greater numbers to Antipolo.²⁴ However, they did not adopt the view of the social order that the pilgrimage and fiesta were designed to promote, but incorporated the Madonna into their own world of beliefs. This is clearly illustrated in a series of legends, describing the journey taken by the Mother of God to Antipolo, which differs from the Spanish accounts, and places her near the spiritual traditions of the pre-colonial era. Various versions relate how the Virgin appeared several times in the branches of a flowering Antipolo tree. Convinced that the tree now possessed supernatural powers, the locals began to cut it down, leaf by leaf, branch by branch. One day a Jesuit padre decided to use the tree trunk to support the image of the Madonna in the new church which was then being built in Antipolo (or which, according to another account, was later erected on the spot where the Madonna had appeared). This legend draws upon pre-Hispanic beliefs which held trees to be the favorite abodes of spirits and gods, and considered old trees in particular to be gods in their own right.²⁵

This Madonna, who with her brown skin seemed to be a local, was now not merely the patron saint of Spanish colonial interests (Mercado 1980, 14, 49). When the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in the year 1768, the shrine was taken over by local secular priests. These priests ensured that the shrine was carefully maintained and kept in good repair, and thus the heavy stream of pilgrims continued to visit.²⁶ When in the year 1863 the indigenous clerics were obliged to hand over Antipolo to the Augustinian Recollects,²⁷

a great roar of disapproval went through the Philippines, an indication of the significance of the shrine in the collective consciousness.²⁸ The extent to which pilgrimage and fiesta had developed into a peculiarly Philippine affair was also made very clear in May 1898. It was then that Katipuneros trickled into Antipolo under cover of the pilgrimage. They planned to use the most important day of the fiesta, 3rd May 1898, to launch an attack against the Guardia Civil to avenge the assassination of one of their leaders. However, when this became known in the town, a number of influential voices were able to persuade the Katipuneros to alter their plans, and thus not profane the feast day of the Madonna. The fiesta was celebrated without disturbances, and the padre was only taken prisoner on 17 June, once the pilgrimage was over. Before he was taken to Cavite and interned, he made sure that the jewelry, robes and other valuable ornaments belonging to the Madonna would not fall into the hands of the insurgents. He entrusted the treasure of the Mother of God to her *camarera* Vincenta Leyra for safekeeping. She was related to Rizal, and it seems was well-connected to the leaders of the revolution. She took the treasure under her protection, and warned the insurgents that she would inform Aguinaldo if they dared so much as to lay a finger on a single piece. When the last Spanish padre (without power and without influence, but with the well-wishes of the population) left Antipolo, when the ornaments of the Madonna passed into indigenous hands, and when Antipolo became the capital of Morong Province during the short-lived republic from August 1898 to June 1899, that marked the end of the Spanish colonial edifice in which and for which the veneration of the Virgin Mary was originally encouraged.²⁹

The second example concerns the military base of Isabela de Basilan, which was first established only during the middle of the 19th century. The members of religious orders based there were faced with the task of bringing together a colorful mixture of peoples, traditional Christians and recent converts, lowland Filipinos from the north, southern Philippine ethnic groups, Chinese and a few Spaniards to form a functioning parish.³⁰ The strategies they deployed to achieve this included the staging of colorful fiestas with grand, festive Masses, processions, the illumination of churches and private houses, fireworks, entertainment and popular amusements. Additional diversions included (although these were not condoned by the padres) gambling, banquets and balls. However, the fiesta was not just

an instrument in the hands of the padres. The population turned it into their own affair, attending Mass in large numbers, taking part in processions and secular entertainment, contributing to the costs, and going to great lengths to ensure that the atmosphere of the occasion was colorful and festive. When disputes arose concerning specific elements of the festivities, the clerics were seldom able to uphold their own standpoints vis-à-vis the lay population. In 1898 the padres' call to have the fiesta postponed on the grounds of domestic political instability was rejected by the indigenous population. The town fiesta went ahead as originally planned, including the Masses and processions. As far as the inhabitants of Isabela were concerned, Spain's defeat was no reason to call off the fiesta which they regarded as their own, and not at all as a religious-cultural tool of exerting pressure wielded by the Spanish padres.³¹

The final example of the appropriation of the fiesta by the indigenous population is taken from the field of social organization. Filipinos used the fiesta to throw light upon existing social structures. The local elite was keen to take on duties and functions which ensured them a visible public role within the framework of a festival, and the remaining population accepted their assuming such roles without demur.³² Whoever financed new ceremonial robes for the image of a saint, sponsored a band of musicians or undertook the construction of a triumphal arch thereby documented his status or increased his social prestige. For this reason the names of the donors did not remain anonymous. Their names are listed in the diaries of the clergy, as well as in the newspapers of the 19th century and the fiesta programs of the present day.

In turn, the social system which the fiesta represented, the essential structural characteristic of which were personal, mutually-dependent relationships based on recipricosity, presented an ideal opportunity to cultivate or foster contacts. On such occasions family members, distant relations, friends, villagers and neighbors, landowners and tenants, creditors and debtors, all came together to participate in the festivities.³³ Many godparents were officially designated at christenings or weddings, which were often held during the celebration of the patron saint (Phelan 1967, 77-78). Debts of gratitude could be repaid to agricultural laborers or other clients, or such debts could be redeemed as payments or services in kind.³⁴

Fiesta and Political Resistance

From the appropriation of the fiesta by the indigenous population, it was only a small step to its use as an instrument for guiding public opinion and molding mentalities against the interests of the foreign rulers. This function of the fiesta had gradually become an established part of the cultural memory of the Filipinos during the course of their colonial history. For the isolated islands and ethnic groups, which the Spaniards had united into a political entity without inner coherence, the Christian religion formed an initial bond, linking scattered ethnic races across all watercourses. The Filipinos soon began to interpret the Bible's teachings more literally than their colonial masters would have liked. In particular, the messages of suffering and salvation, as well as of the equality of all men before God, developed a significant political momentum. The symbolism and imagery of the Passion of Christ, for instance, became so deeply entrenched in the consciousness of a broad swathe of the population, that numerous political and religious leaders of insurgencies and chiliastic groupings were able to use this "vocabulary" to mobilize followers, as Iletto has shown.³⁵

As time went on, the indigenous population also learned to make use of the fiesta and its central components to serve their own objectives, and as a means of opposition to Western foreign rule. Plays, for instance, were used to spread satirical and colonial-critical messages about Spanish religious orders and officials, their personal behavior or their politics (Mas y Sanz 1834, 3:49). This explains why religious and secular authorities constantly strove to glean information about the content of planned performances.³⁶ The Moriones of Marinduque, with their grotesque legionnaires' masks, can be seen as an attempt to caricature and demystify the coarseness of the white colonial masters.³⁷ Audience and participants may well have equated the colonial rulers with Roman soldiers, and therefore identified themselves with Christ, suffering under the burden of his cross. The fact that the authorities frequently banned the wearing of masks at a wide range of events is an indication that they were aware of their system-critical function.³⁸

The people who came together at fiestas and similar events always represented a potential audience for religious and political propaganda directed against the existing order. Itinerant preachers used such occasions to proclaim the imminent end of the world and win adherents to chiliastic movements, and anticolonial nationalists were

able to promulgate their objectives. Marcelo H. del Pilar, for instance, packaged his criticism of the existing conditions not only in seemingly religious tracts, but also exploited the crush of spectators at cockfights to spread political propaganda, or filled his verse with satires on monastic rule at poetry competitions.³⁹

In those areas no longer under Spanish control, the revolutionaries were able to operate more freely. In the years 1896 and 1897 leading representatives of the Katipunan, including Andrés Bonifacio, made fervent patriotic speeches during fiestas at locations across the province of Cavite, the rebels' stronghold. Indigenous priests cited the political situation in their sermons, and promoted the cause of revolution (Memoirs of Gen. Ricarte, 21, 28, 29).

During the short period of freedom in the interim between Spanish and American rule, festivals were turned into mass rallies in support of the new order. In Boac on Marinduque for example, the Augustinian Recollect Julián Ortíz, who witnessed the local town fiesta as prisoner of the revolutionaries, reported that the occasion was used to rename the principal streets.⁴⁰ One was named after Rizal, a second after Aguinaldo, others after the remaining "well-known public figures on whom the honor of the Philippines now rests," as Ortíz noted in a blend of contempt and condescension.⁴¹ In the evening a "secular procession" got under way from the forecourt of the church. The participants carried triangular lanterns—shaped as the symbol of the Katipunan—and similar lanterns lit up the façades of the houses. Ortíz called this symbol of the revolutionary organization "the sign of the Beast." One of the festival floats was decorated as a battleship. It represented one of the gunboats in Dewey's fleet which had devastated the Spanish navy in the Bay of Manila. The governor of Marinduque's daughter rode in a brand new coach, dressed as an allegory of the Philippine nation and carrying the national flag in her hand. Another float was sumptuously decorated with flags, flowers and foliage, and among these rode the *principales señoritas* of Boac. They represented the Philippine people and their hopes. The spectators called out "¡Viva Filipinas!" and "¡Viva Aguinaldo!" The fiesta began, in accordance with custom, with a Mass. All the barrios of Boac had recruited soldiers who, vividly attired and armed with enormous bolo-knives and wooden rifles, paraded through the streets. During the evenings, audiences were offered a colorful program of entertainment which, according to Ortíz's account, had been organized by the *sabiondos*, the conceited semi-literates from the locality. In public addresses and ballads they

fumed and raged against Spain, the religious orders, and even against the Americans. A hymn to freedom was sung, which a *pilosofo* from Boac had composed.

Philippine Identity

The fiesta, as well as the subjects and messages that the various elements of celebration conveyed, shaped attitudes and behavior in a way that not only stabilized colonial rule, but was also capable of undermining the very same. Analysis of this cultural phenomenon also brings to light the active part played by the indigenous population in the development of their own culture. It would be wrong to see them simply as victims of a form of mental colonization, as the analysis of indigenous influence in the fiesta has shown. In a process of interaction that persisted during the course of several centuries, native and foreign actors together created the basic elements of the identity which today is characteristic of the Philippines. The result was initiated from above through measures designed to mold attitudes, and from below through active participation and independent initiative, as the example of the festival has shown. The functions originally intended to implement colonial rule, cultivate specific attitudes and stabilize the colonial system were counteracted to the same degree by the Filipinos' incorporating the fiesta into their own ways of life and social structures. The colonial bond gradually loosened, eventually broke entirely, and the inherited fragments of Western culture which combined with the structures of indigenous traditions have today become part of a new, unmistakable Philippine identity.

Notes

1. This can be read, for instance, in the "cartas anuas", the annual accounts describing festivals in Antipolo (ARSI, Philipp. 5, fol. 98,168; 6:2, fol. 606; 7:1, fol. 129; 8, fol. 6; BRAH, Colección Cortes 567:9; Chirino 1969, 241).

2. Members of religious orders at Antipolo and other places not only desecrated and destroyed pre-Christian idols, they also forced the traditional priests publicly to renounce their beliefs, interned them and compelled them to live in special houses (AHSIC, Filpas 24, Anua 1597; 1598, 18, 20, 21; ARSI, Philipp. 5, fol. 47,64; Philipp. 9, fol. 301,313; Chirino 1969, 58,67,132; Colín 1904, 2:115, note 1, 116), forced the population to follow Catholic practices under pain of corporal punishment (Mancker 1682;

Pagès 1783, 1:130; LeGentil 1779–1781, 2:61–62) and even “hunted” for “heathens” (ARSI, Philipp. 7:I, fol. 295; AHSIC, Filpas 25, fol. 424).

3. For details on the efforts to urbanize a reduction see the case of Antipolo (ARSI, Philipp. 5, fol. 81, 98; Philipp. 10, fol. 58, 59; Chirino 1969, 174; de la Costa 1961, 188).

4. Further to all these festival elements and their alluring and attitude-forming functions, see Wendt (1996).

5. Compare Ortiz (1731, 11), and Rafael (1988, 100–109).

6. The programme of evening serenades, for example, which was played in 1887 to mark the 1550th anniversary of the conversion of Saint Augustine, included—in addition to hymns to the founder of the Religious Order—the cantate “El Pendón de Castilla” (El Comercio, 22 April, 4, 6 and 7 May 1887).

7. This was the case, for instance, at Zamboanga, where the “Purísima” was not only honored as “Titular de este pueblo,” but at the same time as “Patrona Universal de España é Indas” (PNA, Festejos y Celebraciones, Zamboanga).

8. This is well-documented in the sermons held and often published to mark the Manila San-Andrés festival (e.g. Cuevas 1880).

9. The concept of the festival as an act of excess goes back to Sigmund Freud (1961, 162–167, 170) and the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1981, 505–515). Commandments are disregarded and rules are broken, before people return to their normal lives with new strength and courage.

10. According to the Catholic philosopher Joseph Pieper (1963, 34, 35, 46–49, 52, 68, 69) and the classical philologist and theologian Karl Kerényi (1971, 45, 46, 62), calm, contemplation and distance from busy everyday life represent the true essence of the festival. By removing the participant from ordinary reality, a fundamental affirmation of creation, the assent of the temporal is made possible.

11. For example, the Protestant theologian Gerhard M. Martin (1973, 22, 28, 49, 51, 52), according to whom festivals have an inherent system-critical or even system-altering function, the contrast between perfect festivals and unsatisfactory reality presenting an attractive alternative model to existing conditions.

12. Compare with the study produced by a German sociologist: Gebhardt 1987, 21–23, 27–29, 55–59, 63, 69, 70, 73–79, 81, 82.

13. AHSIC, Filpas 24:21, 22; Filpas 25: fol. 428; Chirino (1969, 56, 60); Colín (1904, 2:111, note 1, 112 n); de la Costa (1961, 156, 157, 161, 165, 166).

14. Colín (1904, 2:112 n, 117, 118); AHSIC, Filpas 24, Anua 1597; 1598.

15. de la Gironière (1857, 262); Hart (1961, 46); Barcelona (1991, 95, 100).

16. Of the 2211 churches listed in the Catholic Directory of 1989, 123 are dedicated to San Isidro (in 36 cases the patron saints are not specified). Which means that after San José, with 158 patronages of churches, San Isidro is the most popular saint in the Philippines.

17. Today, 363 out of the total of 1728 dated festivals listed by the Catholic Directory, held in honor of a total of 58 different patron saints, are celebrated during the month of May. Between 1565 and 1700, 28 of 200 dated town- and barrio fiestas were held in May, and 32 in August. For a discussion of spring and summer festivals in Spain see García Rodero and Caballero Bonald (1992 13, 14, 19, 27).

18. As a result of differing population densities this is less clear in the overall statistics than in the curves for the individual dioceses.

19. For the cult of the Virgin Mary in Spain, see Nebel (1992, 29–54).

20. Calculated using data contained in the Catholic Directory of 1989.

21. In the Tagalog provinces, for example, an affinity was formed to the Madonna

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of Antipolo, in Bicolandia the Virgin of Peñafrancia exercised a powerful influence, and the Christians of South West Mindanao found a religious figure of identification in Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

22. ARSI, Philipp. 8, fol. 89; AHN, Jesuitas, Libro 414, fol. 121; Murillo Velarde 1749, fol. 218.

23. Murillo Velarde (1749, 144, 212, 213, 220, 224, 225, 228); Mercado (1980, 15, 19, 44, 49, 51, 81, 96-102); or Javellana (1991, 56, 57, 114-16).

24. ARSI, Philipp. 8, fol. 46, 66, 89, 142; AHSIC, El. a-9, Oña (1701, 4:1217); Murillo Velarde (1749, fol. 213).

25. Chirino (1969, 62); Historia de la Virgen de la Paz (1887, 4, 5); Foreman (1906 185); Mercado (1980, 55).

26. AHSIC, El. a-13, 178; AHN, Ultramar, 3556:2; AAM, 4. A. 1., Sta. Visita de las Iglesias 1751-1817, Folder 1805-1806 B; Historia de la Virgen de la Paz (1887, 20); Album de la Virgen de Antipolo, 21; La Virgen María, 62; Carceller (1974, 11:568).

27. AM, Legajo 49, Nro. 1, Provisión; Blas de la Asunción (1910, 40); García (1956, 86); Carceller (1974, 11: 575, 576). Antipolo belonged to the parishes of the Tagalog provinces, which were given to the Recollects as compensation for the loss of 27 parishes on Mindanao. These they had to hand over to the Jesuits as they were allowed to work again on the Philippines (García 1956, 42, 43, 61; Carceller 1974, 11:568).

28. AM, Legajo 49, Nro. 1, Provision and Carta; García (1956, 61, 63, 87, 89); Carceller (1974, 11:570-75); Javellana (1991, 174).

29. AM, Legajo 20, Nro. 5, Benedicto, Memoria, 1, 2, 4, 5, 21; Legajo 49, Nro. 1, Breve reseña; Benedicto (1922, 9, 12-16, 19, 39, 50, 52); NLM, Historical Data Papers, Reel 58, Province of Rizal, Antipolo, 14.

30. AM, Legajo 62, Nro 1, Informe del P. Manuel Alonso; AHSIC, EII. a-41/2/1, Historia de las Misiones, p. 20; AHSIC, EII. e-25, Relación del viaje; AHSIC, EII. b-84, Memoria de Basilan (1893, 45, 47, 55); AHSIC, El. a-12, Relación histórica, 94; AHSIC, Filpas 114, No. 38, fol. 467,468; Montano (1886, 134); Nieto Aguilar (1894, 150); El Comercio, 1 Dec. 1887; Mallari (1975, 565).

31. For more information on the fiesta of Isabela, see the diaries of the Jesuit padres (AHSIC, EII. b-35, Diario 1862-1872; EII. b-36, Cavaller'a, Diario 1897-1899).

32. In 1609, for example, the principales of Antipolo assumed the honor of bearing the bishop of Nueva Segovia in a palanquin down from their native mountains to Pasig (BRAH, Colección Cortes 567:9). Franciscan parish priests were instructed not to allow the members of the indigenous population to select the actors for theatre performances, as these always appointed principales to these roles (AFIO, 137:1, Baculo de Parrochos, part 1, fol. 68,69). The *camareras*, who looked after the pictures of the patron saints, or the *hermanos* or *hermanas mayores*, who assumed the responsibility for the organization, performance as well as financing of fiestas, in general all came from families of high social status.

33. Hart (1961, 37, 39); Martires (1968, 3); Jocano (1969, 335, 336); Kerkvliet (1977, 17).

34. Constantino (1975, 35, 36); Phelan (1967, 23); Jocano (1969, 336); McLennan (1980, 38); Kerkvliet (1977, 17); Mojares (1985, 99); Hollnsteiner (1973, 81).

35. Compare: Iletto (1979, esp. 11-22).

36. AFIO, 137:1, Baculo de Parrochos, part 1, fol. 68, 69 or PNA, Espectáculos Públicos 1848-97, fol. 219-24, 230, 231, 233-38, 282, 283.

37. A relatively detailed description of the festival can be found in Rocas (1980, 170-85).

38. PNA, Festejos y Celebraciones en Manila, bundle 5 and 8.
39. Hart (1961, 46); Constantino (1975, 149); Iletto (1992, 233).
40. AM, Legajo 20, No. 1, Ortíz, Nuestro Cautiverio.
41. In the corrected manuscript of Ortíz the word used here is "sociedad." In the original text one can read "pandilla"—pack, riff-raff.

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