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Established in July 1922, UNITAS is one of the oldest extant academic journals published by a university in the Philippines as well as in Asia. Still, UNITAS is perhaps the oldest extant academic journal of its kind in the Philippines and Asia in terms of expansive disciplinary coverage and diverse linguistic representation through the decades. While always cognizant of disciplinary specialization, it has been "multidisciplinary" in publishing scholarship that is intra-disciplinary within the humanities and the arts, and interdisciplinary across the other disciplines. As it was in the beginning, it has aimed for "unitas" by conjoining disciplinary difference through its pages.

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In This Issue

The articles in this issue are as intra-disciplinary, interdisciplinary, cross-disciplinary, trans-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary as might be possible.

The economy's so-called resilience in the last several decades has been observed by pundits, which has often been attributed to the cash remittances by the "mga bagong bayani," the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). But "Speculations on the Filipino Diaspora: Recognizing Ourselves in OFWs; or Progress Over Our Dead Bodies" by E. San Juan, Jr. is about how the continuing "export of human labor has converted everyday life into a permanent emergency" in which a growing alienation is experienced due to "commodification of psyche and communal lifeways." Surviving in conditions of unimaginable sufferings under exploitative systems and oppressive employers in their everyday diasporic lives, the OFWs as a "collective agency," as the article asserts, might begin "to grasp the principles of self-consciousness and the will to exercise self-determination." The article seeks to map out "self-rectifying strategies/discourse" toward "universal emancipation" amidst economic asymmetries brought about by neo-liberal globalization.

The 1950s in the Philippines is known in cinematic history to have produced the Golden Age of big production studios including LVN pictures. One of the products of this period was *Malvarosa* which has received some attention, among others, for injecting intelligence into an otherwise trite and conventional movie. However, "A Certain Tendency: Europeanization as a Response to Americanization in the Philippines' 'Golden-Age' Studio System" by Joel David revisits this adaptation from *komiks*, arguing this film text to be "more properly belonging to the period succeeding the Golden Age, when innovations that would eventually provide the foundation for more accomplished film activity during the martial-law period were first introduced."

The discourse on femininity and its critique underpin "Unveiling Sacred Women: Musical Representations of the Changing Construct of Femininity in the Mass Settings of the Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila (1871-1874)" by Maria Alexandra Iñigo Chua. In her study of the music of the contemplative nuns of the Monasterio de Santa Clara within "the field of Philippine music discourse," she "explores the interconnectedness of this music among issues of gender, sexuality and identity" in its historical and social context.

"Sexual/Textual Politics in the Women of Ophelia A. Dimalanta's Poems" by Ma. Socorro Q. Perez foregrounds the unique relationship between literary theory and gender critique. In the poetic practice of Ophelia Dimalanta, arguably a major name in her generation dominated by male Filipino poets, what Toril Moi has called "sexual/textual politics" is shown to be inscribed at her poems' very core. Overcoming the limitations of the once-dominant New Critical reading, the study which deploys feminist critical interpretive strategies, has "recuperated form, technique, and genre to encode the feminism that undergirds her poetic vision."

Alternative imaginaries of social space are posited in "The Toponymic Inscription of Sulu in Oral Narratives" by Anne Christine Ensomo in which the tropological construction of Sulu is studied "with the intent of contributing to incipient discourse on the kapuluan" against the essentializing and homogenizing notion of "island" that is "Sulu," based on colonial and statist assumptions. In this paper, Sulu is represented as a "dynamic space, which accommodates a history of contact and exchange." In this sense, rather than assuming a unitary notion of the state, by implication, what is imagined counter-discursively, is a multiplicity of translocalities which is even inclusive of diasporic communities beyond the borders of the "island."

Yong Mi Ri's "Politics of Immigration Control and Detention in Post-war Japan: The Mobility Experiences of Koreans" deals with the Ōmura Immigration Detention Center whose history saw shifts in its function. As generally known, for example, the Center has transformed from housing Koreans about to be deported to South Korea to detaining political refugees escaping from South Korea during the rule of Syngman Rhee. The study, in particular, focuses on "the functional transition" from being an immigration control center to a detention camp "which aimed to intern a specific national group." From this perspective, the paper tries to reveal "the political oscillation of the Japanese migration control system and evaluate its international origins in the post-WWII and the early Cold War period."

"Unravelling Negative Capability for Potential Transmediation in The Grave Bandits (2012)" by Dame B. Avelino deals with how in the film, touted to be the "first Filipino transmedia film," signification cuts across codes of sign systems in the process of transmediation. In particular, it looks into "negative capability," described as "the capacity of a narrative element to incite curiosity among the audience by leaving the element wrapped in mystery, which can be explored in another transmedia expansion," thereby offering "multiple entry points for transmediation."

Lourdes H. Vidal's "Confession of an Intuitive Translator" is the author's reflection on her practice of translating a Capampangan short story, "Ing Hermanu-Mayul" by Braulio D. Sibug, an award-winning author from Pampanga, in Luzon, Philippines. While it may be common knowledge that intuition is integral to the entire process of translation, it has remained a generally unexplored territory as an object of inquiry in translation studies, although the key role of the translator's skills and knowledge, as a starting point, is oftentimes acknowledged. Such knowledge, and skill, as her reflection reveals, are put to use by the translator as she negotiates the difficult semantic, linguistic, technical and cultural terrains running through the source text and the target text.

Speculations on the Filipino Diaspora

Recognizing Ourselves in OFWs; or Progress Over Our Dead Bodies

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Abstract

The almost four-decades-long experience of Filipinos working abroad has evolved into an emergent diaspora in the era of neoliberal capitalism. Reflexive critique of this ordeal has sharpened class/national consciousness coincident with the breakup of families and brutalization of female bodies. Initiated by the U.S.-sponsored Marcos dictatorship, the export of human labor has converted everyday life into a permanent emergency. This sociopolitical crisis continues to produce its dialectical irony. Commodification of psyche and communal lifeways intensifies alienation to the point where the collective subject begins to grasp the principles of self-consciousness and the will to exercise self-determination. We as teachers and students can translate this process of constructing an identity-in-difference—the Filipino nation/people—by conscienticized pedagogical practice. We can help transform the contradictions of everyday life into a mobilizing and self-rectifying strategy/discourse of universal emancipation.

Keywords

diaspora, labor-power, colonialism, capitalism, nationalism, culture, counterhegemony

In the era of "post-truth" and "alternative facts," can we still talk intelligibly about 12 million Filipinos scattered abroad? And multiplying by the hour? Over four million reside in the United States (not including the million or so TNTs or undocumented aliens, which count among others the famous Jose Antonio Vargas). Other Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) are distributed as follows (these figures need constant updating): Saudi Arabia: 1,029,000; United Arab Emirates: 477,000; Canada: 820,000; Japan: 226,000. The main source of remittances, now totaling $29 billion (about 10% of GDP), are Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, United Arab Emirates, UK, and the United States (IBON).

Since Pres. Corazon Aquino's administration, these remittances have functioned as "manna" of a fabled cargo cult for us. It has solved the perennial foreign-debt burden, allowed the oligarchic few to continue to live in luxury, and the rest of 103 million folks to submerge/sublimate their misery in spending the money sent by their parents, children, relatives, in endless malling, consumption of mass-produced goods and the illusions (films, telenovelas, etc.) manufactured by the global culture industry (San Juan, "Overseas"). Aside from myriad cults and New Age panaceas, the repeated artifacts of technocratic advertising in social media and films, act now as the proverbial opium of the masses. Supplemented with the police and army, the coercive agencies of class-divided society, they function as the efficient instrument of political control and moralizing discipline.

This tally of the diaspora is forever incomplete, given the uninterrupted dispersal of Filipino labor-power around the world. I am quite sure there are Filipinas in Africa, Latin America, the Russian Federation, India, and other parts of the world, not to mention thousands of Filipino seafarers circulating around the world's oceans—we have met them in cruises to Alaska, Hawaii, the Baltic, Mediterranean, Caribbean, and wherever laboring bodies and their intellectual byproducts are needed for corporate profit accumulation. They are needed also to reproduce the asymmetrical social relations in the various societies, as well as the geopolitical inequity in the hierarchy of nation-states.

We know at least some of them, our overseas relatives or friends or acquaintances, residing in some corner of North America, the Middle East, Europe, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Japan or other parts of Asia and Africa, including hundreds of cruise ships. We find them as far as the North and South Poles, working, living, surviving. I personally encountered some of them in Rome, Italy; Tripoli, Libya; Thessalonica, Greece; Taipei, Taiwan, and all over the United States, thousands of miles away from their homes in Metro Manila, Ilocos, Cebu, Iloilo, Samar, Leyte, Davao, Sulu, etc. from any of our 7,000 islands (San Juan, "Toward Filipino").

In Quest of the White Whale?

In Herman Melville's classic *Moby Dick*, one encounters specimens of the colonized *Indios* such as Fedallah sprung from the "watery prairies of Asia, near the Manilla isles" (Takaki 288-289). In that microcosm of racialized U.S. society, the *Pequod*, where class and caste defined the place of the crew members, the despotic Ahab, in pursuing the fetishized whale, the profit-wired "machine-like monster," dooms the whole society. It is an allegory of industrial capitalism in its adventurist booty phase, a few years before Theodore Roosevelt compared the Filipino *insurrectos* to the savage Apaches during the Filipino-American War (1899-1913). Today, Filipino seamen dominate the intercontinental marine thoroughfares, serving the white-supremacist corporate Empire, while being victimized by pirates and druglords. There are rumblings of mutiny and other rebellions, smoldering beneath the deck of cruise ships and cargo tankers.

About 3-4,000 Filipinos leave every day, according to IBON reports. Over a million per year decide to cast their lot by traveling and residing somewhere else, as domestics, caregivers, or seafarers. About 3-5 coffins of these OFWs arrive at the Manila airport, with others suffering mysterious deaths. The latest I read was Felma Maramag from Tuguegarao, Cagayan, who was killed by two Jordanians. Of course, the famous victim of this practice was Flor Contemplacion, followed by others less celebrated: Sarah Balabagan, Maricris Sioson, and others executed for defending themselves or framed

by criminals—Mary Jane Veloso is the latest—with hundreds languishing in foreign jails (Pineda-Ofreneo and Ofreneo; Parreñas).

In 2008, according to media tabulations, OFWs remitted $15.65 billion; in less than 10 years after, the figure rose to $29.7 billion, about 10% of the gross domestic product (Migrante International). It is more than enough to sustain the economy where the privileged patrician minority enjoys their power and wealth over the staggering poverty and misery of the majority. The genie of this modern "cargo cult" sprang from Filipinas in Germany, Hong Kong, Japan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, United Arab Republic, UK, and the U.S.

We don't need to rehearse the origin of this phenomenon, a scattering and dispersal of part of the "body politic," diaspora conceived as "hemorrhage" of a disrupted body. Is any emergency triage possible? Whence this symptom of a problem that, in its classic provenance, was ascribed to victims of the Roman Empire, the original Jewish diaspora? When the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed, the inhabitants were driven out, violently deracinated, and deported to other parts of the Empire.

We also don't need to rehearse the dull, somewhat eviscerated "facts" of its origin. The Marcos dictatorship started the flow of migrant workers in 1974 with its Labor Export Policy (LEP). From then on, the neocolonial State institutionalized this last-minute escape of people from dire straits to solve the unemployment problem and provide a safety valve from angry, desperately anguished citizens (Beltran and Rodriguez). We now have entrenched bureaucracies in the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), and other State agencies. Henceforward, the flow has been managed according to scientific, updated Taylorizing schemes. It has been systematized, bureaucratized, technologized. We have systematic compilation and accumulation of data about them—"alternate facts"? "Post-truth" verities? Or just the humdrum signs and emblems of Foucault's famous "biopower" rolling along in streamlined, computerized, cauterized fashion?

Within a global business platform, the exchange and circulation of migrant labor/bodies have been more intensively subjected to administra-

tive, regulatory biopower. This is chiefly in the interest of plotting market prices and currency exchanges, part of the attempt to rationalize an inherently anarchic market. In the age of Trump, terrorism, Brexit and the fear of refugees from the wars in Syria, Africa, and elsewhere, have triggered the frenzied call to purge the US body politic of illegal immigrants, prohibit the entry of polluting virus, and build a wall to ward off Mexicans. This is a symptom that migrancy of populations is a global problem (Anderson). The much-touted speed-up of communication and travel, the uncircumvented flow of money, bodies, etc., have now struck a moral nerve at the heart of the Empire. Or has it?

Mapping Driftwood, Salvaging Driftwords

In the first chapter of my book *Learning from the Filipino Diaspora* (2016), I tried to explore some of the thematic cultural ramifications of the OFWs. We cannot continue to console ourselves with Cory Aquino's praise of OFWs as "mga bagong bayani." This is the anodyne for the national predicament, the ideology of pride in being "global servants" or most trustworthy subalterns of the Empire. Can we continue to suffer this patronizing rubric? Is it bribery and ironic blandishment for an embarrassing if not shameful emergency that has become a national disaster?

In retrospect, the haunting question is: How did we come to find ourselves scattered to the four corners of the earth and somehow forced to sell our bodies, nay, our selfhoods as commodities in the world market? How can we continue to lament our plight by the rivers of Babylon? Perhaps the ethical-aesthetic implications of this topic can be epitomized by Angelo dela Cruz (Gorospe 118). If you will recall, he was the truck driver who was kidnapped in Iraq during the US invasion, which led then Pres. Arroyo to ban travel in that war-torn country after 9/11. Many defied the ban and said they would rather dare travel to Iraq to work and be killed instantly, rather than suffer a slow death by hunger in their beloved homeland.

Does this existential quandary evoke Thoreau's reference to "lives of quiet desperation"? The pathos of this national predicament is captured by Angelo dela Cruz's response after his release by his kidnappers in July

2004 and catapulted to world-renown by the mass media and Internet. This is what our "bagong bayani"/new hero confessed to the media: "They kept saying I was a hero... a symbol of the Philippines. To this day I keep wondering what it is I have become." It is a cry of existential poignancy—what can be more painful than deracination, uprooting of your body from the ground that sustains you? It evokes the testimony of one OFW who confessed that parting from one's children moments before he flew away is like gutting out your entrails, literally a disemboweling. It resembles birth, the trauma of separation from the nourishing matrix. Such is the agony of the *desterrado*, uprooted, deracinated, unmoored, shipwrecked, flotsam and jetsam (Arellano-Carandang et al.).

It is indeed a national predicament, and a personal worry for some—perhaps a happy relief for many who continually wait for manna from abroad. In any case, it is now more central than incest (the Oedipal syndrome) or family feuds intervening with romantic couples (Romeo and Juliet). It confronts us more ubiquitously, demanding urgent explanations. Why engage with this historical phenomenon or process of the Filipino diaspora in literary and cultural studies? Do we consider it a theme, subject or topic, of literary works (novels, essays, poems, plays)?

Or do we use it as a conceptual framework in which to re-think the questions of meaning, nature, identity, psyche, the relation of private to public experience, and our national destiny? Is the idea or theme of the diaspora a more effective way to do "genealogical analysis," that is, interrogating common sense and naturalizing norms so as to expose them as historical/discursive constructions? Why diaspora instead of national-democratic revolution, anticolonial struggles, desire for true autonomy and genuine independence?

It is not a question of either/or. Rather, it is a question of handling a new genre of interdisciplinary studies. By the nature of its historical parameters, its thrust is analytical and speculative. Its fundamental aim is a critique of common sense, normative values, naturalized categories about citizenship, national identity and destiny. It seeks to unravel the given social meanings and received paradigms that construct the truth of human beings,

the truth of experience and social life. It challenges the hegemony of the business/comprador elite based on the cash-nexus, the alienation fostered by the objectification of all human ties and by instrumentalizing everything. In short, it is a new pedagogical approach to re-orient scholarly and creative inquiries in literary and cultural studies (San Juan, "Reflections"; Aguilar).

Triangulating the Pedagogical Terrain

Actually I would propose using the theme of the diasporic experience as a way of connecting all these other topics about nation, travel, transculturation, etc. so as to provoke an alternative way of criticizing and valuing our reading and writing experience. We may hope to engage with diaspora as a heuristic device to stimulate alternative approaches to the orthodox Establishment pedagogy that repeats the same institutional norms over and over, deadening our critical faculties and defeating the purpose of learning and thinking critically about ourselves and our relations. We need to transcend the limited formalist, purely aesthetic or moralistic modes of reading and interpreting in order to situate the literary work/art-work in the context of the lived experience of authors, readers, and communities of interpreters. The urgent task is to perform a cognitive mapping of the subtexts of those real-life contradictions given symbolic/imaginary resolutions in literary artifices and other cultural artifacts. We need to grasp the "structure of feeling" that enables the art-work to exert its own efficacy, its singular resonance in our lives (Jameson; Williams).

But before giving suggestions for curriculum development, it is necessary to frame this within the context of the educational institutions in our country and the position of the Philippines in the international polarization of intellectual labor.

We are a neocolonial formation defined by the contradiction between the exploiting minority elite and the exploited majority. We suffer from dire underdevelopment, whose symptom—unemployment/underemployment—stems from the lack of industrialization, failure of land reform, immiseration of the countryside, and thus the escape to countries abroad for work and even permanent settlement. We suffer from severe social inequality due to

the historic legacies of colonialism, the preservation of an oligarchic system of property relations, and hence the unequal distribution of wealth and power (Constantino; Lichauco). We have not acquired true independence and established genuine democratic institutions and processes.

The escape via Marcos' Export Labor Policy from the nightmare of the historic colonial legacy is agonizing, a tearing-apart of families, marriages, communities. It is tragic, painful, infuriating, and hopefully transformative. One is reminded of the Rizal family being evicted from their homes in Calamba at the end of the 19th century, out of which *El Filibusterismo* evolved, as well as the Katipunan. We recall many revolutionary heroes (such as Apolinario Mabini, Isabelo de los Reyes, and others) banished to Guam, Marianas, Hong Kong, and other prisons or quarantines for *desterrados* outside the Philippines.

Crisis of the Neocolonial Formation

By its inner logic, the capitalist market of international labor proceeds through cyclical crisis, devolving to fascist, militarized barbarism. After the disaster of 9/11 and the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and elsewhere, this business of warm-body-export has become more acute because of the precarious "underdevelopment" of the country. We are dependent on an erratic global labor-market subject to unpredictable disruptions. We are vulnerable because of our unstable socioeconomic situation. We live in a violent over-determined formation where profound socioeconomic inequalities prevail (for a recent survey, see Miranda and Rivera; also regular socioeconomic reports from IBON).

President Duterte's regime is a symptom of these manifold inequalities. We have, among others, a serious drug problem whose current militaristic-authoritarian solution has led to over 12,000 Filipinos killed, half of whom are victims of vigilante or police criminality; there seems to be no justice for them (Coronel; Dalangin-Fernandez). We have violent confrontations between the Armed Forces of the Philippines (oriented to following U.S. dictates) and the New People's Army, between the government and various Muslim groups, foremost of which is the Abu Sayyaf. But all these

are symptoms of what I have already mentioned: the persisting social injustice and inequalities inherited from our colonial/neocolonial history (Sison). These contradictions can only be resolved by promoting the counter-hegemony—that is, the moral-intellectual leadership of the progressive bloc of nationalist, people-oriented forces—over against the conservative, reactionary bloc of landlords, corrupt politicians and bureaucrats, and fascist military and police.

On the topic of violence, I am not referring to conflicts between individuals, among psychologically troubled persons resorting to force to resolve quarrels. We have, overall, the legacy of structural violence due to unresolved grievances and historic penalties imposed on Lumads, non-Christian groups, and of course the contractual workers, poor peasants and fishermen, and slum dwellers—millions of our citizens, victims of continuing structural violence due to unemployment, lack of housing, medical care, education, and other vital needs necessary for humane existence. What can academic studies on diaspora contribute to understanding and elucidating the causes of this pervasive violence in our society?

Beleaguered Ivory Towers

In this setting, our educational system, configured by the colonial and neocolonial pressures of U.S. political-cultural hegemony, has been geared to supplying other countries with trained personnel: doctors, nurses, engineers, architects, lawyers (our lawyers and tax accountants function like call-center personnel, doing work for offices abroad). Our educational institutions do not match the needs of our economy; they serve to produce human labor-power for other countries in line with the unequal distribution of power and wealth among nation-states as a result of historical rivalries.

All over the world, including the Philippines, the emphasis on science and technology has marginalized courses in the humanities, history, and other social sciences. General education for civic responsibility and rationality has been subordinated to a quasi-vocational training, or training to acquire specific skills needed to perform technologically defined tasks in business society. We need to resolve the contradiction between the alien-

ating individualist business ethics dominating our lives and the humanist, emancipatory ideals of our revolutionary tradition (Lanuza).

Commodified scientism has trumped the humanities in the academy. This applies to cultural and language studies in general. The teaching of English, within the larger department of literary or cultural studies, is now geared to producing teachers for high school and colleges to prepare youth for work abroad, or for employment in prestigious local corporations or bureaucratic careers. No one would be insane enough to say we are preparing them to be scholars in our own literature (either written in English, Filipino, or the various languages). Previously the nationalist tendency in University of the Philippines and elsewhere was to encourage M.A. and Ph.D. students to focus on local authors and local cultural traditions in art, music, theater, etc. No longer is this the case, for a long time now, since I took my Bachelor of Arts degree in 1958.

Toward Conscientization

For this occasion, I limit myself to reflecting on the possible academic usefulness of exploring this historic conjuncture in our country. Here are a few reasons that we can discuss regarding why the historical phenomenon of the diaspora (in this case, the OFW as contemporary reality) can be useful in revitalizing literary/cultural studies in the Philippines. We can engage in arguing how a critical pedagogy can be developed by way of deliberating on the problems of OFWs. The following observations might schematize for the benefit of those unfamiliar with this topic the ethico-political implications of the modern diaspora problematic:

1. Diaspora unsettles what is taken for granted, deemed natural or normal, customary, respectable. It purges habitual conformism, devotion to stereotypes, and fixation on group-thinking. What do migrants, expatriates, émigrés, refugees, and exiles have in common? Distance from the homeland, the natal surroundings, and the taken-for-granted habitat.

Removal from the customary space/place of living is certainly distressful and disorienting. Being put in prison was a common experience for rebels like Balagtas, the Cavite mutineers, the Propagandistas (Marcelo del Pilar,

Lopez Jaena) and the deported—Rizal, among others, together with thousands during the Spanish colonial period. When the United States conquered the islands, those who refused to swear allegiance to the United States were deported to Guam, the famous ones being Gen. Ricarte and Apolinario Mabini who produced his immortal memoirs, *La Revolucion Filipina.* One can treat Rizal's two novels as works of exile, just as Villa's poems and fiction, and Carlos Bulosan's entire body of work, particularly *America Is in the Heart*, as well as many short stories by Bienvenido Santos, NVM Gonzales, and other exiled artists (San Juan, *Between Empire).*

2. Diaspora interrogates the idea/discourse of homeland as a fixed territory. It generates a new subjectivity or agency, the nomadic in the process of imagining and refashioning a new habitat. It lends significance to the notion of deterritorialization, made famous by Deleuze and Guattari's treatises, *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus.*

In this context, our present homeland is a neocolonized one, conquered at the cost of over a million Filipinos killed, quarantined and exploited since 1899. Is there another space/time one can designate as homeland? The Albania of Balagtas? Rizal's forest or wilderness where the tulisanes retreated? We also encounter this in many novels from Francisco Lacsamana's *Anino ng Kahapon* to Macario Pineda's *Makiling* to Amado V. Hernandez's *Bayang Malaya* and Jun Cruz Reyes' *Etsa Puwera.* If the homeland is a utopian future, what is the present Philippines comparable to? Can it be prefigured or condensed in a negative trope of the "Pearl of the Orient Seas," its flamboyant and ostentatiously hygienic malls as an image of dystopia?

3. Diasporas evoke the power of imperial occupation—the Roman Empire for the Jewish, European colonialism for African slaves transported to the New World; imperial inroads into China, India, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, etc. Wars, pogroms, fascist programs of internal ethnic cleansing—they all foreground the saliency of racism/racializing ideology, white supremacy, as justification for occupation and subjugation of non-white populations. Our current diaspora is a product of imperial subjugation by the United States, and by the modernizing impact of global capitalism and its neoliberal ideo-

logical agencies, in particular the liberalized labor-market and its stockpiling of mass-produced consumer goods and services.

The recruitment of Filipino workers for the Hawaiian plantations is the inaugural moment. We were neither citizens nor aliens. Called "nationals," Filipino bachelor-workers drifted from place to place, establishing solidarity with other ethnic/racial groups via strikes, collective resistance, networks of cooperation for survival and fighting back. Unable to return, most Filipinos settled in the United States and Canada, just as many today are settling in Italy, UK, Germany, and countries allowing temporary stays and/or family reunification.

4. Diaspora foregrounds the phenomenon of moving commodities—body exports—embodying labor-power for the global capitalist market. Diaspora thus introduces into our theater of critical analysis and judgment the nature of commodifying bodies and personhoods, as well as psyches, dreams, illusions, the unconscious. *Quanta* (quantity) replaces *qualitas* (quality) as measure of value, in that exchange-value acquires paramount import over use-value, or at least eclipses the latter on which it is parasitic.

Identity Perplex

Filipino domestics and/or caregivers have replaced biological mothers of the host employer, becoming surrogates and maternal Others in which Filipino nationality/colonial speakers of English become valued as contributors of symbolic capital. The Singaporean film, *Iloilo*, can be viewed in this light. We do not yet have something like Gertrude Stein's *Three Lives* that would portray Filipino nannies as singular actants or character types in a new genre of Menippean satire. The latest imbroglio surfaced concerning an expatriate's remorseful revelation that the family's maid called "Lola" who lived with them for many years was actually a slave, though others claimed that (following Michel Foucault) she maintained her dignity and self-respect all along (Solow). Shades of the lord-bondsman dialectic in Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*?

There are indie media films or documentaries already dramatizing this Filipina predicament, including those on Flor Contemplacion. However, we

are also swamped with sentimental melodramas like *Milan*, *Dubai*, and various commercialized replications. But in truth, these confections are narcotics to distract us. The Filipino diaspora is not a stage for compounding dreams and fantasies. For one, it is definitely not a transcultural or transgendered dilemma but, rather, a labor-capitalist dialectic with a classic class-conflict matrix. Thus this particular loci resonates with universal consequences and world-historical ramifications.

5. Both sexuality and racial identity are brought into the stage when embodied in diasporic characters/figures. Diaspora heightens our awareness of the significant role that racial markers and gender makers play in configuring our role and place in the international setting. This explodes the homogeneity of the Filipina as exotic Malayan/Hispanic subject of patronizing discourse—as in mail-order bride advertisements—made sophisticated by Eurocentric scholars, whether Filipinos, American, etc. The fashionable rubric of "transnationalism" acquires poignant ambiguity in the case of Filipinas metamorphosing into syncretic, hybrid or ambidextrous protagonists in social encounters far from the homeland.

6. The actant or performative role of diasporic Filipinas in literary and cultural discourse reminds us again that humanistic studies today (aesthetic, ethical inquiries) are no longer compartmentalized into strict taxonomic categories. They are by historical necessity interdisciplinary complex speculations, blending historical, sociological, political, anthropological, linguistic, philosophical, etc. They challenge the old positivistic, narrowly empiricist philology, as well as the once dominant formalist New Critical approach.

Reconstructive Cartography

In the United States and Canada, the Civil Rights struggles in the Sixties and Seventies, together with the feminist, youth and multiethnic struggles, forced a drastic revision of the canon. They unsettled scholastic categories inherited from the Victorian era. They destroyed the entrenched white-supremacist standards of quality, ushering in authors/readers from ethnic, gendered and racialized outsiders. Filipino scholars were of course influenced by these trends; but they simply expanded the offerings and authors.

They did not effectively change the formalist/individualist approach that excluded political readings and historicist critiques. We still await canon revision and reflexive dialogues on methods and procedures to synchronize what we are doing in the classrooms with what is happening to our students and teachers in the larger society outside the academy.

Again, the aim of introducing this framework of the Filipino diaspora is to reorient our vision/sensibility regarding our individual responsibility in society. It is to initiate a re-thinking about ourselves as a people and as citizens of a nation-state with a specific history. It is to kindle a conscientization of our minds and *loobs*/souls beyond the rigid paradigms of traditional patriarchal-feudal society (Eviota).

In reflecting on the export of souls/bodies, a postmodern version of the Faustian wager, we are forced to scrutinize the inventory of our national identity as a palimpsest of codes, the key to which has been lost and must be found, invented or recast. Antonio Gramsci wrote this thought-provoking passage about the problem of self, identity, ethos in his *Prison Notebooks* (1929-1935), which we need to ponder as the propaedeutic slogan for the day:

> The starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one really is, and is 'knowing thyself' as a product of the historical processes to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory. Therefore it is imperative at the outset to compile such an inventory (324).

A corollary to this proposition is Gramsci's notion of culture not as a simple accumulation, or indeed a dry-as-dust inventory of facts, dates, information culled from libraries, etc. We pride ourselves in being cultured, being knowledgeable or well-informed about a million facts, items summarized in tomes and whole archives. But this hoarding, as those familiar with Paulo Freire's teaching know, is nothing but the banking system of education, thoroughly based on the logic of accumulation in business society, our present-day neoliberal free-market global order.

In contradistinction, Gramsci proposes an entirely radical definition. He contends that culture "is an organization, discipline of one's inner self, a coming to terms with one's own personality. It is the attainment of a higher awareness, with the aid of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and obligations" (324-25). Fundamental to this is the acquisition and cultivation of a historical awareness, a historicizing sensibility, attuned not just to our personality but to our place and participation in our specific time and place, in our society. This awareness will be actualized in the narratives we construct of our journey toward national independence, exercising genuine sovereignty.

In my view, reflection and inquiry into the discourse of diaspora, the investigation of discursive practices of what we may call the *habitus* of diaspora, can induce in us that historical awareness and reflexivity required to usher us into what Immanuel Kant called the "age of autonomy", when we no longer need tutors and can think for ourselves and accept responsibility for our choices and actions. This thinking will be realized in our diverse narratives of homecoming. Can this solve the dispersal, scattering, disruption of our body politic? Can this provide jobs for millions so that they do not have to leave their families and homes? Will this solve the wound of division, heal the fissures and cracks in the body politic?

But, on second thought, in the neocolonial situation, the body politic has never been really unified or homogenized—except through consumerist regimentation and the vicarious fulfillments induced by State ideological apparatuses. But somehow a visceral urge surfaces in the diaspora. When Filipinos meet in the plazas of Rome, Hong Kong, Taipei, Los Angeles, or Singapore, they incorporate the lost homeland in their exchanges, rituals of eating, singing, playing, the repertoire of *bayanihan* and *pakikisama*, etc. They perform the communicative utopia that Habermas dreamed of recreating in the European Community. For them, any moment or any fissure in the continuum of time, the Messiah may appear.

As the Messiah tried to console his companions before his final departure, we may follow in his wake. The Messiah will be there when one or two of his comrades gather wherever and whenever they find themselves—

remembrance materializes in such encounters and thus reconstitutes the dismembered body. Diaspora may trigger these acts of remembrance and ultimately deliver collective redemption. The study of diasporic writing may be construed as an act of remembrance and collective deliverance.

Rhizomatic Analysis in Action

At this point, I want to illustrate the phenomenon of neocolonial disintegration and ideological reconstitution of the "third world" subject as a symptom of uneven capitalist hegemony, in a fictional account by a Filipina author who writes in Filipino, the national language. Consider this an experiment in symptomatic hermeneutics (see Balibar and Macherey). Fanny Garcia wrote the story entitled "Arriverderci" in 1982 at the height of the Marcos-induced export of Filipina bodies to relieve widespread immiseration in all sectors of society and curb mounting resistance in city and countryside.

Garcia's ascetic representation of this highly gendered diaspora yields a diagnostic illustration of postcolonial schizophrenia. In the opening scene, Garcia describes Filipina domestics in Rome, Italy, enjoying a weekend break in an excursion outside the city. One of these domestics, Nelly, meets a nondescript compatriot, Vicky (Vicenta), who slowly confides to Nelly her incredible experience of physical hardship, loneliness, and frustrated ambition, including her desperate background in her hometown, San Isidro. Vicky also reveals her fear that her employer might rape her, motivating her to inquire about the possibility of moving in with Nelly whose own crowded apartment cannot accommodate Vicky. Spatial confinement resembles incarceration for those who refuse the oppression of live-in contracts, the latter dramatized in Vicky's earlier experience.

Dialogue begets intimacy and the shock of discovery. After trust has been established between them, Nelly learns that Vicky has concealed the truth of her dire situation from her relatives back home. Like others, Vicky has invented a fantasy life to make her folks happy. After a short lapse of time, Nelly and her companions read a newspaper account of Vicky's suicide—according to her employer, she leaped from the fifth floor of the apartment due to a broken heart caused by her sweetheart, a Filipino seaman, who was

marrying another woman. Nelly of course knows the real reason: Vicky was forced to kill herself to save her honor, to refuse bodily invasion by the Italian master. Nelly and her friends manage to gather funds to send Vicky's body back home to the Philippines. When asked how she would explain Vicky's death to the next-of-kin, everyone agrees that they could not tell the truth. Nelly resolves their predicament with a fictive ruse:

> "Ganito na lang," sabi ni Nelly, "nabangga ang kotseng sinasakyan n'ya." Sumang-ayon ang lahat. Pumunta sa kusina si Nelly. Hawak ang bolpen at nakatitig sa blangkong puting papel na nakapatong sa mesa, naisip ni Nelly, dapat din niyang tandaan: sa San Isidro, si Vicenta at Vicky ay si Bising (1994, 334-335).
>
> ["Let's do it this way," Nelly said, "she died when the car she was in crashed." Everyone agreed. Nelly entered the kitchen. Holding a ballpoint pen and staring at the blank piece of paper on the table, Nelly thought that she should also remember: in San Isidro, Vicenta and Vicky were also Bising.]

In the triple personas of Vicky nurtured in the mind of Nelly, we witness the literal and figurative diaspora of the Filipino nation in which the manifold layers of experience occurring at different localities and temporalities are reconciled. They are sutured together not in the corpse but in the act of gendered solidarity and national empathy. Without the practices of communication and cooperation among Filipina workers, the life of the individual OFW is suspended in thrall, a helpless fragment in the nexus of commodity circulation (for a postmodernist gloss on this story, see Tadiar). Terror in capitalist society re-inscribes boundaries and renews memory.

Beyond the Binary of Self and Others

What I want to highlight, however, is the historicizing power of this narrative. Marx once said that capitalism conquers space with time (Harvey, 2000). The urgent question is: Can its victims fight back via a counterhegemonic strategy of spatial politics? Loading space with dizzying motion, collapsing it into multiple vectors and trajectories, may be one subversive strategy. In Garcia's story, the time of the nationalizing imagination overcomes displace-

ment by global capital. Fantasy becomes complicit with truth when Nelly and her friends agree to shelter Vicky's family from the terror of patriarchal violence located in European terrain. Geopolitics trumps transnational hybridity or ambivalence when the production of space is articulated with habits, customs, daily routine of the female worker (for this insight, see Rose).

We see that the routine life of the Filipino community is defined by bureaucratized space that seems to replicate the schedule back home; but the chronological itinerary is deceptive because while this passage lures us into a calm compromise with what exists, the plot of attempted rape and Vicky's suicide transpires behind the semblance of the normal and the ordinary:

> …Ang buhay nila sa Italia ay isang relo—hindi nagbabago ng anyo, ng direksiyon, ng mga numero.
>
> Kung Linggo ng umaga, nagtitipon-tipon sa loob ng Vaticano, doon sa pagitan ng malalaking haliging bato ng colonnade…. Ang Papa'y lilitaw mula sa isang mataas na bintana ng isang gusali, at sa harap ng mikropono'y magsasalita't magdadasal, at matapos ang kanyang basbas, sila'y magkakanya-kanyang grupo sa paglisan. Karaniwa'y sa mga parke ang tuloy. Sa damuhan, sa ilalim ng mga puno, ilalabas ang mga baon. May paikot-ikot sa mga grupo, nagtitinda ng pansit na lemon ang pampaasim, litsong kawali na may Batanggenyo, at iba pang hatiang batay sa wika o lugar. O kaya'y ang mga propesyonal at di-propesyonal. Matapos ang kainan, palilipasin ang oras sa pamamagitan ng kuwentuhan o kaya'y pagpapaunlak sa isang nagpapasugal. Malakas ang tayaan. Mga bandang alas-tres o alas-kuwatro ng hapon, kanya-kanyang alis na ang mga pangkat. Pupunta sa mga simbahang pinagmimisahan ng mga paring Pinoy na iskolar ng kani-kanilang order. Sa Ingles at Pilipino ang misa, mga awit at sermon. Punong-puno ang simbahan, pulos Pilipino, maliban sa isa o dalawa o tatlong puti na maaring kaibigan, nobio, asawa o kabit ng ilang kababayan.
>
> Matapos ang misa, muling maghihiwalay ang mga pangkat-pangkat. May pupunta muli sa mga parke, may magdidisco, may magsisine. Halos hatinggabi na kung maghiwa-hiwalay patungo sa kanya-kanyang tinutuluyan…. (329-330).

[Their lives in Italy resembled a clock—never changing in shape, direction or numbers.

On Sunday mornings they would gather inside the Vatican, there between the huge rocky pillars of the colonnade… The Pope would appear at a window of the tall building, and would pray and speak in front of a microphone, and after his benediction, they would all join their groups upon leaving. Usually they head for the parks. On the grass, under the trees, they will spread their packs. Some will circle around selling noodles with lemon slices, roast pork with catsup, and other viands. The picnic begins. Ilocanos congregate among themselves, so do those from Batangas, and others gather together according to language or region. Or they socialize according to profession or lack of it. After eating, they will pass the time telling stories or gambling. Betting proceeds vigorously. Toward three or four in the afternoon, the cohorts begin their departure. They head toward the churches where Filipino priests, scholars of their orders, hold mass in English or in Filipino, together with songs and sermon. The churches overflow, all Filipinos, except for one, two or three whites, who may be friends, sweethearts, wives, or partners. After the mass, the groups will again separate. Some will return to the parks, others will go to discos or movie houses, until around midnight they will go their separate individual ways to wherever they are staying.]

Resignation is premature. This surface regularity conceals fissures and discontinuities that will only disclose themselves when the death of Vicky shatters the peace and complicates the pathos of indentured domesticity. Thus we find ourselves mourning our sister, the mother of all migrants and exiles in our shrunken, suddenly claustrophobic planet when computer-armed Ahabs, now in their apocalyptic terrorizing mode, still roam and plunder the core and the peripheries of the post-anthropocene world.

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A Certain Tendency

Europeanization as a Response to Americanization in the Philippines' "Golden-Age" Studio System

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Abstract

Malvarosa (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958) possesses a curious reputation in relation to other prestige productions of the so-called first "Golden Age of Philippine Cinema" (roughly the 1950s). Although sharing certain neorealist properties with the other serious outputs of LVN, its production company, it also partakes of the overreliance on coincidence and the mercurial performative style that characterize the then less-reputable undertakings of Philippine cinema. This article attempts a reconsideration of the significance of film texts sourced from Philippine graphic novels (known as *komiks*) as more properly belonging to the period succeeding the Golden Age, when innovations that would eventually provide the foundation for more accomplished film activity during the martial-law period were first introduced.

Keywords

Malvarosa, multicharacter narrative, neorealism, Philippine architecture, Philippine cinema, *retablo*

Introduction

One recurring lamentation in standard discourses on Philippine architecture is that, despite the obvious and pervasive colonial influences, few structures aspire to breathtaking heights, much less attain them. Such anxieties might be prone to exacerbation now that the once-tallest building in the world has collapsed from a terrorist attack attributed to Islamic militants, and *the* tallest building (at least from 1998 to 2004 and still the tallest twin-building structure) is a few hours away from Manila by plane in the Islamic state of Malaysia. Other projects intended to challenge the current record holder, Dubai's Burj Khalifa, continue to be announced and undertaken, mostly outside the Euro-American sphere.

Interestingly, oftentimes the same sources who lament the Philippines' alleged underachievements in architecture also acknowledge in the same instance the basic need to design structures capable of withstanding the natural calamities that occur herein with near-predictable regularity, owing to the Philippines' unenviable position at the precise juncture of the Far Eastern typhoon belt and the earthquake-prone East Asian ring of fire (a literal hotbed of major volcanic activity that curves all the way from Japan to Indonesia, with the Philippines roughly at its midpoint). The most mortally self-conscious among the Spanish colonial period's classical architectural projects, the Catholic churches, employ various combinations of thick walls, bulky buttresses, massive columns, elevated floors, bipartite floor plans with occasional perpendicular wings, and in at least one instance (that of the San Agustin Parish Church in Paoay, Ilocos Norte), pyramidal finials reminiscent of Oriental temples.[1] Although European and foreign-trained architects supervised the construction of these structures, the end result unwittingly resembled ethnic strategies for massive constructions, as evident in this description of a tribal "large house":

> The two-leveled T'boli *gunu bong* [can be] found in the Lake Sebu area of south Cotabato. Around 14 meters long and 8-9 meters wide, it looks bigger because it has no partitions. Divisions are suggested optically by means of levels and posts. The lower central space is thus integrated with the elevated side areas: the area of honor, the sleeping areas, and the vesti-

> bule. The great size of such houses is necessary because a T'boli household, like the Maranao's, consists of an extended family numbering anywhere between 8 and 16 people. Polygamy, practiced by those who can afford it, adds to the number of residents in a house (Hila 39-40).

Reinforcing this cautionary propensity to maintain structural stability amid an imposing exterior and a sprawling interior, in Philippine Catholic churches, retablos [from the Latin retro-tabulum, "behind table/altar"] or altar pieces tended to be "more restrained than their counterparts in Spain or Mexico perhaps because of the absence of exceptionally brilliant European artists in the Philippines" (Javellana 156— defensive tone duly noted). In contrast with the foreign models, which emphasized designs and structures that the Filipinos relegated to decorative elements, the "foci were the niches containing *santos*" or icons of the saints (Javellana 157) (see fig. 1). Although prominence would be given to the so-called patron saint of any given parish, the walking-distance proximities of other towns (enabling *Visita Iglesia* or serial church-going during Holy Week) would still provide parishioners with the impression of the existence of multiple prominent saints.

Fig. 1. Retablo of Sta. Ana Church in Manila. (Photo by Theo Pie, used with permission)

Three final and apparent peripheral details should clinch this turn toward the visual—rather than the literary—tradition in relation to Philippine cinema. First is the open and willing participation of women in the decoration and maintenance of churches, occasionally forced into sexual servitude by friars during the Spanish era. Second is the repudiation of elements such as the retablos by the Second Vatican Council in 1965, which resulted in the demolition of some antique samples (Javellana 157). The third is the confirmation of the orientation toward the horizontal during the modernist phase of Philippine architecture, with municipal and residential buildings, cultural and convention centers, and, most impressively, shopping malls all vying for "largest" status not in terms of height but according to the number of city blocks each structure covers. As a specific example, Shoemart or SM, owned by Henry Sy, regarded as the pioneer in Philippine shopping mall constructions based its first few department stores on the shoebox design, with one long side of the structure constituting the façade. SM also holds the distinction of having three of the ten biggest malls in the world (Van Riper).

Modernization and Resistance

The modernist impulse in Philippine architecture may have been in evidence during the late Spanish era, but like film, the impulse took root and increasingly seized the citizens' imagination during the American occupation. By the time of the founding of the Philippine Institute of Architects in 1933, the younger names associated with it were to become associated with the arrival of modernist practice during the 1950s. The Philippines' post-war recovery efforts, coupled with the need to replace several major structures razed by the bombing of the city by the returning American forces, provided fertile ground for architectural modernism to take root: "Experimentation in cast concrete led to façades, massing, and building silhouettes never before seen" (Alcazaren).

Not surprisingly, following global trends, "during the last century, modern architecture ... was emblematically enmeshed with nationalism. ... By being both an agent and a product of nationalism, architecture can be considered not merely as a finished product ... but more importantly as an

active component of the formation of our consciousness as national subjects" (Cabalfin 34). As explicated by Edson Cabalfin, the strategy of "vernacularization" became the primary means of locating architecture "by alluding to indigenous social, cultural, political, and historical concepts" (34).

The process by which American colonial urban policy betokens not just an appreciation for lessons learned by previous practitioners given the new territory's alien properties (in relation to the experience of life on the American continent), but also the US's implicit acknowledgment that its colonial motives essentially proceeded from and built on the examples of European, specifically Spanish, predecessors. Daniel Burnham's redesign of Manila, observing the City Beautiful movement's prescriptions, were implemented by William Parsons via the Bureau of Public Works on the assumption that "the existing Spanish colonial architecture was indigenous; therefore, it was something to be preserved, and furthermore to serve as inspiration for future designs" (Cabalfin 35).

Cabalfin posits that the state of Philippine architecture after World War II persisted with the strategy of vernacularization but in the reverse direction: instead of regarding the indigenous as "something to be added [as Burnham and Parsons observed], but submissive to the overall foreign technology," designers during the newly independent nation "saw the vernacular as a way of asserting distinctiveness by using it as the dominant feature of design ... an articulation of a core doctrine of nationalist ideology" (35). This strategy allowed for Philippine architects to come into their own—a privilege even more pronounced in the allied popular-culture formats of film and serialized picture stories whose English name was Tagalized to *komiks*. A well-circulated sample page of the latter (see fig. 2), originally published in 1937, illustrates how the "indigenous" has the capacity to upend its foreign vessel: the characters, although in a rural setting, are attired like dandyish city types according to their generational associations; more surprisingly, even by contemporary standards, father and son engage in an exchange of blackmail based on faithlessness to one or the other's spouse or girlfriend, with the more elderly character getting the better of his more urbane-ap-

pearing son despite committing the greater transgression of courting the son's girlfriend.

Fig. 2. The misadventures ("kabalbalan") of Kenkoy by Tony Velasquez, originally serialized in *Liwayway* in 1937. (Reprinted on page 36 of John A. Lent's *The First One Hundred Years of Philippine Komiks and Cartoons*.)

Continuities

The reversal of the modernist strategy where the vernacular serves as the starting point, rather than the material added to Western-sourced media,

formats, and genres (presumably to enable local audiences to participate as consumers) shifted the onus of recognition from consumer to creator. In other words, where in a *komiks* sample like Kenkoy the reader would have had to follow a native character's progression in a new, mechanically reproduced vehicle, the later shift in modernist strategies ensured that the consumer (reader or audience) would be guaranteed with sufficient familiarity with the material, with the native producers and artists confronted with and working out the challenge of minimizing the potential for the consumer to be alienated or defamiliarized or distantiated from the material, owing to technological novelty or innovation.

Following Cabalfin's description of the US colonial-era producer reconfiguring Spanish-era practice as a sufficient indigenization of local cultural material, we may now be able to see the critically derided folk and fantasy material of the 1950s First Golden Age of Philippine Cinema[2] as bearers of this turn toward the recognizably "native." Many of these were *komiks*-derived; some were drawn directly from pre-American lore while others were contemporary inventions intended to evoke nostalgic attachment to an imagined premodern set of values occasionally set as counterparts to foreign pop-culture models, specifically in such characters as *Dyesebel*, *Kulafu*, *Juan Tamad*, *Darna*, the aforementioned *Kenkoy*, and the European royalty cast of the magical Adarna bird legend or the nationalist allegories of Francisco Balagtas or Jose Rizal, plus outright adaptations of foreign (non-US) materials referencing Muslim-Christian conflicts such as the stories of Prince Teñoso or the Seven Lara Princes, as well as epic-scale oriental narratives.

In terms of theater-going, the local culture's rootedness in Spanish-era practice may be deduced as well. The secular buildings that most resembled the form and function of Catholic churches were of course the movie theaters. Readily identifiable even up to the present are the façade that inspires commitment, the collection box(-office) that demands affordable contributions, the oral and written announcements that indicate regular and special performances, the formal seating arrangement that directs attention to the spectacle up front, the seemingly three-dimensional retablo with its bevy of living icons. The facts that the alien languages of Latin and Spanish

have been replaced by vernacular tongues and that the notoriously abusive Caucasian friars have been permanently banished from the scene serve to heighten the appeal of the new temples.

Modernity makes its mark most felt in the manner in which technological developments enhance the experience further: sound and color, special audiovisual effects, air conditioning, luxurious seating more or less, casual fashions and behavior—all ensure that any relevant developments in future will somehow always find their way to the individual devotee, unlike the many eternal discomforts of church attendance. And above all the darkness, always the darkness, perfect for anyone who wishes or needs to carry out the occasional suppressed pleasurable act in virtual anonymity: whether talking back to onscreen characters or out loud to friends or strangers, cruising for any number of illicit transactions, consummating lustful or gluttonous propensities, even indulging in one's own personal spectacle through the simple procedure of falling asleep and dreaming, sometimes without ever awakening again.

The romance of regular film attendance and its origins in religious attendance point up the limits that serve to contain whatever transgression occurs on the part of the spectator, whether acted out by the spectator herself or, more often, witnessed on the projected spectacle.[3] The participant has to be assured that, at worst, the occurrences onscreen remain a fiction, or that her personal scandals will somehow be disengaged from her public identity once she emerges, so far still-unrecognized, into the light outside.

On the national scale, this dynamic of intermittent resistance and ultimate containment was constantly being played out in the country's engagement with the historical circumstance of colonialism. The very first encounter with European adventurers demonstrated this principle: on the one hand, the "heroic" Ferdinand Magellan, a mercenary adventurer who could only supplicate another country's king for the support he needed for his trip; on the other hand, a band of natives, numerous enough to overpower the Spaniards, who (by the Spaniards' account) employed stealth and deception to send the enemy running, their leader fatally wounded. Juxtaposing this factual instance with the droll, possibly satirical treatment

of epic heroes in native myths might enable one to argue that individual heroicizing, whether of oneself or of others, is circumscribed in local culture by the Oriental tendency toward humorous self-deprecation.

Film production ensures an industrial niche that will hold its own against takeover attempts by outsiders since the requisite of cultural specificity (starting with native-language fluency) gives the edge over to the local practitioners. In the aftermath of the worst periods of economic devastations in the Philippines in the last half-century—the mid-century Japanese occupation as well as the people-power uprising against Ferdinand Marcos in the last three decades—the local film industry was always the first to revive and forge ahead in impressive ways, through box-office record-setting, successful promotional gimmicks, and critical and popular patronage. Evidence of the primacy of the local can be seen as early as the founding years of production, when American investors competed in releasing films on Filipino heroism and patriotism, sometimes to the point of incurring the ire of colonial officials. The first local film controversy, which occurred in 1912, was also long regarded as resulting in the first film productions that could be called "Filipino," even though the major players were Americans. This consisted of Albert Yearsly rushing a production, *La pasion y muerte de Dr. Rizal* (*The Suffering and Death of Dr. Rizal*), to coincide with the subject and release date of a major motion picture, *La vida de Rizal* (*The Life of Rizal*) being directed by Harry Brown from the play by Edward Meyer Gross (Pilar 12-13).[4]

To be able to see how this balance—between questioning a predetermined and inevitable arrangement yet in the end submitting to its terms—was negotiated and maintained, a film release from the period under discussion can be brought in as an emblematic sample. The said title was produced by LVN Pictures, a major house just starting to consolidate its position of prominence in the industry, and directly referenced the still-prevalent socioeconomic crises brought about by World War II; just as significantly, it features a central woman character who embodies a combination of hope in the present and anxiety in the future. In the type of films this sample represents, however, the central character functions not so much as a lone

hero as a social hero. The difference can be understood from a sampling of generic texts from the opposite extreme, the male-centered Hollywood genre of, say, film noir or, better yet, the Western, where the hero either functions alone (with his romantic interest serving as distraction or even liability) or, when forced to interact with a community, changes that community, makes his mark on it, impresses it with his qualities as a man.

Social Heroics

In a sense, the positioning of the generic male protagonist as always "heroic" is an inescapable consequence of the values assigned to two overlapping spheres of practice: masculinity (with its ethos of dominance) and characterization (with its abhorrence of passivity), one reinforcing the other. To say, however, that with women passivity thereby becomes acceptable (see fig. 2) is to operate within the same terms that gave rise to the present-day sensitive-male conundrum in the West. In fact, the process of crossing over from the colonizing center to the colonized margin enables the reformulation of gender relations, not just as a reversal, but also as a corrective to the political relations between nations and groups. A man, from the perspective of the colonizer, can no longer be an equal if he has been colonized. But while First-World liberals may view with disfavor and consistently denounce deteriorated instances of what they see as the replication of traditional Western gender relations in the Third World, the question lies in how exactly concepts of gender are formulated elsewhere, and if the same valences of automatic inequalities apply.

Gregorio Fernandez's *Malvarosa,* released in 1958, concerns a large nuclear family aspiring to recover from the devastation wrought by World War II, when both the retreating Japanese occupiers and the advancing American re-occupiers dropped so many bombs, set so many fires, and killed so many civilians that, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Manila was one of the most devastated cities in the world at that point, traditionally regarded as comparable in its misery to Warsaw. The country was in such dire straits that, when the American government insisted on setting up military bases and implementing parity rights as preconditions for financial aid,

Fig. 3. LVN stars in gendered *harana* [serenade] poses, with the men wooing via the use of music and the women, perched by the window, reserving the prerogative to be moved by their serenaders' entreaties. (LVN publicity still)

the Filipinos had no choice but to acquiesce. Thus the United States wound up with the largest chunks of real estate for military and naval use outside its borders, free of charge, and enabled its citizens to repatriate the profits they made in a country whose investors were in no position to even the score even if they were allowed to. The strongest blows to national pride were dealt on the military level. After the United States forces pulled out of Manila and declared it an open city, the Filipinos were left to organize their own resistance movement against the Japanese. In the spirit of the United States' wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap, or Anti-Japanese People's Army), under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, participated in the resistance. Filipino guerrillas were on the verge of liberating Manila when

United States Gen. Douglas MacArthur reappeared, in fulfillment of his promise to return.[5]

The scenario was reminiscent of the first American occupation, when during the turn of the twentieth century the United States forces showed up and claimed to have banished the Spaniards when in fact the Filipino troops had already effectively routed the colonial army. As in the earlier occupation, any form of resistance to the United States was dealt with severely. Not only were several anti-Japanese guerrillas rounded up and imprisoned for being Communists, non-Hukbalahap fighters had to wait decades (many eventually died of old age) for the compensation as veterans that the United States had dangled as incentive. The Hukbalahap guerrillas who managed to elude imprisonment carried on a peasant-based armed struggle that continues to the present, in spirit if not in lineage.

Philippine partisan scholarship traditionally regards the successful members of the native bourgeoisie as collaborationists, who surrender the country's patrimony in exchange for personal and familial gains. The predicament in this formulation is that colonial apologists can (and regularly do) take up the same line of argument to shift the blame back to the colonized population, i.e., that the national character is so flawed that those who achieve positions of leadership are incapable of thinking for and acting in the interests of the larger group.[6] The behavior of the post-war Filipino film industry as a whole exhibited these contradictions. Effectively a cartel patterned after the pre-Paramount decision era in the United States, the industry comprised three active production houses, just as it did before the war, with one participant being replaced by a newcomer. Hence, the pre-war Sampaguita, LVN, and Lebran mutated into the post-war LVN, Sampaguita, and Premiere.[7]

Apart from their expected record as monopolists who, by ushering in a period of stability, gave rise to a clutch of quality productions, the so-called "Big Three" are more strongly indicted in historical texts for union-busting, adopting the Hollywood version of the anti-Communist blacklist to apply to unruly performers and technicians. The Filipino film critics circle's Natatanging Gawad Urian (Urian Lifetime Achievement Award) citation for

actor Anita Linda related how she supported a crew strike at Premiere, her home studio. Though she was regarded as the top dramatic actress of the period (now known as the first Golden Age of Philippine cinema), she was reprimanded, her contract dissolved, and after approaching a rival studio and being put on hold, she could only find work in television until her comeback during the Second Golden Age of the seventies (Manunuri ng Pelikulang Pilipino 364-67).

Here we see how, where the concerns of Hollywood were squarely in line (or, from a different perspective, forced to conform) with the American avowals of god-fearing, free-trade principles, those of the Philippines's Big Three simply centered on self-survival. More tellingly, the post-war Big Three's insistence on formalities—from behavior through training to salary agreements—though usually ascribed to the need to upgrade the image of the industry, can now be regarded in a different light. After all, how much upgrading is needed to be done when the industry's founding entrepreneurs were white men, when established local talents in theater and literature found their way to wangling film assignments (and found their way back to the stage, during the three-year shutdown that occurred during the Japanese occupation), and when lofty sentiments, nationalism not the least of the lot, became the subject of popular controversy? The heyday of Filipino B-film and soft-core pornographic production was still in the future, during the aptly named swinging '60s, and considered inconceivable at that point.

By way of illustration, *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958), which will be discussed more intensively later, was produced by LVN, whose owner-founder Narcisa Buencamino vda. de Leon (her preferred title) was better known by the Hispanic honorific Doña Sisang and was described as caring "not only about [her stars'] financial stability, but about their private lives" to the point of monitoring their choice of dates, destinations, and arrival at home (Tirol 132). This obsession with detail had less to do with moralistic control, since Doña Sisang occasionally defended her actors' indiscretions, but was necessary because "in a factory, you don't allow the luxury of a temper tantrum. Scheduling is all" (Torre, "Doña Sisang" 10).

An easier explanation for the stiffness (and stuffiness) of film practice, and of immediate post-war Philippine "high" culture as a whole, can be deduced from a parallel in literature from an earlier era: during the initial turn-of-the-century period of American occupancy, "The poets [who wrote] in Spanish resisted American colonization and its corroding influence by exalting *hispanidad*, or the value of the country's Hispanic past, the Catholic religion, and the Spanish language. In their poems, *hispanidad* [became] synonymous with *filipinidad*" (Cruz-Lucero 239). To say that this perspective of using an older foreign culture as a buffer against a newer one had trickled upward, as it were, until it was naturalized as a nationalist strategy by local industrialists is to misperceive the crucial class-based nature of the phenomenon as it evolved in the Philippines. To be a poet, i.e., to be literate, during and immediately after the Spanish era, was to be so privileged that the colonizers even had a term, *ilustrado*, for such exceptional native residents. Thus the clash of cultures, although intended by the natives (and Spanish descendants) to counteract the incursion of the New World (see fig. 3), also bespoke of contempt for the arrival of the individualist, materialist, secularist, and relatively negotiable values being brought over by the Americans.

The fact that the vast Filipino majority became Americanized more quickly than their "betters" had as much to do with the Spaniards' resistance to assimilating the *indios* (a policy in marked contrast with their colonial strategies elsewhere, including in Latin America) as with the Americans' eagerness to demonize the Spaniards from the outset, starting with their endorsement of the reformist José Rizal, executed by the Spaniards, as the Philippines' national hero, and proffering English language usage, public education, and widespread immunization as innovations that would make an impact on the grassroots level. This Foucauldian demonstration of the benevolence of power thus served to mask, if not complement, the brutal and heavy-handed suppression of dissent by United States troops, both propensities working hand in hand through the duration of the American occupation. And though, several decades later, United States militarists might prefer to blame the assistance extended by the Soviet Union to the Vietnamese for the failure of the Americans' second colonial adventure in

Asia, the Philippine experience provides a paradoxical basis for qualification: In order to succeed, not only should the process of colonization be unopposed and inhumanely ruthless (an option unavailable for the most part in Viet Nam because of the coverage of liberal American and global media), it should also be "benevolent" to the point, if necessary, of unprofitability—a point asserted in reverse (as a condemnation of the failure, in financial terms, of the Philippine colonization enterprise) by certain influential military officials (Anderson 305-06).

Forward-looking

Malvarosa (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958) possesses a curious reputation in relation to the other prestige productions of the first Golden Age. Two other LVN films that preceded and succeeded it, Lamberto V. Avellana's *Anak Dalita* (*Child of Sorrow*) (1956) and Manuel Silos's *Biyaya ng Lupa* (*Bounty of the Earth*) (1959) respectively, garnered major prizes in regional festivals during the period, and eventually wound up as the only black-and-white titles in a *Sight and Sound* type survey of ten all-time best Filipino films (David with Garduño 135). Although sharing certain neorealist properties with the other LVN entries (the slum setting of *Anak Dalita*, the yearning for one's own land in *Biyaya ng Lupa*), *Malvarosa* also partakes of the overreliance on coincidence and the mercurial performative style that characterize the less-reputable commercial undertakings of Philippine cinema, those of its home studio included (see fig. 4).

The opening sequence, which explicates the origin of the title, has a slum-dwelling couple, both fond of gambling and drinking, discover the wife's pregnancy; Prosa, the wife, then consults a fortune-teller, who tells her the child will be a boy and will be followed by four other sons, until in the end a daughter will be born. Through what may be preposterously expert family planning or, more likely, unnaturally fortunate flippancy, Prosa decides in advance to name the boys in such a way that they form the acronym "Malva" (Melanio, Alberto, Leonides, Vedasto, and Avelino), and the girl of course becomes "Rosa" (see fig. 5). The plot then skips over the kids' childhood years and shows them as young adults, with Rosa playing

Fig. 4. Vicente Salumbides's *Florante at Laura/Florante and Laura* (1949), based on a Spanish-era nationalist narrative which, though written in Tagalog, is set in Europe with triumphant Christian morality as its metaphorical foundation. (LVN publicity still)

the role of breadwinner and budgeter, pinning her hopes on her youngest brother that he may finish his education, and holding off on her ne'er-do-well elder brothers and her persistent suburban-obsessed suitor. Her position as surrogate mother is consolidated when Damian, her father, in a drunken stupor, is run over by a train and her mother, having witnessed the accident, goes into and out of catatonia for the rest of the narrative.

The combination of jump-starts, attention-grabbing devices, and haywire developments marks the story as *komiks*-derived—it was, in fact, written by contemporary film scriptwriter and scholar Clodualdo A. del Mundo, Jr.'s father and serialized in a popular outlet, *Espesyal Komiks* (*Special Comics*) (see fig. 6). The material was adapted for film by Consuelo P. Osorio, who went on to become one of the few active Filipino women directors until the Second Golden Age of the 1970s, famed for "light" genre pieces such as comedies and teen-idol musicals. The typical narrative excursions, plus the

Fig. 5. Sensationalist layout for *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958), with emphasis on the mother figure played by Rebecca del Rio, known for her specialization in glamorous *femme fatale* roles. (Photo courtesy of Video 48, used with permission)

Fig. 6. The beauty of suffering: symmetrical pattern of the sibling characters in *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958), with the youngest and only sister as floral stigma and her brothers as petals. (Photo courtesy of Video 48, used with permission)

invaluable contribution of visual novelty, helped make serial picture-stories better sellers than the standard journalistic outlets of newspapers and magazines, a fact that held true until the end of the previous millennium (much the same way new media monopolizes the attention of the young today), and that continued to generate resentment on the part of "professional" media practitioners.

What violates the ethos of prestige during the period is how a film with such low-brow origins could have been slated for quality release, and in fact the likelier, though now-unconfirmable, process was that as a project, *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958) was begun as primarily a commercial showcase for the sensual and fiery Charito Solis (playing Rosa), a character

Fig. 7. Cover and first page of the issue that launched the *Malvarosa* serial. (Photo courtesy of Video 48, used with permission)

actor with a villainous persona (Rebecca del Rio, playing Prosa, the mother), two theater-trained "heavies" (Vic Silayan and Vic Diaz, playing Melanio and Leonides respectively), two romantic types (Carlos Padilla and Leroy Salvador, playing Alberto and Candido, Rosa's suitor, respectively), and two up-and-coming matinee-idol types (Rey Ruiz and Eddie Rodriguez, playing Vedasto and Avelino respectively) (see fig. 7).

The centrality of Rosa in the narrative is one further affront to the masculinist sensibilities of serious storytelling in local film practice, where for purposes of contrast *Anak Dalita* (Lamberto V. Avellana, 1956) has the

returning Korean-War veteran saving the golden-hearted sex worker from perdition and *Biyaya ng Lupa* (Manuel Silos, 1959) has the townspeople overpowering a *taong-labas* (outsider) to save the orchard of a virtuous widow. The difficulty of appreciating the unraveling of the strands in a multiple narrative is evident in the customary recourse among plot summarizers of recounting the story as an account of each of the characters, as exemplified in the following actual summary in the government-published arts encyclopedia:

> Rosa's brothers go through their own agonies. Melanio is pursued by the women he has had affairs with. Alberto, who is driven away by the mother of the girl he loves, attempts to rape the girl and, frustrated, commits suicide. The crafty Vedasto persuades Rosa to work for a wealthy man who has designs on her. The violent Leonides kills a man and dies in a bloody encounter with the police. The youngest, Avelino, is the only brother who is patient and responsible enough to help Rosa bear the family's burdens (Sicat 174-175).

Such a plotline suggests an affinity with early theatrical attempts at relating the stories of several characters in succession, notably Arthur Schnitzler's 1896 play *La Ronde* (*The Roundabout*) (adapted for film in 1950 by Max Ophüls). If the adaptational process were identical, the result would not only be as described in the above summary, the unifying character (Rosa in *Malvarosa*, the Raconteur, or Death, as it turns out, in *La Ronde*) would also serve as both guide and motive. The viewing experience, however, will reveal a more complicated designation for the lead character in *Malvarosa*, one that blurs any distinction between activeness and passivity, thus further ensuring its sub-literary stature in relation to the canon. In the absence of any available screenplay, the sequence breakdown of the transcription from a videocopy of the sole existing full-gauge print may be sourced online (Osorio).

The sequence list takes several liberties for the sake of brevity and simplification. From sequence 30 onward (out of a total of 60), or roughly midway, the film increasingly relies on parallel editing strategies, with the plot resolution comprising as much as four settings being intercut for quicker

pacing and heightened reality effects. The fact that Filipino film producers from the first Golden Age observed a dichotomy between realism and popular fiction is relevant but not entirely applicable in this instance. The moguls were proceeding from an undeclared Old World-vs.-New World opposition, expressed, as explained earlier, in a preference for a high-culture Europeanized past to balance (and critique) the unmitigated materialism of the Americanized present. Within an aesthetic framework, this consisted of neorealist products being created for international festival and local awards competitions, while more generic Hollywood-inspired samples were the bread-and-butter products that enabled the realization of these occasional prestige projects.

Though currently considered to belong to the "prestige" rather than the commercialist camp, *Malvarosa* actually breaks out of either mold in that it utilizes generic elements—melodramatic developments, action sequences, fantastic coincidences, contemporaneous humor and lingo—in the service of a slum-set narrative that, more important, promotes an unusual empathy with undesirable social types (the murderer, the pimp, the polygamist, the rapist) through the then-also-unusual strategy of identification with a female character. The latter, though virtuous, was not anyone's mother either—in other words, a "girl," with all the attendant pre-feminist connotations the word carries. But if Rosa's girlishness reduces her stature relative to the men and the mother the narrative surrounds her with, other factors point to a reverse arrangement: not only has the mother been neutralized, the father is dead; the brothers demand of her the impartiality of a parent, which she refuses to grant; her suitor keeps breaking up with her for downgrading his marriage offer, yet keeps returning to reconcile with her; and though at one point she turns into the standard damsel-in-distress type in the hands of her physical (and social) superior, it is her allure, rather than her boyfriend's good-heartedness, that causes the latter to seek her out and enables him to save her (fig. 8).

In contrast with this recognizably post-classical sensibility, through this period until well into the sixties, the most successful Filipina film auteur was director-actor Rosa Mia, of whom no scholarly consideration has yet

Fig. 8. Publicity pose of the *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958) siblings, with Rosa (Charito Solis) and her wholesome brother (Eddie Rodriguez) bookending their problematic older brothers (left to right: Rey Ruiz, Carlos Padilla, Vic Silayan, and Vic Diaz).

been done. Part of the reason for the glaring lack may lie in the fact that, in feminist terms, her persona provokes as much embarrassment as her career generates admiration: her success was founded on her monopoly of the role of religiously devout working-class mothers martyred by godless family members. In fact Mia can be regarded as a direct predecessor of leftist-feminist icon Nora Aunor, not only because of the overlap in their timelines and their similarity of skin color, but also because of the martyr-element in their respective personae, with Aunor's partaking of the more politically responsive (and analytically enabling) role of the domestic worker.

Final Ruptures

Against the concern of experiencing a text as having multiple characters, the use in *Malvarosa* of a girl as social hero facilitates a crucial combination of distance (the character is neither mature nor motherly) and appeal (she strives to play grown-up in a world populated by some of the worst possible types of men). The fact that, within the ideal of classical unities, the narra-

Fig. 9. Scenes from *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958), clockwise from top left: grown-up, Rosa is first seen being treated as laundry worker by her older brothers; when her drunken father fetches her mother from the gambling house, he stumbles on the railway tracks and gets run over by a train; when Rosa supports the youngest brother's education, her other brothers accuse her of playing favorites; one brother, a sacristan, scolds their mother for her traumatized fixation on her late husband; the youngest brother tries to appease the sacristan sibling, but the latter leaves and attempts to rape a neighbor whose mother had disrespected his family; the last brother to leave, the eldest, does so after Rosa chases away his girlfriends, who had insisted on asking her for support for the brother's children. (Frame captures by author)

tive is fractured serves to disrupt, among other things, the processes of identification (Fig. 9). In a genuine multiple-narrative sample, the narrative's disruptions coincide with the emergence of new lead characters demanding identificatory responses, but what matters within the scope of film practice represented by the exceptional case that was *Malvarosa* is how, although affiliated with (and bearing the stamp and pedigree of) neorealist practice,[8] the film is actually closer to a non-constructive realism:

> The realist position is compatible with the argument that the claims we make about things are not all and fully controlled by us. But unlike constructivist

> accounts, which hold that we cannot in principle know anything about the mind-independent world (let alone the ways in which this world exercises constraints on us and our knowledge), the realist account actually takes the idea of causal interactions between humans and the world seriously without discounting either our dependence as finite beings on the world or our own causal interference in it.... It is, in fact, the intimate interaction of matter and idea in the human world, with its constraining and enabling forces, that allows us to pose the question, not of whether we can "reach" (or not reach) the real, but of whether we can have a more or less effective significative mediation/knowledge of the world, with its attendant questions of particular error or correctness (Hau 22-23).

From the foregoing one could provisionally conclude that the social hero, within the terms of a potentially multiple-narrative text, is positioned firmly within the world contained by the film narrative. Although the avowal of the hero in *Malvarosa* is to rise above her station one way or another, the resolution "flattens" her heroism, in a manner of speaking, in a way that favors and augments social insight. She has striven—and most valiantlyno doubt, but she lives in a man's world (much as a Third World country exists in an American universe), and so in the end she winds up with even less, in material terms—no house, no job, no reputation, no men to assist her. The survivors' defiantly upbeat walk into the sunset is actually a radical modification of the Hollywood Western generic feature: not a hero but (the remnants of) a family, not away from the screen (and the social witnesses, the audience) but toward the camera, representing the sun setting down on what history has wrought on slum inhabitants wherever and whenever they dare and continue to hope. The survivors walk on the same railway tracks on which the family patriarch died. With Rosa leading this final party, we can look at a prophetic element in the historical record of Filipino women confronting the onslaught of development (wherein the country keeps losing in relation to and because of neocolonial interventions), all the way to the current reality of Filipinas outnumbering Filipinos in staking economic claims as migrant laborers all over the world.[9]

Fig. 10. Scenes from *Malvarosa* (Gregorio Fernandez, 1958), left: Rosa is prevented from committing suicide by her boyfriend and her youngest brother, but unknown to them, an even worse event, the conflagration of her family's house, is about to be announced; right: now homeless and seeking their future, Rosa's family reconciles with the only other surviving brother, who had earlier been banished for attempting to pimp his sister to a rich friend. (Frame captures by author)

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Notes

1. For extensive descriptions of specific samples, see the entries in Tiongson (ed.), *Philippine Architecture* for "Daraga Church" (227), "Laoag Cathedral" (239-40), "Loboc Church" (241-42), and "Paoay Church" (263-64).
2. Standard periodizations of Philippine cinema name two Golden Ages: Jessie B. Garcia's "The Golden Decade of Philippine Movies" (39-54), considers the 1950s heyday of the Big Three studios (four actually, but with one declining as the other emerged) as the first; while Joel David's "A Second Golden Age" (1-17) argues for the martial-law period (roughly 1974, two years after Ferdinand Marcos's declaration, to 1986) as the second. Contemporary digital practitioners claim that the current revival of quality production constitutes an ongoing Golden Age as well. More confusingly, the "official" history of Philippine cinema, published in the CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art, argued for a pre-1950s Golden Age, roughly set during the 1930s (Torre, "Classics of the Filipino Film" 50-57), despite the current unavailability of any of the films cited as proof by the article. David provided a problematization of the Golden Ages mentality in "The Golden Ages of Philippine Cinema: A Critical Reassessment" (217-24).
3. For an accomplished problematization of the transgressive prerogatives of the female spectator (and their containment), within the context of early Italian cinema, see Giuliana Bruno's *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map*.
4. For an account of how American film producers encountered censorship problems in the Philippines, ironically from their own colonial government, see Agustin Sotto's historical monograph *Pelikula* (8).
5. One piece of evidence that indicts MacArthur and his arrival party is in fact the celluloid proof of his landing— so perfectly shot at low tide with impressively starched uniforms and the sun at a just-so angle that it could only have been taken much later in the day, with allowances made for costume changes owing (presumably) to the need for retakes; hence the claim that he had been able to "liberate" the island of Leyte within the same day could not have been carried out by himself or the other performers.
6. See, as a fairly sympathetic example, Nick Cullather's *Illusions of Influence*, which nevertheless argues that crony capitalism in the Philippines was promoted by American colonial policy (193). More appallingly, throughout his Granta publication, James Hamilton-Paterson persuasively insists that the couple who implemented a United States-sanctioned conjugal dictatorship unparalleled, even by global standards, in its rapacity and staying power were actually being true to the nature of the Filipino.
7. Because of periods where newly founded studios overlapped with about-to-be-defunct ones, a number of observers maintain that four is the magic number.

Justifications for and speculations on the numerological principle of having three participants—a major, a rival, and an underdog—can be found in David (126-28).

8. Elliott Stein, reporting on the 1983 edition of the Manila International Film Festival, describes *Malvarosa* as having been "directed as straightforward neorealism.... The crazed sincerity of this curious slice of life is deeply affecting" (51).
9. The national-allegorical complications of this type of reading have been discussed extensively, the most celebrated case being the exchanges in the *Social Text* journal between Fredric Jameson and Aijaz Ahmad. See Jameson, "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" (65-88); Ahmad, "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory'" (3-25); and Jameson, "A Brief Response" (26-28). How productive the debate has been can be seen in the number of major discursive commentaries it continues to generate, including Madhava Prasad, "On the Question of a Theory of (Third) World Literature" (57-83); Michael Sprinker, "The National Question: Said, Ahmad, Jameson" (3-29); and Imre Szeman, "Who's Afraid of National Allegory?" (803-27) in addition to book-length interventions by Spivak, Chakrabarty, and Jameson and Ahmad themselves.

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Unveiling Sacred Women

Musical Representations of the Changing Construct of Femininity in the Mass Settings of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila (1871-1874)*

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Abstract

In the field of Philippine music discourse, there has been an apparent marginalization of women throughout the country's history. While, in general, this problem may be attributed to the dearth of historical accounts, in particular, it is due to the lack of source materials in music that could merit investigation from this perspective. Thus, the reemergence of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila,* a five-volume sacred music anthology published in Manila (1871-1874), is vital in a discussion of women in music and culture, especially the changing construction of religiosity, femininity, and identity in the context of the country's Spanish colonial experience (1521-1898). This crucial moment in Philippine history was a crossroad for encounters that marked significant alterations in the ideological orientation of Filipino women. Hispanization of the archipelago, viewed as the metaphoric blending of the East and West, altered explicitly the cultural construct of women. It is from this perspective that the paper seeks to locate social meanings that emanate from the music of the monjas (contemplative nuns) of the Monasterio de Santa Clara and paradigmatically explores the

interconnectedness of this music among issues of gender, sexuality and identity with the aim of providing representations of Filipino femininity through a conceptual approach that is historically oriented, socially grounded and musically substantiated.

Keywords

women music, femininity, religiosity, musical representations, music in Hispanic Manila, Monasterio de Santa Clara

Introduction

In the field of Philippine music discourse, there has been an apparent marginalization of women throughout the country's history. While, in general, this problem may be attributed to the dearth of historical accounts, in particular, it is due to the lack of source materials in music that could merit investigation from this perspective. Thus, the reemergence of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila*,[1] a five-volume sacred music anthology published in Manila (1871-1874), is vital in a discussion of women in music and culture, especially the changing construction of religiosity, femininity, and identity in the context of the country's Spanish colonial experience (1521-1898). The paper will attempt to demonstrate that there exists a dynamic correlation of the aesthetic and structural abstraction of music productions of the period in relation to music's social history that critically examines music, gender and identity brought about by colonialism in Philippine society.

Spanish colonialism, a crucial moment in Philippine history, was a crossroad for encounters that marked significant alterations in the ideological orientation of Filipino women. Hispanization of the archipelago, viewed as the metaphoric blending of the East and West, altered explicitly the cultural construct of women and the Filipino identity at large. It is from this perspective that this paper seeks to locate social meanings that emanate from the music of the *monjas* (contemplative nuns) of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* and to paradigmatically explore the interconnectedness of this music to issues of religiosity, gender, and identity with the aim of providing represen-

1 *The Manual–Cantoral de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila* is a five-volume anthology of sacred music printed by *Litografia Oppel* in 1871-1874 in Escolta, Manila. At present it is the earliest extant music source printed in the country. The Series 2 was unearthed by the author at the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church of Baclayon, the Series 1a and 1b at the Lopez Museum, Series 4 at the Franciscan Archives in San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City and the Series 3 was located at the Archdiocese Archives of San Fernando, Pampanga.

tations of hybridity and Filipino femininity[2] through a conceptual approach that is historically oriented, socially grounded and musically substantiated.

Intramuros or the *Ciudad Murada* (Walled City) was the bastion of Hispanism in this part of the globe. This cultural space was the focal point in the spread of Christianity and Western ideologies to the peripheral regions of the Philippine archipelago, which eventually paved the way for the burgeoning of a distinct Christianized western-derived cultural tradition in the country. Hispanization in the context of Philippine colonial experience was a defining factor that transformed Philippine society and culture.

Within the walls of Intramuros was the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara*,[3] the only female religious establishment in the citadel where one could hear women singing in church services. Nick Joaquin provides a textual imagery of this musical reality when he writes about womenfolk's excitement in hearing mass at the *monasterio*, which was open to the public only on solemn occasions. To quote Joaquin, "mass there had a special awesomeness: from behind the lattices came the voices of the women the world never saw, singing within the royal monastery the taboo of whose cloisters had been violated once: by the British, in 1762. (17)"

In another account, Henry T. Ellis, a traveler from Hong Kong, witnessed a rare occasion while visiting Manila in 1858: That of the admission of a candidate to the nunnery, which according to him, was the only time the citizens of Old Manila saw the *monjas* of Santa Clara. Here, Ellis expressed

2 Here I used Webster's definition of femininity, referring to qualities and behaviors judged by a particular culture to be ideally associated with or especially appropriate to women and girls. Distinct from femaleness, which is a biological and physiological classification concerned with the reproductive system, femininity principally refers to socially-acquired traits and secondary sex characteristics.

3 The *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* was the first women religious group to establish a monastery in Manila. Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion, a professed Poor Clare nun from Toledo, at the age of 66 came to Manila together with nine other religious women in 1621 to establish the monastery for Spanish and *criollo* (Spaniards born in the Philippines) women who want to live a cloistered life dedicated to prayer and sacrifice.

his awe and wonder regarding the music that emanated from the *monjas* of the Monasterio:

> In a lofty-vaulted entrance-chamber, to which—save that from the door leading to the cloister—no ray of external light was admitted, were fifteen figures, completely covered from head to foot in black garments. Their veils, apparently of thick, black crepe, if not of something more impervious still to light, descending to the waist. Each figure bore a tall, lighted taper, just sufficient to make darkness more grimly visible and, as they glided to and fro, chanted one of the most dolorous strains I ever remember hearing; the muffling of the thick veils, of course, increasing the melancholy nature of its sound (257).

The notion of disembodied voices in these vocal performances that is the singing of these religious women within the hidden lattices and thick veils has certainly evoked an enigma about those seemingly mysterious and shadowy women of society that musicologists need to unveil for meaning and signification.

The *monjas* and the *beatas* in Philippine society were born out of the colonial hegemony of Spain. Music was a most intriguing part of their cloistered lives. Varied questions, both general and specific, arise that problematize such a musico-cultural phenomenon. Firstly, how did the coming of a dominant patriarchal order affect / effect[4] spirituality, gender and identity constructions of women in the early colonial period Secondly, is it possible to locate articulations of the social and cultural identities of these women in music productions of that period? Lastly, how are social meanings generated in the interplay of colonial spirituality, femininity, identity, and music? To attempt to provide answers to such interrogations, I draw attention to the

4 Affect used in this context means "to influence" while effect means "to bring about". The coming of the colonial order didn't just influence aspects of the native's society and culture but brought about new constructs as a result of the imposition of Western colonial system. The *monjas* and the *beatas* were clear representations of colonial constructions in Philippine society brought about by Spanish colonialism.

need to formulate a methodological framework with which to ground this investigation.

A most common problem in the field of music studies is the bridging dichotomies between theoretical ideas, i.e. internal vs. external, objective vs. subjective, humanistic vs. scientific, conceptual vs. empirical, structural vs. postmodern, and so on. Theodor Adorno was one of the first thinkers to propose a possible mediation of dualities in musical scholarship. He advocates the abandonment of the separation of method from the subject matter. Adorno argues:

> Method is not something to be applied to an object in a fixed and unvarying manner. Instead, method should adapt itself to its object and legitimate itself by the light it sheds on it. The individual fields of research should be treated not as neatly coordinated with or subordinated to, each other, but in terms of their dynamic relationships (2).

Thus, Adorno proposes a methodological tool that emanates from the cultural object itself, critically assessing the relation of these objects to the particular society in which it was a product.

He further states that:

> A sociology of music has a dual relationship to its object: an internal and an external dimension. It can only transcend the disastrously superficial reduction of products of the intellect to social circumstances if it locates the social dimension in their autonomous form and perceives it as an aesthetic content. Sociological concepts that are imposed on music from the outside, without being able to demonstrate their credentials in strictly musical terms, remain devoid of force (2).

For Adorno, music is a social product. A study of music then has to go beyond the structural abstraction of its intrinsic elements and should attempt to locate meaning in its social dimension. Interesting is his proposition of bridging these two together to validate the approach.

On the other hand, Ruth Solie, a noted musicologist and feminist, has proposed a theoretical framework that takes into consideration the nature

of musical representations, which according to her is usually ignored due to music's nonrepresentational status. She emphasizes the importance of "analysis of the particularity of musical constructions of alterity, of the techniques of musical imaginary and how these musical signs come to bear meaning" (2). Her interpretative analytical model to provide musical significations through representations is a seemingly convincing methodological tool. Thus, the application of a holistic interdisciplinary approach,which draws attention to the intrinsic aspect of music study (i.e. the structural analysis of the music compositions) mediated with its extrinsic elements (i.e. the sociocultural historical orientation of the object of study) and further subjected to an interpretative hermeneutical inquiry of musical representations, will be utilized in this particular study

To attempt to address the questions posed as regards to the music of the *monjas* from the anthology *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara*, this paper endeavors to apply this methodological approach in order to bring out new findings and meanings in musical scholarship. Series 2 of the Santa Clara anthology contains *misas classicas, processiones y bendiciones* (classical masses, processions and benediction music). Three of the mass compositions are intriguing since descriptive titles are attached to them, namely, *Misa Hispano-Filipina, Misa Devota* and *Misa Caprichosa.*[5] Since these compositions were music productions of the eighteenth century and representative of music composed in Manila during that period, I propose to subject the three mass cycles to close scrutiny and critically examine these in the context of representations of colonial spirituality, gender and identity construction of religious women in the history of Hispanic Philippines.

5 There were no identified composers of the music from this anthology. However, it is possible that a certain Fray Lorenzo Castello, an Augustinian from Valencia was assigned in the Philippines could have composed this music.

The Establishment of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* and Women Religiosity in Early Colonial Manila

In the year 1598, Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion, a professed Poor Clare Nun from Toledo, received information that the city of Manila had plans of establishing a foundation for a monastery of nuns. However, this was realized only 22 years later. Accounts have it that the "procurator wielded a considerable influence in convincing the Royal Council of the Indies to rush the commission naming Sor Jeronima, Abbess and Foundress of the Monastery in Manila and as such was empowered to go to the Philippines with other religious of the Order."[6] She was then 66 years old.

On April 28, 1620, Sor Jeronima sailed with nine other religious women to start the foundation in Manila. However, a companion died during the voyage. Sor Jeronima together with the other eight religious women arrived at the port of Bolinao in Zambales on July 24, 1621 and made their way to Manila by land on the 5th of August of the same year. Their arrival in Intramuros, Manila was widely celebrated. Felix Huerta[7] writes:

> Imponderable es, ciertamente, el júbilo y recocijo manifestado por los manilenses al ver entrar por sus puertas los nueve coros angélicos, personificados cada uno en una religiosa (36).
>
> [Certainly, it is unimaginable the joy and happiness shown by the people of Manila on seeing coming through their gates the nine choirs of angels in the person of the nine religious women.]

6 See *400 Years 1578-1978 Franciscans in the Philippines*, Regal Printing Company, 1978. (If I remember it right, there was no identified author for this book as it was printed as a souvenir publication fpr the quadricentennial of the coming of the Franciscans)

7 Fr. Felix Huerta, OFM was *Ministro* of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Manila* in the year 1875 (*Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, Tipografico de Santo Tomas, 1875)

Plate 1 Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion

They were received by the distinguished people of Manila headed by the Governor and Capitan General, Don Alfonso Fajardo, with much jubilation and fanfare. Huerta continues:

> … entre repetidas salvas de artillería y universales aplausos de un concurso inmenso, fueron conducidas á una espaciosa casa de Doña Ana de Vera, situada en el pueblo de Sampaloc, estramuros de la Ciudad (36).

[… amidst repeated salvos of artillery and clapping of hands of an immense gathering of people they were conducted to a spacious house of Doña Ana de Vera situated in the town of Sampaloc outside of the Walled City.]

Doña Ana de Vera ceded to the nuns a portion of her land in Sampaloc for the foundation of their monastery. In the following year, 1622, the church was built under the direction of a lay brother, Fray Diego de la Torre. However, the church was damaged in the great earthquake of 1658. They then built their convent inside the Walled City where they stayed until 1945. The *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara*[8] was under the protection of the King of Spain. The community was supported by two thousand pesos from the royal estate, five hundred pesos from the Legazpi commission (encomienda), and smaller alms from the faithful.

The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara with its 30-foot windowless walls was situated in a quiet nook in the northeastern part of the citadel in Intramuros. According to Jesuit priest Rene Javellana, S.J., "the nunnery was dubbed 'living death' because women who entered were never seen again by outsiders. The only sign of their existence were the chants that would waft through the monastery chapel during mass and common prayers" (89).

The monastery was initially only for the Spanish women, who were said to have *limpieza de sangre* (clean blood).[9] It was only in 1880 when native

8 The Poor Clares were the first women to officially establish a mission in the Philippines, although they were not the first women missionaries to arrive in the country. Accounts say that Julia Naito, a Japanese nun, together with other members of a religious order for women under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries, came to the Philippines in the year 1614. Referred to as the Beatas of Miyako, they arrived with the group of two Japanese Lords, Justo Ukondono and Juan Naito-dono, who were exiled from Japan because of their refusal to renounce their Catholic faith (De La Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines*, 363).

9 There were, however, few instances that a native woman was allowed in the monastery. Irving notes "many native women petitioned the *Monasterio de Santa Clara* asking for entry to its cloisters. In 1628, Dona Maria Uray ("uray" signifying "lady rajah") wrote, asking to take up the veil or even to become a "slave" in the monastery but was twice rejected. In 1631 or 1632, the first Filipino nun, a Kapampangan woman named Sor Martha de San Bernardo (c.1605-1650),

women were officially accepted into the cloisters. Because the natives were generally denied entrance to the monastery, an alternative institution was created: the *beaterios,* which were founded by native women, many of whom had been refused entrance to the *Monasterio de Santa Clara.* According to Jaime Veneracion, they were allowed to live as *beatas* in a religious community. However, they were not formally or officially recognized by the Catholic Church (35).

The formation of the *beaterios,* houses where nuns lived as a community, was established as early as 1593 with the foundation of the *Real-Colegio Monasterio de Santa Potenciana.* However, this was short lived and was closed ca. 1628. Other *beaterios* were established, and by the end of the eighteenth century, there were five *beaterios* in Manila that were under the administrative direction of the major religious congregations. The *Beaterio de la Compaña* (1686), the first religious organization for Filipino women, was under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits. This eventually became the order of the *Religious of the Virgin Mary* (RVM) founded in 1747 by Ignacia del Espiritu Santo. There were also the *Beaterio de Santa Catalina* (1696) and the *Beaterio de Santa Rosa* (1750) both under the Dominican order. Under the administration of the Recollects were the *Beaterio de San Sebastian de Calumpang* (1736) and *Beaterio de Santa Rita* (1740) (Gatbonton 14).

Hence, the coming of colonialism greatly affected the women in the islands. It introduced the practice of *monjas* and the *beatas* where women were allowed to live a life as a community or in seclusion dedicated to prayer and supplication. With the establishment of these religious institutions and

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was allowed to enter the monastery and take the veil. Two more Kapampangan women, Sor Madalena de la Concepcion (1610-1685) and Sor Juana de Sancti Antonio (1600-1671) were admitted in 1630. But they were probably classed as *monjas legas* or lay nuns, who were required to carry out menial tasks, and they were exceptions, for no other indigenous women were allowed to enter Santa Clara until the 1880s (176-177). See also Luciano Santiago's *To Love and to Suffer: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish Philippines, 1565-1898,* 63-76.

Plate 2 Beata y Pupila

corresponding assimilation of the Christian doctrines, the newfound faith took deep roots in the religiosity of women in the colony.

Manila's written and oral history has always raved about the pomp and pageantry of Catholic festivities and fiestas. Women were at the forefront of all the religious undertakings of the city, sponsoring, implementing and attending various religious activities. Fr. Fidel Villarroel, O.P., talking about the celebration of religious festivities in Intramuros has this to say:

> The yearly guide book published in Manila entitled *Guias de Forasteros* or *Guia de Filipinas*, a forerunner of our modern guide books for tourists, always opened with the Calendar that throws some light on the religious

> life of the city. The calendar looks as if it were published for the benefit of the pious Catholics especially the womenfolk, eager not to miss a single liturgical or devotional service in every church (49).

The devotion shown by women in attending religious rites of the church was affirmed by Nick Joaquin in his article, "The Ceremonies of Intramuros":

> The old time Manileña seem to have been early risers. Even before four a.m. when one arrived at the still-closed door of, say, Santo Domingo, one already found a bunch of women in the courtyard, waiting to be let in. These were the *beatas,* and they come from Binondo and Sta. Cruz and Sampaloc and Pandacan. After mass at Sto. Domingo, they would go to San Francisco, if it was a Tuesay, or to the Recoletos, if it was a Friday, or to Lourdes, if it was a Saturday, pausing on the way for extra prayers at San Ignacio or San Agustin, making the rounds of the Intramuros churches every day of their lives. On Sundays and holidays, these *beatas* garbed in black or in *habitos* shared the first mass of the day with more stylish folk: men in tuxedos, women in gowns and jewels, who had been dancing all night at the clubs and had dropped in at the Intramuros church to hear mass before going home to sleep (17).

Such has been the cultural state of mind of the womenfolk of the era. Their fervent religiosity has pervaded the traditions, practices and way of life of the period.

As regards the cloistered women of the *Monasterio de Santa Clara,* music was an essential part of the *monjas*' monastic lives as affirmed by Henry Ellis' account of 1859. In the *Regla Primera* y *Constitucion* (First Rule and Constitution) of the monastery, published in 1835, there was a provision for the *Vicario del Coro* to take care of the music training of the *monjas.* An entry in the *Anuario Filipino* of 1877 identified M. Sor Clara de Purificacion as the *Maestra de Corista* of the convent. Her role was necessary for music was a form of prayer, done intermittently during the day and night. Thus, there was a need for a huge repertory that was diligently collected within a wide span of years.

The Production and Repertory of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila (1871-1874)*

The sacred music anthology, *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara,* was printed by the Litografia de Oppel. This German company introduced lithography[10] in the colony in 1858.[11] Contained in the *Manual-Cantoral* are some of the earliest representations of music productions from urban colonial Manila. This collection is the only known *cantoral* to have been printed in the colony in the nineteenth century. The distinguished Spanish book collector of the period, Pedro Vindel, referred to it as "un ejemplar de esta rarisima obra" (an example of a most rare work) done by the natives of the colony.[12]

The publication of the *Manual-Cantoral* collection was a brainchild of the Franciscan priest, Fray Pedro Parra, O.F.M. whose name appears in the article by Raymundo Bañas and Ma. Concepcion Echevarria Carril.[13] Available records show that Fr. Parra was born in Madrid on January 31, 1816. He came to Manila and was appointed Guardian of San Francisco de Manila in 1864. In 1867, he was appointed *Definidor* and *Vicario de Santa Clara* (Gomez Platero 730). Bañas writes about Fr. Parra being in a Manila

10 Lithography is a planographic (done on flat surface) printing done initially on stone that employs chemical in the printing process. This invention by a German printer, Alois Senefelder c. 1798, made production of prints faster and cheaper. Considered a major breakthrough in the period, it propelled the burgeoning business of printing, publishing, and selling music sheets and anthologies.

11 German brothers Gustav and Jorge Oppel introduced the new technology of lithographic printing that afforded a rise in newspaper, prints and music printing. The brothers stayed in the islands and established the Litografia de Oppel in Escolta, Manila in 1858. This secular printing press was responsible for the printing of the five-volume sacred music anthology.

12 Collection listing from "Los Franciscanos y el Nuevo Mundo, Monasterio de Santa Maria de la Rabida (Abril-Mayo 1992). Cited from Marin Morales, Fr. V.O.P. *Ensayo de una sintesis de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas*, Manila, 1901. Pedro Vindel, *Biblioteca Filipina*, n. 1425.

13 See Ma. Concepcion Echevarria Carril, "Musica La Franciscano en Filipinas," 197-210.

MANUAL-CANTORAL

para el uso de las religiosas de

SANTA CLARA

de la Ciudad de Manila.

SERIE 2ª

MISAS CLASICAS PROCESIONES Y BENDICIONES.

Con las licencias necesarias

MANILA, LITOGRAFIA DE OPPEL Y Cª

AÑO 1872

Plate 3 Cover page: Manual-Cantoral

convent in 1864-1867. Bañas also cited that he composed two manuals, one of them for the religious women in the *Monasterio de Santa Clara* and the other a collection of *cantorales* that was published in Manila in 1874 (29).

Unfortunately, Bañas did not acknowledge where he got this information, so one does not have a concrete evidence of why this opus was attributed to him. No accounts are available that would inform us about the musical abilities of this Franciscan priest. He could have just ordered or facilitated the compilation of the music sung by the *monjas* (cloistered nuns) of the convent when he was *Vicario of the Monasterio* in 1867. As the diversity of the contents of the work would show, it is doubtful if Fr. Parra was the one who composed all the music in the collection. However, Parra's vision of putting the music repertory of the convent in print was laudatory and for this he has earned significance in the music history of *Las Islas Filipinas.*

Fray Parra contracted the German Oppel brothers to print the collection. The remarkable lithographs and the music notation in the anthology, produced in the course of four years (one volume per year) was auspicious as it preserved the music repertory of Intramuros, Manila. Despite the large corpus of music that survived, it is unfortunate that not a single composer of any of the musical works was identified. It is evident that the music contained in the collection was written specifically for use in churches and monasteries in colonial Manila.

One of the mass compositions contained in *Series 2ª*-B of the collection was entitled "Misa Hispano-Filipina." The work is notated in an archaic form of music notation that employs square and diamond note heads representative of eighteenth-century sacred music composition in the colony. The notation of the "Misa Hispano-Filipina" resembles the music contained in the large format manuscript choirbooks that survived in the ecclesiastical museum of the church of Baclayon in the province of Bohol and in San Agustin Church, Intramuros.[14]

14 See Chua's *Kirial de Baclayon año 1826: Hispanic Sacred Music in Nineteenth Century Baclayon, Bohol* for a detailed discussion of large format choirbooks, called *cantorales* from the Eccelciastical Museum of the Church of Baclayon.

A close examination of the music repertory shows that the compositions were made over different time frames. The differing musical characteristics of the compositions as well as their notational properties are proof that they were composed in different stages of musical development. The "Misa Hispano Filipina" from *Serie2ª-B* is in *canto llano figurado* (measured plainsong), which was the predominant style of church music during the second half of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the "Salve Regina" from *Serie 4ª* is representative of the nineteenth-century choral singing that employed dramatic dissonances coupled with flowing aria-like melodic passages. This particular composition and the rest of the repertory in *Serie 4ª* were written in modern day music notation.

The repertory of the anthology is noteworthy. *Serie 1º Officio Difuntos* contains music and prayers for the dead, while *Series 2ª*A and *2ª*B *Misas clasicas, bendiciones y procesiones* contain mass cycles such as "Misa Hispano Filipina" (a coro y duo de tiples), "Misa Devota" (a duo y coro), and "Misa Caprichosa" (para coro de tenores o' tiples y en el 2o caso se acompaña por). *Serie 3ª Visperas y Maytines Clasicos* contains music for the Divine Office such as Matins and vespers. *Serie 4ª Miscellanea,* which is in modern notation, is a remarkable set of devotional paraliturgical music sung in various religious celebrations of the Catholic Church, such as *gozos, villancicos, motets, Salve Regina, Miserere* and others. A majority of the repertory in the collection is in honor of the Virgin such as the "Gozos Inmaculada Concepcion," "Misa Mariana," and "Salve Regina." There are also *motetes* (motets),[15] the "O admirable Sacramento," "Ay Dueño de mi vida" and "Sepulto." Included as well is a set of *villancicos* for Christmas (in Spanish), and a set of *villancicos* for the *altares,* which is in Latin, and another *villancico* for the feast of the *Santissimo Domino* sung during Holy Thursday.

The published music anthology is remarkable for it preserves a significant body of sacred music crucial to the development of *Hispano Filipina*

15 Motets refer to a common musical/poetic form of Spanish Renaissance music. It is a musical composition with a biblical, patristic or liturgically-related text in Latin from four to eight voice parts.

music in the eighteenth century that continued to be sung until the next century. The publication of this music book not only made its preservation possible but also brings to fore pertinent issues particularly the changing construct of femininity and identity as a result to the Hispano-Filipino encounter.

The Mass is the primary liturgical service of the Roman Catholic Church. In music, the mass as a composition refers usually to the setting of the Ordinary of the Mass,[16] which consists of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Three in the sets of masses used intriguing descriptive titles, namely, "Misa Hispano-Filipina," "Misa Devota," and "Misa Caprichosa."[17] In the following section, I examine these three mass cycles and interpret their meanings contextually by pointing out the representational aspect of the works as demonstrative of a syncretic or hybrid process and as articulative of ideas about Filipino social and feminine identity.

Misa Hispano-Filipina: Changing Feminine Construct in Early Colonial Period

As colonialism effected considerable modifications in the identity construction of women in the archipelago, alterations in these changing constructs proved to be some of the most significant and meaningful phenomena for the female populace. How then are these changes brought about and articulated in the music of the period? The *Misa Hispano-Filipina*, a mass composition from the *Manual-Cantoral*, probably written in the mid-eighteenth century or early nineteenth century, is an early attempt to represent and

16 The Ordinary of the Mass is a part of the celebration of the Eucharist wherein the text in invariable. The five main parts of the mass ordinary are the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei.* These parts are the ones that are usually set to music in a mass setting or composition.

17 Other titles of the mass compositions in the *Serie 2ª* of the *Manual-Cantoral pare el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Manila* dated 1872 are *Misa Ysidora, Misa del Santissimo, Misa de Resurreccion and Misa Froylana.* There were no identified composers of the music from this anthology. As discussed previously, based on historical inference the Augustinian Lorenzo Castello might have composed some of the compositions in the anthology.

assert the identity of the Filipino people during the Spanish colonial period. Hence, this discussion will present aspects of the changing construct of femininity in this era of conversion and transformation, as seen from the prism of music.

According to Luciano Santiago, a majority of spiritual ministers in pre-colonial Philippines were priestesses. They were called *babaylan* (probably from the term *babai lang* or women only) in Visayan and *catolonan* (from *katulungan* or helper) in Tagalog (6). These *babaylans* are spirit mediums that acted out rituals called *pag-anito* (séances) to establish communication with the spirit world. According to William Henry Scott, the *paganito* are solemn ritual ceremonies conducted as supplication for fertility of crops, for the newlyweds, for rain and fair weather, victory in war, the healing of the sick, control of epidemics, and the placing of souls of the deceased (84). Moreover, *babaylans* can also be male or male transvestite (*asog*), but are commonly female. To be a *babylan* is a calling. They believe that a woman is being called if she suffers attacks of illness or insanity and that this can only be cured by accepting the calling, after which they become *alabay* or apprentices to some older *babaylan* (84). These women ministers were allowed to marry and have children.

Seemingly intriguing is an account gathered from sixteenth-century accounts of the "*sonat*," a high priestess considered to be the most experienced and effective healer in the locality. Her rank was equivalent to that of a bishop (Santiago 7). Santiago discusses the occurrence of a particular ritual of circumcision of native girls performed by the high priestess or *sonat*. The term itself could have come from the Tagalog and Malay term "*sunat*" which means "circumcision". This could have been done, according to Santiago, to inhibit and dampen "physical sensations to promote female chastity and fidelity" (8). Historical documents pertaining to this practice were mentioned in several accounts dating from the early part of the seventeenth century.[18]

18 Santiago provides a listing of these accounts such as San Buenaventura 1613, 617, 696: San Antonio 1624: *Vocabulario Tagalo*, 245, Wilkinson 1959: Jimenez-David 1997 (8).

Santiago conjectures that "missionaries' greatest contribution to the welfare of Filipino women was the abolition for what is now known as "female genital mutilation" (8). Another widespread belief of the period was that a woman would not be saved if she remains a virgin. This was considered a misfortune and humiliation in the society. Jesuit priest Pedro Chirino in his 1604 account stated that:

> One of the best results is the modesty and virtue of the women, which we esteem in those regions, because it is but little practiced or valued among their heathen peoples. In many—I even believe, in all—of those islands there existed a doctrine, sowed by the devil, that a woman, whether married or single, could not be saved, who did not have some lover. They said that this man, in the other world, hastened to offer the woman his hand at the passage of a very perilous stream which had no other bridge than a very narrow beam, which must be traversed to reach the repose that they call *Calualhatian.*
>
> Consequently virginity was not recognized or esteemed among them; rather they considered it as a misfortune and humiliation. Married women, moreover, were not constrained by honor to remain faithful to their husbands, although the latter would resent the adultery, and hold it as a just cause for repudiating the wife.[19]

Hence, pre-colonial Philippines asserts the seductive and sexually appealing woman. This leads us to a possible answer to why *babaylans* are usually females. There is a belief that if spirit mediums are women they are more appealing and enticing toward the gods and evil spirits who are mostly male. Through the babaylans' graceful dancing in the *paganito* ritual the spirits will be enticed and tempted to give in to their supplication (Santiago 6). Scott presents an interesting account of a *paganito* in Cebu in the sixteenth century:

> The site was adorned with green branches, palm-leaf cloths and colorful blankets: and the offering—red blossoms, roasted fish, rice and millet cakes wrapped in leaves, and a piece of imported Cambay cloth—were set out on

19 Emma Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898, Volume 12, 251.

> large plates. A live large hog, raised and fattened for this end, lay bound on a grass mat and **cacophonous music was provided by gongs, drums and resonant porcelain plates.** The *babaylan* was an old woman wearing a headdress topped by a pair of horns and accompanied by a second medium, both of them carrying bamboo trumpets which they either played or spoke through. They both proceeded to dance around the hog with scarfs in their hand, acting out a dialogue between spirits possessing them, drinking wine on their behalf, and sprinkling some of it on the hog (Scott 85).

Music and dancing proved to be an essential part of the *paganito* ritual as performed and conducted by the *babaylan*. Since music in this period thrived in oral tradition, we can only surmise that music played by the gongs and drums was characteristic of the nonlinear melodic and rhythmic patterns common to the music of the East. The stylistic considerations and aesthetic constructs of music will eventually change as notions of identity and femininity was transformed with the subsequent Hispanization of the archipelago, which brings us to the discussion of the *Misa Hispano Filipina*.

The title *Hispano Filipina* was a perfect imagery for the blending of the East and the West in the formation of the Filipino culture. Hence, it provides a clear affirmation of a society born from the marriage of the two opposing regions of the world. The *Hispano Filipina* signifying the motherland of the Filipinos has always been conceived as a woman repressed and dominated by the male Spanish colonizers.

"Misa Hispano Filipina" is a mass cycle composition notated in an obsolete form of mensural notation utilizing square and diamond note-heads. The music is in triple meter, in a major mode with F as the tonic. The Kyrie commences with a very irregular phraseology (11 measures). This contrasts with regular phrases in succeeding sections.

Plate 4 Misa Hispano Filipina

Music example 1: Musical contrasts in the of Kyrie from Misa Hispano Filipina)

1a. Irregular phrase characterized by monophony, mm. 1-11.

1b. Regular phrase structure of 4 measures in two-voiced polyphony moving in parallel thirds, mm. 12-15.

The first phrases of the three-part Kyrie are set monophonically, but this then goes into a two-voiced homorhythmic polyphonic style characterized by thirds. It seems to me that these contrasts—irregular /regular and monophonic/polyphonic—create the idea of opposition and difference and therefore *as if* depicting the dialogue of two diverse and existing cultures that are locked in a mutual relationship.

Singing in homorhythmic thirds (Music example 1b), a prevalent style of sacred music of the period, evokes the native voice vis-à-vis the colonial power, which does not simply command but invites a dialogic compromise. This particular musical characteristic of singing in parallel thirds had been deeply appropriated by the colonial subjects especially in native folksongs and harmonic singing. The form of the music is through-composed, in which the piece is devoid of melodic phrase repeats. Due to this, the compo-

sition projects symbolic order in the play of oppositions. Thus, an overarching unity in opposition is achieved. One appreciates this in the a-b-b pattern, "a" being in monophonic texture while "b" is polyphonic. Dialogical tensions and conflicts abound in the structural elements of the composition. But the harmonic singing in thirds and textural form (i.e. monophonic and polyphonic) of the music signify an agreement or marriage between the two "confronting" cultures. I argue that this musical dialogue represents hybridity, which is dialogism characteristic of Filipino colonial identity.

Misa Devota: Respectability and Order in the Construction of the Feminine Ideal

From the *babaylan* women of pre-colonial Philippines, I would like to direct the discussion to the birth of a new female construct resulting from the *Hispano Filipina* negotiation—that of the *beatas* and *monjas*.

Santiago in his book, *To Love and to Suffer*, writes a detailed account of the history of religious congregations of women in Spanish Philippines. In the publication, the earliest mention of the conversion of *babaylan* women to becoming the devout *beata* (nun) was in Chirino's 1603 account (2005:15). *Catalonans* and *babaylans*, based on accounts, after being pressured by the missionaries, embraced the faith and led Christian and exemplary lives. Santiago, however, presents variegated accounts of these priestesses that although transformed to the Christian faith, continued to practice their priestly duties, which was castigated and penalized by the missionaries for doing the work of the devil.

However, the author conjectures that this was an exception rather than something that was normative. Santiago theorized that there were more sincere and benevolent priestesses, who after embracing the faith, aspired to dedicate their lives to spiritual devotion, and being a *beata* was the highest form of expression available to them at that time. Pious and devout, these nuns lived a life of prayer and sacrifice, which earned them respectability among the populace and were viewed by the women folk as the feminine ideal. In 1650, Fray Domingo Navarete wrote:

> …The Indian women are very devout and modest and frequent the sacraments with great zeal. There is no holy day, great or small, but abundance go to confession and received the Blessed Sacrament. I used to say that the fervor of the ancient people of Castile was gone over to the Indian men and women of Manila (qtd. in Santiago 32).

The newfound faith had been engrained in the womenhood of the islands with the formation of the *beaterios* and the *Monasterio de Santa Clara*. The virtuous and ideal life of respectability and order that the Christian faith has brought in were enshrined in the lives of the *monjas* and *beatas*. As the holy women embodied the beliefs attendant to their vocation, a new concept of female ideal arose. The *monjas* followed the strict rules of monastery life as encoded in the *Regla* and *Constituciones*, in which music training was a major component of the *monjas*' religious life.

The singing of the *monjas* caught the curiosity and interest of the Manila womenfolk who made it a point to attend Masses and other ceremonies at the monastery just to be able to listen to the voices of the choir hidden from public view. In 1742, the Dominican historian Vicente Salazar, wrote of the musical traditions of the *Beaterio de Santa Catalina*, which according to him, probably imitated those of Santa Clara to some degree. He states that the *beatas* of Santa Catalina "know plainchant and music very well and certainly appear to be a choir of angels, celebrating all these offices with great devotion. This leads us to the examination of the Kyrie of the *Misa Devota*, a fitting representation of the devout and pious life of the Filipina *monjas* and *beatas.*

"Misa Devota" is a musical representation of the devout and pious life introduced by the Spanish friars in the quest for spreading the Catholic religion. The mass composition is in the D minor mode, which is reminiscent of the *Protus Plagalus* or the *Hypodorian* mode of the Gregorian chant, except for some use of the leading tone C-sharp. The composition evokes the mysterious and solemn aura of a life in seclusion.

The Kyrie is in 3/4 and its musical structure is aaa bcd eee. The musical texture is ABA with A part being monophonic, the B part polyphonic,

Plate 5 Misa Devota

characterized by a two-voiced counterpoint moving predominantly in thirds, and few sixths and octaves.

Music example 2: Monophonic and polyphonic parts, Kyrie, Misa Devota

2a: Monophonic "A" part, mm. 1-7.

2b: Polyphonic "B" part, mm. 12-15.

The third section of the Kyrie returns to the monophony. Overall, "Misa Devota" depicts subservience, which is manifest in the adherence to form of the musical texture. This obedience contrasts with the dialogical textural form of the *Hispano Filipina*. Deference to rules is seen in the passing modulations that occur in the middle section. The flow is normative and one expects what is expected and usual, i.e. modulation to A major (dominant) in measure 15 and F major (relative major) in measure 19. Rhythmic patterns are clearly regular and this speaks to discipline that is symbolic of a life devoted to prayer. The B part seldom employs rhythmic changes, except for a slight deviation of a rhythmic motive. Parallelisms of the musical construction of the piece to the construction of femininity of these *beatas* and *monjas* are apparent. The noticeable predictability of the movement of the form, rhythmic time and key modulations signify the regularity, predictability, and

the normative devotional life that brought, according to Catholic statutes, order to the lives of women.

"Misa Caprichosa": Deviation and Disorder in the Filipina Feminine Construct

On the other hand, sexual fantasies and desires of women in the East were never suppressed and were in fact encouraged. As previously discussed in pre-colonial Philippines, it was considered a sin to remain a virgin since it was a belief that women were in need of the opposite sex (a lover) to assist them in their next life. Furthermore, *babaylan* priestesses were women that bring allure to charm and entice the gods and spirits for favor and preference. The change in the feminine construct during the onset of the Spanish colonial period brought about oppositions and contestations, as women encountered the realities of suppression and oppression of their sexual yearnings.

Coming from a very different sexual point of view, adherence to the new prescribed ideal feminine construct of living a chaste, innocent and morally uncorrupt life according to the strict Catholic concept of sexuality was, Santiago writes, difficult. Even the early *beatas* were not exempt from this dilemma. Santiago explains that one of the main reasons women in the period entered a nunnery, was their repentance in living a sinful, sexual and promiscuous life. An early account states that a certain Clara Caliman, a "*ramera*" (Spanish for prostitute), entered the cloistered life (42). Missionaries promoted the veneration of the image of Mary Magdalene, a woman saint that was a repentant sinner. This easily found favor among the native women, and as proof Santiago points that "the second Filipino nun was Sor Madalena de la Concepcion (1637), the first book published by a woman in the Philippines was a novena to Santa Maria Magdalena (c. 1838) and one of the *beaterios* founded by a Filipina was called "La Magdalena" (1887) (42). Camagay in her study on nineteenth-century working women tells of the "*mujeres publicas*" (women prostitutes) as a valid profession of women, but was looked down on by society.

A striking opposition, then, to the devout and ideal *beatas* were women who lived a wayward and deviant life. This disordered life was untoward and

considered sinful and aberrant. Hence, it can be surmised that the transition process from *babaylan* to *beata* was not completely smooth. The ideal was not always followed. Santiago states that "as early as 1601certain *beatas* [it was not specified if they were Spanish or Filipina] were denounced by the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Manila together with Fray Nadres de Cordoba and Fray Francisco de Santa Maria. It was alleged that the two friars solicited sexual favors from them (in the confessional) to which they gave in." Another case reported in 1665, involved a Tagalog *beata*, Luisa de los Reyes, who was accused of having an illicit sexual affair with the two Jesuit priests. She was prosecuted whereas the Jesuits were later expelled in the islands in 1769 due to their illicit activities (43-44).

Non-conformity to the Christian ideal brought remorse and guilt to the Filipina women, and when repentant, found solace in a life of seclusion within the imposing walls of the *monasterio*. This has been depicted in many accounts and literary writings of the period. Jose Rizal's *Noli me Tangere*, offers an appropriate imagery to this reality. Maria Clara, the heroine of the novel, turns out to be a daughter of Padre Damaso. Her forlorn love for Ibarra brings her to the confines of the nunnery and nothing is heard of her again. In another episode in the novel, Rizal presents an account of the "mad nun" that portrays depictions of sexual scandals inside the *monasterio.* Although some would consider it a propaganda, it has striking references to real historical accounts.[20]

Women's devotion to Santa Clara de Asis has found its way to the Filipino folklore as childless women participate in fertility rites in Obando to ask favor from the woman saint to bless them with children. Nick Joaquin offers an interesting account stating that "since the 18th century up to the present, childless couples dance and sing for two days in May around the

20 A research of this account was undertaken by historian Jose Victor Torres for his master thesis at the University of Santo Tomas. See Torres, "The Source of the Mad Nun episode in Jose Rizal's *Noli me Tangere*," *Philippine Studies*, Manila, 1993, 41:1, 102-115.

images of the two Virgin saints (Santa Clara de Asis and San Pascual Baylon) and the Blessed Virgin Mary to the tune of the folksong *"Santa Clarang Pinong-pino"* (Saint Clare, Most Refined). In the hope that God will bless them with children, they perform the ritual, reminiscent of the ceremonies of ancient priestesses" (qtd. Santiago 85). Santiago states that "some women in the church called *babaylan* or *catolonan*, offer to assist the childless wife by praying over her while touching her womb and prophesying the birth of a healthy child. As soon as she is spotted, the modern day priestess is shooed away by the parish priest or his protégés" (85).

Seemingly interesting is the text and music of this well-loved folksong:

Santa Clarang pinong-pino	Most refined, St. Clare
Kami po ay bigyan n'yo	We beg you to provide us with
Ng asawang labing-tatlo	13 husbands
Sa gulpe'y walang reklamo	If we beat, will not complain

In the text, women were praying to St. Clare for thirteen husbands (How can you be more promiscuous than that?) whom she can dominate as her partner in life. Levi Celerio, a noted composer and lyricist of the twentieth century, wrote of folksongs with titles "Alembong," "Galawgaw" and surprisingly "Caprichosa." Hence, the eccentric, untoward, capricious and wayward women, living a worldly life were in stark opposition to the ideal construct of Christian femininity. These women are metaphorically depicted in music of the period.

Very much in contrast to the "Misa Devota" is the "Misa Caprichosa." The Kyrie of this cycle depicts the deviant and sinful life lived by those who do not conform to the teachings of the church. The piece is in 2/4 time, a meter that was imperfect compared to the 3/4 meter. The beginning melodic motive demonstrates a wayward movement having a very wide range, which is atypical of the melodic movement in religious songs of the period.

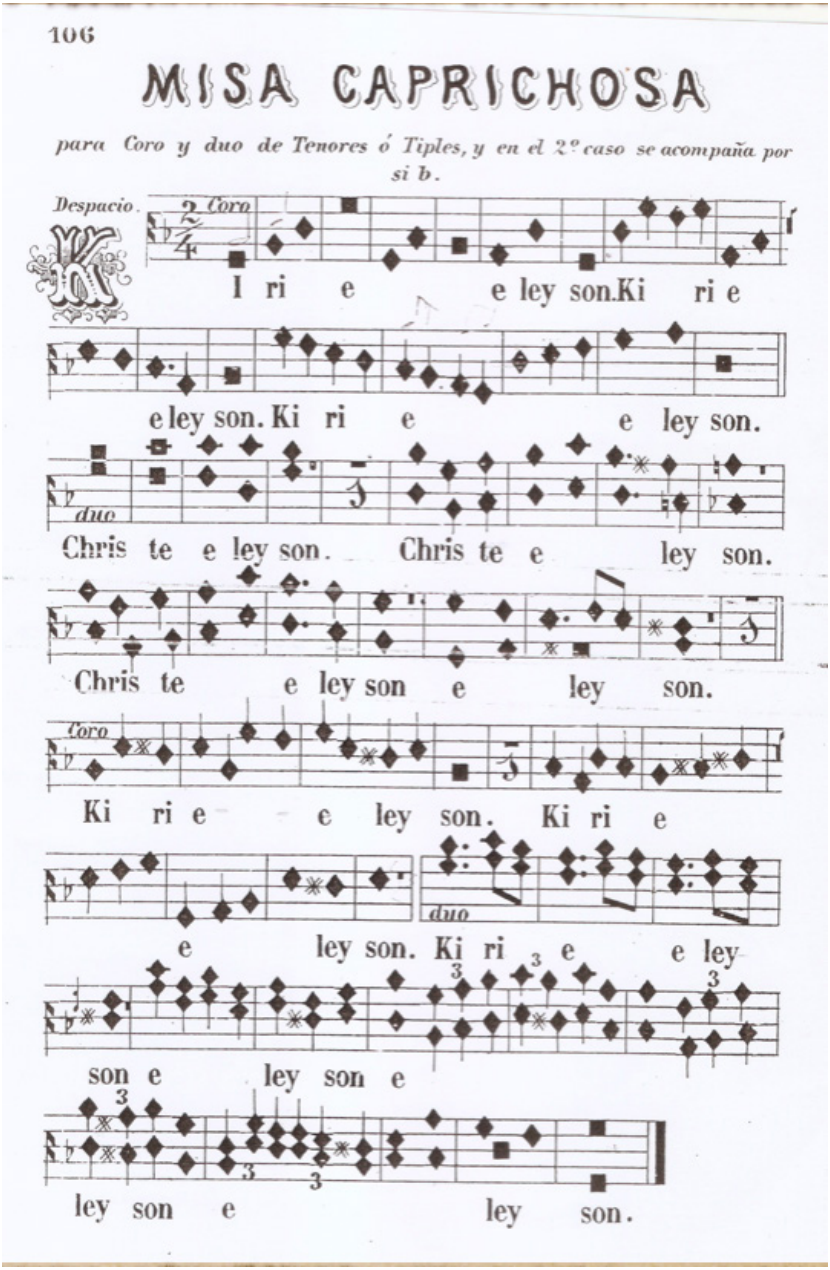

Plate 6 Misa Caprichosa

Music example 3: Range of melodic motive, Kyrie, "Misa Caprichosa," mm. 1-5.

The first part of the *Kyrie* is monophonic (abc), with the third section modulating to C major (dominant) in m. 17.

Music example 4: Third phrase of the monophonic Kyrie modulating to C mm. 13-17.

The *Christe* part is set polyphonically but does not move in the usual homorhythmic thirds, but rather predominantly in sixths, fifths, and octaves (d-e-f). This section starts in A minor (relative minor of the dominant), then goes to G minor (parallel minor of the dominant) in measure 26, F major in measure 30, and ends in A major (parallel major of the relative minor) in measure 33.

The piece is short, yet, exhibits unruly traits such as passing modulations and eccentric harmonic movement. The last section is monophonically in A major, but the second *Kyrie* in this section begins in G minor and ends in D major (mm. 40-45). The third *Kyrie* again offers a rather eccentric and complicated two-voiced polyphony moving in parallel thirds that start in F minor but ends in A major (mm. 43-49). A drastic change to a rhythmic pattern in triplet in strict parallel sixths occurs at the end.

Music example 5: Drastic change in rhythmic pattern (triplets in strict parallel sixths,) mm. 52-59.

The rhythmic motives, as well as the melodic motives, are extremely diverse with no repetitions. The irregularity of the phrases is also very noticeable and all this point to the whimsical image of a capricious woman.

What provide unity to the piece are the melodic and rhythmic motives in sequence. The composition is filled with music deviations from the normative. It is a peculiar composition that characterizes the behavior of a "*caprichosa.*" The piece parodies a whimsical person by utilizing motives from the West Visayan Lulay folksong. The folk melody is worldly and profane.

Music example 6: Lulay folksong motive in the "Misa Caprichosa" mm. 23-28

Conclusion

Navigating through the notions of femininity, identity and music of the period brings us to the apparent tensions and negotiations presented in the sexual differences of women in relation to the musical differences of the compositions. The "Misa Hispano Filipina," "Misa Devota" and the "Misa Caprichosa" clearly demonstrate that these musical productions were byproducts of the negotiation and dialogic process of cultural forma-

tion in the course of history as correlations in the structural component of the musical compositions with the changing construction of femininity in Philippine society was correspondingly established.

The utilization of the proposed model that mediated the intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the object of study (e,g. the mass compositions from the Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara.) which was then subjected to an interpretative inquiry of musical representation has brought us to a more meaningful approach as it attempted to investigate music in the society where it evolved. This hopefully brought forth processes in the understanding of hybrid and syncretic cultures subjected to colonial hegemony particularly as it relates to an attribute in the social construction of Filipino femininity. As the study hopes to illuminate our understanding of women in Philippine society, i.e. the *babaylans*, *beatas* and the *monjas,* the paper pursued to figuratively unveil an aspect of the dynamic change that transpired in the formation of our cultural identity and distinctive Filipino musical culture.

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Plate 1: Abbess Jeronima de la Asuncion by Diego Velazquez (1599-1660) Painting dated 1620 at the Prado Museum in Madrid

Plate 2: Beata y Pupila from Josè Honorato Lozano's *Album: Vistas de las yslas Filipinas y trages de sus abitantes*, 1847.

Plate 3: Cover Page, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª,* 1872

Plate 4: Kyrie, Misa Hispano Filipina, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª,* 1872, p. 150.

Plate 5: Kyrie, Misa Devota, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª,* 1872, p. 51.

Plate 6: Kyrie, Misa Caprichosa, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª,* 1872, p. 106.

Sexual/Textual Politics in the Women of Ophelia A. Dimalanta's Poems*

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Abstract

The study attempts to show that while Ophelia A. Dimalanta's excellent New Critical training and education have rendered her a quintessential poet conscious of form, technique, and craftsmanship, which in turn, has been foregrounded by her equally New Critical-trained colleagues, this New Critical tradition has limited the study of her oeuvre to artistic structure and form, glossing over myriad concerns that the poems may have. The present study, in turn, has recuperated form, technique, and genre to encode the feminism that undergirds her poetic vision. Foregrounding Dimalanta's vision enfleshed in art, the study recuperates the sexual/textual politics in Dimalanta's *Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present* from the lens of Toril Moi.

Keywords

"Female," "Feminine," "Feminist," Dimalanta's poetic process, tugging between feminine and feminist

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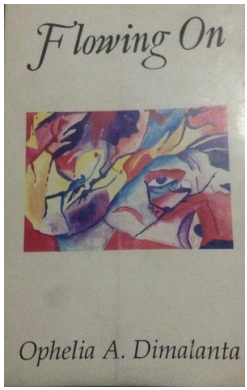

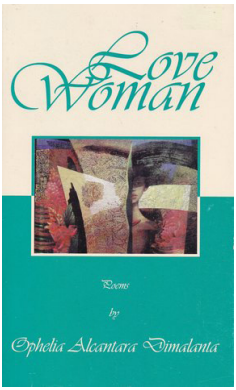

Poetry Collections of Dimalanta: Flowing On (1988), Love Woman (1998),
Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present (1993)

Ophelia Alcantara-Dimalanta

Introduction

Surprisingly, despite Ophelia Dimalanta's reputation as one of the best poets of the country, few studies have been undertaken on her body of work. For example, just one dissertation on Dimalanta's three books of poetry has been written and the rest are short commentaries on her poems. The dissertation and the short commentaries on the poems cover four topics: the poet's craft, the transcendental predisposition of Dimalanta's poems, the elision and breakdown of communication and meaning, and finally, the multifaceted experiences of women. But out of the four topics, it is on Dimalanta's poetic craft that poets and critics largely enthuse on. Cirilo F. Bautista in his Foreword of Dimalanta's *Time Factor and Other Poems,* points out that "she is the best woman poet writing in the country today" (1983). He describes the writer and her craft in superlative terms: "she is indeed a magician, the highest rank attainable in the hierarchy of the poetic profession. Magic in the sense that these poems leave one stunned in graceful realization of the aesthetic possibilities of the word. No overwhelming pyrotechnics here, nor foisting of cathedral truths; but here is the unobtrusive movement of sounds whose beauty strikes one only in the ensuing silence after they are gone" (1983). Nick Joaquin, commissioned to write the introduction of the same book, also touches on her craft. He speaks about the aural effect of her poems which approximates that of music: " at times a music so elfin it becomes audible on intent rereading. But as one reads and rereads one begins to catch an undercurrent overtone of melody, very subtle and delicate as if the words were being not so much spoken as hummed (1983). In Dimalanta's *Flowing On,* her third collection of poems, Edith L. Tiempo raves over the poet's creative power. She describes the flow of her line as an "explosion of utmost boisterous energy" (1988). But according to her, it is Dimalanta's creation of tension and paradox that makes her the supreme poet. It is where her "artistry shows up best" (Tiempo, 1988). Fideliza Noel also talks about the poet's use of tension as an artistic device. She argues that there is a meticulous attention devoted on craftsmanship, creating poetry that is a beautiful balance between art and heart. She says, "there is never a poem nor line which repels because it is gross, which jars because of careless structure,

which sates because it is cloyingly sentimental. Dimalanta in all her poetry is ever the restrained, disciplined craftsman rendering the romantic outpouring of the sensitive, sensuous, sophisticate" (177, 1976). Like the rest of the critics that reviewed Dimalanta's poems, Alfred A.Yuson also talks about the sense of tension that largely characterizes her poems. In *Flowing On* he says that the tension is "like the measured systole and diastole of consummate control" (4).

On the other hand, some commentaries on Dimalanta speak of the transcendental hankering and predisposition that the poems ultimately take. For instance, in her doctoral dissertation on Dimalanta's earlier collection of poetry, Bernadette Racadio argues a reading that posits the presence of transcendental elements in the poems. Racadio defines transcendence as a "quest for meaning and justification of life to see things in a different light by attempting to rise above reality " (1). Her thematic approach sees the persona caught in a complex swirl of life. In the midst of this swirl of stifling complexity, the persona copes by rising above, " towards some kind of a moral order, an invisible world which provide the steadfast and permanent values "(Racadio 1). An article on Dimalanta's book of poems, *Flowing On* by Merlinda Bobis shares an affinity with Racadio's transcendence. She asserts that the persona (whom the writer insists is also the author), is in a state of flux, perpetually in search for meaning. In the quest for life's meaning, the persona " hankers for inner order, a flowing on into inner landscape" (Bobis 1991, 277). Both Racadio and Bobis share in the observation that it is in the spiritual order that can only satiate a human being's hunger, otherwise, s/he will always be in a constant flux. Josephine Pasricha's commentary on Dimalanta' poems leans towards that of Racadio's and Bobis' arguing for the poems' metaphysical strains. Instead of zeroing in on the persona however, she talks about what one can do with the poems. She posits that the poems are capable of being read from differing hermeneutic approaches (historical, textual, aesthetic, etc.), but in the final analysis, she maintains that "each poem transcends the psychosocial conditions and opens it up to an unlimited and multi-leveled series of readings" (Pasricha 127).

On the other hand, Gemino Abad and Isagani Cruz frame their reading of Dimalanta from the lens of Jacques Derrida, positing the slippery nature of language, in turn, a constant deferral of presence and meaning happens. Abad asserts that to read the collection *Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present* is made privy to the poet's private life as well, "what private ritual chieftest of all? Herself, both what her words construct and her living attests…" (9). Yet Abad laments the inadequacy of words to encapsulate and ensphere the woman that is Ophelia. Isagani Cruz, on the other hand, zeroes in on the poet's most recent Iowa poems where Dimalanta served as the Philippine representative in the workshop.[1] Like Abad, he also posits the elusive nature of language, and consequently, such characteristic negates certitude, failing to pin down meaning. He argues that the constant theme that the Iowa poems propound, is essentially the failure to communicate. This breakdown of communication is illustrated in some poems: In "Mayflower Pilgrims," the man is not listening to the woman, and in "Closing Doors," Miranda does not have the slightest clue on what is going on inside the person's head…. This kind of communication breakdown is also propounded in "Poetry Reading at Prairie Lights," where the persona who keeps saying the wrong words or the right words in the wrong way, feel[ing] terrible about her inadequacy…. and in the "Heart of Waiting," the conversation between two people is kept to a functional minimum (116).

Abad and Cruz posit the opaque characteristic of language following Derrida's "difference." Differance renders the inaccessibility and the perennial flickering of meaning. Given this formulation, this undermines the position of certitude upon which patriarchy rests. The metaphysics of presence, a philosophy that has dominated western thinking, posits that meaning is understood in terms of binaries, where the privileged position is accorded to the dominant order, like men for example, and the subordinate position relegated to women. Women, therefore, are assigned to the negative valuation.

1. It must be noted that Ophelia Dimalanta first attended the Iowa Poetry Workshop in the late 1960s where her first collection of poems, *Montage*, won the Iowa State University Best Poetry Award (1969).

The underlying assumption in this kind of thinking foregrounds that men come in first, and women come second only in the hierarchy of thinking.

The last two studies on Dimalanta touch on female experience and that "genderedness" has much to do with perspective, which includes one's style of writing. In a book forum on Lady Polyester, Cristina Pantoja- Hidalgo talks about the multifacetedness of women and their various experiences. She posits that the collection, Lady Polyester, celebrates pregnancy, childbirth, wife in different sub-roles and moods: "escaping, enigmatic, elusive, never quite there, not even in her diary… and a woman sensuous, sensual, sexual" (123-124). Morover, in the essay "Should Writing be Gendered?" by J. Neil Garcia,[2] he posits that the category gender is central to one's writing. He asserts that Dimalanta possesses a unique voice, a voice that is hers alone: "this uniqueness may well be attributed to Dimalanta's own brand of poeticizing — her own verbal stamp on the page of the poetic medium… But I would like to think that her gender is partly to blame for the singular character of her verse. The lines are dynamic, flowing and passionate- so different from the strictly regular and fixed prosodies of many of the male poets of Philippine literature in English, and her gender is inarguably central to her poetry's meaning" (252). Garcia's statement conflates the female persona in the poems of Dimalanta and Dimalanta herself as the female poet, artist and person. What binds the last two critics (Pantoja-Hidalgo and Garcia) is their foregrounding of a uniquely female experience and thus, consequently, the observation of a unique kind of female writing. Both celebrate the capacities of women which are different from men's—not necessarily inferior but unique and different, nonetheless.

The commentaries' penchant for transcendence and the metaphysical straining, this floating in circumambient gas or a search outside the realms of reality into an invisible world or an inner landscape, it seems, is removed from reality. It approaches the individual work as a well-wrought urn, independent from context, precisely because the literary critics studied above embody and propound a vision of art and life that is New Critical in form.

2. Written on the occasion of De La Salle University's Literature Week.

Moreover, the preoccupation with Dimalanta's technical expertise which these critics had singularly focused on has eschewed other concerns, especially those issues pertinent to women in the poems. It fails to grapple with the grit of life, especially in confronting concerns relevant to the women and their plight. On the other hand, though the last two commentaries assert of a uniquely feminine experience and writing, a clear-cut feminist stance and project are not quite present. It Is on this note that I bring in the objective of this essay. The essay attempts to expand the discussion on female experience and posit a reading of Dimalanta's poems from a feminist lens, central of which is in the articulation of the sexual/textual politics in the poems. Implicit in the writings of Dimalanta is the second wave form of feminism which this study re-encodes. The poststructuralist lens that underpins the reading of Abad and Cruz on Dimalanta's poems is refunctioned to foreground the ambivalence and ambiguity of identity, positing a rereading that questions the patriarchally-entrenched definition of such categories as "female" and "feminine." The poems posit that the women in Dimalanta's collection of poetry, *Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present* show traits that are fraught with contradictions, oscillating between polarities of the "feminine" and the "feminist" impulses and orientation, suggesting unstable and problematic gender identities and orientation whose present shape comes from a contingency and the very situatedness of the female persona, contrary to the notion of "femininity" as natural, innate, and intrinsic—as natural as the color of our eyes one is born with. In other words, these subjectivities are performed by women when such occasions call for it. These are not intrinsic nor innate in women, but more so and necessarily, in conflict with each other, as generally, women or men are incessantly confronted by different tasks, expectations, roles, etc. Women are constantly negotiating multiple subjectivities and positionalities: One minute the "feminine" is foregrounded and in the next breath, the "feminist" polarity; one sees the complex seesawing of such subjectivities. Both may also merge into a new, reordered subjectivity, as dictated by the contngency.

Laying down the theoretical framework

Patriarchy's domination over all aspects of knowledge, practice, discourse, and signification is all –pervasive and much entrenched in the society, presenting a "male perspective assumed to be universal" (Greene and Khan 1985,1-2). Since time immemorial, men have always been the writers, critics, inventors, explorers, scientists, theorists, providers, leaders, heroes, and the list goes on. Such set-up has hardly opened up a space for women, in turn, investing on patriarchy with the crucial position of determining and defining the truth, worldview, relations of sex, which includes the image and place of women. Patriarchy posits a concept and definition of "women" as necessarily "feminine," forwarding the notion that there is a "given female nature" that women are born with, and therefore, making them inherently feminine (123). Thus, by virtue of the fact that women are born female – defined as a biological fact, as opposed to a biological male, has in turn, invested on them the essential feminine qualities- among which are refinement, modesty, subservience, passivity, and sweetness, etc. In other words, femaleness is defined as a biological fact showing sexual difference to its male counterpart. Thus, based on these premises, being born female, automatically and essentially invests her with femininity. The refusal of a woman to conform to feminine standards, or by dint of an accident, moves away or behaves outside these said expectations earns her with labels, such as "unfeminine" and "unnatural."

Toril Moi, however, argues that there is no automatic connection between the categories "female" and "feminine." She asserts, "though women are undoubtedly female, this in no way guarantees that they will be feminine" (123). Women may conform to these patriarchal prescriptions on them but this does not mean that they possess the essential feminine qualities. Moreover, she points out that the feminine stereotypes "invariably deconstruct themselves" (Moi 36). Thus, the notion of a woman or a mother as the "light of the home" or an "angel of the house" gets distorted once the woman slides away from these images. The stereotype dichotomizes to become "both ideal and horror… the mother as a stereotype slides from a venerated idol to castrating and aggressive bitch" (Moi 37), dismantling the rigid prescriptions

on the woman as a mother, with expected traits and behavior that come with the biological sex.

In order to show the artificiality and the essential disconnect between the categories "female" and "feminine," Toril Moi cites Simone de Beauvoir's famous statement: " one isn't born a woman, one becomes one….it is civilization as a whole that produces this creature" (52). The discourse of femininity which is imposed on women as early as birth and hails them to behave in a certain way, is primarily reinforced by the family or the home, education, and other mechanisms such as the workplace and the church, etc. However, such assertion is both an ideological and social construct as "biological sex does not directly or even at all generate the characteristics conventionally associated with it. It is culture, society, history that define gender, not nature" (Jehlen 263). Contrary to the common notion, the oppressive patriarchal structures and strictures that regulate women are not monolithic and unassailable. There are gaps that provide openings for ingress and regress allowing some space for agency, and self actualization, challenging in turn, the hegemonic practices and norms. According to Simon de Beauvoire, while the foregrounded "commonsensical" notion of gender is supposedly innate, women's inevitable sliding away from these expectations are expressions of the need to realize and define themselves.

Feminism, a critical, theoretical, and political practice and project committed to the struggle against patriarchy and sexism rejects such cultural constructions on gender (Moi 117) as it is "grounded in male attempts to control female sexuality." The feminist movement asserts that the conflation or merging of femaleness and femininity is necessary to serve the interest of male supremacy. It is a subtle way of regulating the action and behavior of women-- a " natural outcome of masculine values and needs, more than a convenience (which it is); the subordination of women is a necessity in patriarchy, a formulation in which the entire structure rests" (Ruth 54). Thus, an ideological understanding that is asserted here is that as long as this set-up remains intact, men and women co-exist, "the whole system can function effectively" (Ruth 54). Feminist political movement, however, undertakes to "deconstruct the social construction of gender and

the cultural paradigms and infrastructures that support " (Greene and Khan 3) such commonsensical and hegemonic view. Consequently, feminists have refunctioned and appropriated male theories to pursue their anti-patriarchal project. Moreover, Helene Cixious, a French feminist critic expresses exasperation over the male/female or masculine/feminine binaries which implies the subordination of the second category. The underlying paradigm in this kind of thinking results in the female category's relegation to the negative valuation, rendering the status of women as the other, the non-man, or the "second sex." The biological opposition man/woman is ideological deployed to "construct a series of negative feminine values which then are imposed on and confused with the female (Moi 124). Cixous argues that the construction of a new set of female values to subvert the relentless binary opposition that attaches feminine stereotypes on all biological females is playing the patriarchal game which believes in the metaphysics of presence, a philosophy that has dominated western thinking even to this day. Cixous, therefore, appropriates Derrida to substantiate her formulation.

While the female persona or the female subject in the poems of Dimalanta is constrained by the injunctions of patriarchy, the instability of identity deconstructs such regulatory injunctions. This paper attempts to show the tension and the push and the pull between the polarities of the feminine and the feminist impulse in the female or women in the collection of poems, thus illustrating the instability, fluidity, complexities, and situatedness of gender identities. The tugging of binaries or the tension of institutions characterizes the poetry of Dimalanta, which then is appropriated to illustrate the feminism of the poet.

Dichotomizing the stereotypical images of women

As pointed out by critics, what makes Ophelia Dimalanta a quintessential poet-artist is her commitment to form. This preoccupation with technique is a dominant feature and strength that characterizes her craft and creative impulse. Hers is vision enfleshed through art. Thus, in foregrounding a feminist reading of her selected poems from Lady Polyester collection, the complexity of the poetic process will first be studied, which in turn, will be

employed to further understand the female sensibility, the woman's experience, and Dimalanta's brand of feminism.

The ironic title, "Finder Loser,"[3] illustrates the way the female persona runs her life. Hers is a life characterized as "one perpetual lifetime probe," an existence of finding and losing objects, people, causes, etc., by turns, then "losing them again." Dimalanta's preoccupation with conscious craftsmanship awards her with a precise, dead-center image to illustrate the subject or the point of the poem, in this case, the ambivalence of the female persona. The persona's preoccupation with the act of searching (paper, receipts, old letters, pills, causes and the rest), suggests a movement, fluidity, a constant flux and transition, skillfully shown and foregrounded through the use of the progressive form, "ing" (searching, losing, finding, rummaging, seeking, collecting). But the bigger irony that marks the persona's life is inadvertently stumbling on objects she does not need or not looking for, and "losing what she can't almost have."

She asserts though, that for now, death is not in her list of finds. In other words, death is out of the question- "not till then for she has still a lot of searching to do in this world." She says, "I shall go on seeking out/lost faces and faiths in the/ cold, collecting, calculating crowd." But what one finds ironic is her ambivalence towards death. While she eludes it, she is also quick to acknowledge its inevitability, and thus, giving strange instructions about her burial arrangement, that is, in the wake of death finding her, or her stumbling upon death. Thus, her instructions to the living is "to keep vault unlidded." The woman's ambivalence is strongly shown here, because even in death, one foot persistently remains in the world. She makes a note that when she finally goes, she "shall surely sit up and look/ around to pursue this search/ holding on to dear life/dear death."

The persona's turn of thought is marked by ambivalence and dialectics- in keeping with the title and the poem's vision. She looks at death as possessing two simultaneous possibilities: first, as a "final irretrievable

3. The poems used for this essay are taken from Dimalanta's *Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present.* Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1993.

loss." With death, everything goes. Here, death viewed as a **loss** suggests her attachment to the transitory world. But "unbreath away," the persona acknowledges the other, "kinder" face of death, which she admits though, is a " a flowing final find," something that cannot be eluded. Death ends all searching.

This paradox that essentially characterizes the woman's life- of losing and finding objects and faces by turns, may be symptomatic of over-determined forces acting on her. The woman is largely a product of social, historical, cultural constructs, simultaneously and even contradictorily shaping and acting on her, explaining this perpetual state of oscillation. The female persona 's compulsion of "forever rummaging through/ bureaus and drawers and pages" for misplaced things may be read as suggestive of this desire to systemize her life, which she describes as one of "my life's past disarray." Finding lost objects and "pinning them down" may be symptomatic of a deeper impulse, an ordering act and fixing things, tantamount to planning one's life. The subject, who is a woman, appears to subscribe to the ideology that a woman's "natural" and "desirable" goal is putting some semblance of order to her life. In our culture, putting things in "proper" perspective is understood as "settling down." A common sense notion that seems to be implicit here is that "settling down" is equivalent to the idea of "coming home," a reaching of one's final destination. This view is conflated with the notion that the "natural" course of a woman's life is to settle down and to lead a more quiet life- understood as marriage and raising of a family, with home as the woman's center of existence.

But the woman asserts that the "find" is not the end, even if the goal has been reached. For her, after the act of finding, the inevitable action that follows is the act of losing- "I shall lose them all again/ as I was wont." Even she herself recognizes the inescapability of the losing act that will inevitably ensue after the find. The blurring acts of finding and losing are foregrounded here. These are pursued with much fervor by the woman. While there is an exhilaration that accompanies the search, the losing act presents a bigger challenge for the woman, as this constitutes the continuity of the blurring of the finding and the losing act. In order for fluidity and constancy of motion

to happen, the subject has to concoct a seemingly inadvertent act of losing, upon which the blurred acts of losing and finding must be smoothly maneuvered, if the woman persona were to oscillate between these two acts of losing and finding. The act of finding brings cessation to movement. Once the search is done, movement also ends, which, essentially entails living and settling in a quiet, more sedentary kind of existence. Losing anything and everything, therefore, becomes a compulsion for the woman as it provides the impetus for the search, in "one perpetual lifetime probe."

The woman's act of "losing" may be read as a refusal to be centered, to be pinned down and in turn, live a more conventional, passive kind of life expected of women. Losing things, on the other hand, necessitates a perpetual mobility, if one were to go in search of lost objects, "causes and the rest." The pull of motion which comes with the idea of freedom, exhilaration, restlessness, and a stricture-free life presents a stronger attraction for the woman than the pull of inertia which follows after every find. This connotes a slowing down and the possibility of stagnation. The promise of natality and its corresponding opening up of the unknown holds a more compelling attraction for the woman, pulling her to the blurring acts of losing and finding. On the other hand, the singularity of the finding act and its resulting action of inertia and a slowing down has also its attractions, as it promises a more unruffled but secure kind of existence, tantamount and may be conflated to the "security" marriage supposedly provides which many believe and work towards its attainment. These choices are loaded with sexual and political undercurrents that configure much in the life of the persona and on women in general. This tugging, the push and pull is again illustrated in the next poem, "Montage."

"Montage" is one poem that clearly illustrates the tugging of divergent opposites: the feminine and the feminist. This is shown in the juxtaposition of two contrasting images: the "Monday world" and the "Sunday world." These are the conflicting worlds the woman in the poem is caught in. The poem starts with the woman waking up to a heavy hangover, "she bogs down, a ragbag/ splayed off at tangents." This bogging down is brought about by the "stupor" of the "spree" of last night, which takes place in her

Sunday world. However, the Monday world dictates that she dons on her "old dimensions-" that is, to shed off traces of her Sunday world and must take on the role expected of her in the Monday world, probably to start off with the week's chores. This old dimension that she needs to go back to is punctuated by the "flecks of faces" she sees from her bedroom window and aggravated by the clock in her bedroom, mercilessly reminding her of reality, that she must get up to start the day's chores perhaps, or to prepare for office work.

The female persona finds it extremely difficult to shake off the events of her Sunday spree, as evinced in the line, "piece by piece she puts on eight o'clock." Thus, instead of patting the pillows and bedcovers in place, she is slapped into place, illustrating her badly "splayed off" sensibilities as she gets up this morning- an effect of last night's spree. If one were to imagine the immediate scenario, a picture of a clumsy, sluggish, suffering-a-bad-hang-over woman comes to mind. The woman finds herself in this Monday world reeling (both figuratively and literally), still steeped in the "stupor of the previous spree." She can only long for a lingering breakfast in bed and the "clearest cutglass of grapefruit juice teetering on a silver tray for breakfast in bed exigencies" looms large in her mind, instead.

The woman goes through the motions of the Monday world, albeit slowly, as vestiges of her Sunday world keep intruding, keeping her from completely donning on the Monday persona. She, in turn, does not dispel these errant images but "stalls the stupor of the previous spree." Once more, she relives the events of her Sunday spree. Here, the reader is afforded a glimpse of the woman's Sunday self and Sunday world, as totally different from the harried "ragbag" that wakes up in a Monday world. This secret, private Sunday self reveals a woman "beautiful in blank spaces/ wandering trauntlike in private regions." In her secret, Sunday world, she is enigmatic, elusive, perhaps a little wilder in this "trauntlike" space where she had too much alcohol and fun. One is aware that in the wake of inebriation, one's proper sensibilities are abandoned. The inebriated becomes more daring, bolder, perhaps. Thus, the woman in her Sunday world becomes trauntlike,

emboldened both by the alcohol and the excitement of the spree afforded by this vaunted Sunday world.

As the morning and the stupor wear on, the persona's mind also clears up. As she comes to a sober state, she realizes the little indiscretion she had of the previous night. Awash with alcohol she was a little of a vamp, a little of a wanton. Thus, confronted by this little guilt caused by her Sunday actions, she tucks away the fateful moment in the dark recesses of her mind, however, she does not erase and forget these images and memories but tuck them "in her private regions of the night," retrieving them later in her dreams. Meantime, she faces the immediate demands of her Monday self/ world without quelling the images of her Sunday world. She then proceeds to order these two conflicting worlds, and attempts at a psychological ordering, "piec[ing] them into a single total perspective."

The second stanza shows a woman who is a combination of two dimensions, of two different worlds- "she exudes it now becomingly/ as she glides and putters about/ by turns." In the act of reordering, she emerges neither a "ragbag" of the Monday world, nor a wanton of the Sunday world, but a "montage" of the beautiful and desirable facets of both worlds. She comes out a "nameless jewel/durably ensphered in mist, constantly reborn/solid whole in ever renewing shades."

The tension between the feminine and the feminist polarities is apparent in Montage. Her role as a dutiful woman who must abide by the Monday world expected of her dictates her to shape up pronto- sober or drunk. Thus, lingering a while more in bed is out of the question. The expectation of the woman who must be up and about to take on not just the chores and delivered properly, but embracing as well, the attitude and stance of the Monday world, is dismantled here. Firstly, since she cannot entirely shake off the tipsiness, she bungles with the little chores- she is "patted in place by the pillows." Thus, there is a sliding from the conventional image of an "efficient" woman/housewife, perhaps, to a clumsy, sluggish, woman with a bad hangover. Secondly, this supposedly dutiful woman/housewife, possessed with the approved, ideal traits, incorruptible and free of vice (since indulging in the latter takes her away from being an ideal, efficient woman),

is deconstructed here. Portrayed in Montage is a woman who had too much of a drink, consequently bungling her duties in the house. When she finally comes to, she realizes her little vagrancies of last night, slipping from the proper female decorum and expectation, to somebody "trauntlike." A truant as defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary is a person that neglects his/her duty. There is a dereliction of duties, thus, by extension, a straying away from bounds. The female persona strays or deviates from the proper conduct as befitting a "good" woman, brought about by both literal and figural intoxication in her Sunday world.

The feminist impulse is clearly expressed here. This alternative, repressed polarity, which is the opposite of the feminine polarity fractures the prescribed feminine behavior (ranging from refinement, decency, correctness, caution, modesty, etc.) imposed on women. Thus, the behavior of the woman during the Sunday spree is considered unfeminine and improper. Moreover, this feminist impulse, symbolically represented in the woman's Sunday persona, characterized by freedom, license, and unrestraint, fascinates and holds a stronger pull for the woman than the Monday polarity, especially since Monday reality is prescriptive and bound by feminine expectations and stance. However, her upbringing as a woman, her role as a wife and mother forbid her from sliding into this "loose" behavior, as patriarchy's term.

Stanza two reveals a woman who has sobered up, illustrating the stronger pull of patriarchy – the feminine pull. The violent image, "cluttering sounds of slapdash," in the penultimate lines of the first stanza, suggests an obvious effort on the part of the woman at curbing and negotiating this feminist / Sunday impulse to render it acceptable to judgmental eyes. Thus, instead of a "ragbag" of a woman caused by a heavy hangover- a disparaging unfeminine trait, the woman that emerges is a lady- someone now possessed with grace, elegance, refinement, propriety, enigma, as evinced by the lines:

A scent
Ambiguously enwombing her, her form
Dissolved in semi-tones, nameless jewel…
Solid, whole in ever renewing shades.

The altering image of "gliding and puttering about" in the second stanza which characterizes this new person as she reemerges in stanza two, illustrates the blurring of the feminine and the feminist polarites. This new identity, in turn, dismantles the patriarchal ideology and injunction that women are inherently and necessarily feminine. Moreover, "montage," as the title suggests, is the superimposition of pictures to produce a merging/emerging image, sharply illustrates the woman's multiple and ambivalent identities. The persona and behavior that she puts into perspective is not singularly the feminine pull. The woman is constrained to submerge her Sunday persona and identity (symptomatic of license and freedom), and foregrounds instead a "new," negotiated Monday and Sunday selves, that seem to show the feminine pull, but which, is neither of those polarities but a "renewed" in-between self.

Just like the poem, "Montage," and "Finder's Loser," the next poem "Snap" shares in the female persona's preoccupation with the juxtaposition of two contrasting worlds: fact and fancy- worlds the woman personally flits in and out, by turns. By a snap of a finger, depending on the mood or the need, the female persona is transported to a totally different world:

After dinnertime,
She snaps a finger…
She herds herself into the patio,
Out into the lush forests
Of a wildly pulsing vagabond heart.

This secret, fantasy world she is often caught wandering into is dream-like, painted in "soft dark apricot shade-" roseate shades that lend the fantasy world mystery and excitement. Images of her dreamworld (lush forests, dark apricot shades, swirling naiads, surreptitious hills) suggest some lovely, ethereal, gossamer-like- images that disappear in a snap.

On the other hand, reality, "one little world apart," is starkly opposed from the woman's dreamworld. Reality, described in terms of solid images (dinnertime, awash with tap water, dishes) is juxtaposed with her evanescent

dreamworld. Such images bespeak of housechores, like laundrywork, dishwashing, cooking, cleaning, mothering- an unending cycle of housework- the glare of the woman's reality. The readers now understand the female subject's intermittent escape into this fantasy world.

If reality spells unrelenting housework and oppressive expectations, this secret world the woman has created becomes a reprieve from the grueling world of reality. The woman in "Snap" is beset with domestic chaos, chores, and concern, reducing her into a harried and beleaguered ragbag. If she is compelled to create a fantasy world where she is transformed into someone else, a totally different woman, the reality she escapes from must be inhospitable and oppressive, negating or invalidating the woman's growth, individuality, and happiness. In the face of reality, represented in the house she lives in, she is forced to submerge her individuality to yield a patriarchal ideology that is deemed "noble." The female subject inhabits a world that legitimizes and gives priority to others- in this case, the man or husband, and her children. But in her secret world, she imagines herself as a totally different woman, Here, she is transformed into a "gypsy," a "whirling wanton." In her secret world, she is wild, exciting, unrestrained, playful, autonomous, and "sovereign." She is her own woman.

This secret, fantasy world she oscillates to in a snap, illustrates the need for the feminist polarity, as a reprieve from the feminine constraints. The prescriptive character of the feminine polarity, the norm that dictates the ideal of a woman, a mother, a housewife, etc., is the woman's source of oppression, the latter of which is relieved by the creation of a "notorious," unfeminine world, where she can be herself- autonomous, uncontrolled, unpressured by idealizing feminine demands. This evanescent dreamworld, the feminist polarity she escapes to, serves as reprieve from a withering, inhospitable, and prescriptive climate. Sometimes she is caught being remiss from housewifely duties: "Mom, isn't it your turn to do the dishes?" which in turn, snaps her back to reality, abandoning this private region, from which she draws sustenance and strength. The woman's habit of oscillating from one contrastive world to another is a survival tactic, otherwise, the feminine world would reduce her to a wreck. This secret, private, fantasy world she

has created serves as a buffer zone against the stifling, shriveling character of the feminine zone, the Monday world, or reality. Thus, as it is the mom's turn to wash the dishes, from her heightened fantasy (feminist/sunday world), she reemerges and comes down to take her feminine role.

The compulsion on the part of the woman to create an imaginative world that runs counter to reality is also deployed in the next poem. In the "Rat Story," Dimalanta has uncanilly captured the unspeakable horror and revulsion one experiences at the "sight of a scudding rat" (72), unhinging reason, borrowing Pascal.[4] The poet unleashes a torrent of emotional harangue about this "vilely moving" thing, deploying the narrative format, drama, and lyricism. In this poem, the woman in "Montage" and "Snap" reemerges as a combatant of this rat- a no ordinary rat for it is the "size of a house." From the female persona's "flight with swans/through clouds of sleep," she bogs down "at the sight of a scudding rat." From her heightened dreamworld, this intention of "gliding" through the demands of the day is violently crushed as she "sags down at the sight of rat." One can almost hear the thud of the rat- of reality confronting her at this point. Thus, shedding off her "gliding" wanton self she puts on earlier, she is forced to don on the "housewifely" role: she rolls her sleeves /ready for the battle royale of the day." Her greater concern lies not in the rat's vileness but in controlling its growth, lest "a whole pack of them/ is bound to hold dominion."

Further in the poem, images of the rat become flagrant as the persona describes its willfulness:

No ordinary less-than-mortal
Enemy here, and wily, almost
Reasoning… as forbidding
  As the day's load
And twice as sinister,
It seems to know exactly what route
  To take, to trace, retrace.

4. Dimalanta 's inspiration in writing this poem comes from a line by Pascal: the sight of rats unhinge reason, written as a epigraph in the poem.

But what makes the rat even more of a formidable enemy is its shrewdly clandestine character:

In its wicked wake, scheming as it
Skims over surfaces, with an almost
Human passion, until it quietly seethes
And settles in its chosen cranny
    To lie in wait.

The woman (as subject of the poem) and the almost-human rat make a tacit "mutual pact… it goes when she comes." However, today, the rat chooses to be willful. The encounter between the woman and the animal is fraught with literal and figurative struggle:

They cross each other's path, they meet,
 Her eyes upon its vileness, its mind
    Upon her fear.

Both frozen in their tracks as they calculate each other's next move and size each other up. For a moment, the woman experiences a battle of decision, hesitating on her greater fear: " to kill or not to." Here, she is caught between two horrors: first, whether to kill or not. But if she would kill the rat, she would have to contend with the horror of

Death's fixity, a glassy stare…
The blob of a carcass…
    The clinging
    Stench of it…
Dumped right into the beaten
Bypaths of one's morning sanities;

The other horror that beleaguers the woman is whether to let the rat go-not to kill. But the "scary hassle with the live/And vilely moving, a moving, scuttling /scurrying shape along one's way… upon the margins of one's daily eyepath, " is for the woman, enough "to trip one's morning serenity." At any

rate, that morning, after the combatants' calculation of each other, they both dash away in opposite directions.

Dimalanta's poems always undergo a shift to a higher plane, transcending the concrete and the literal in the previous stanzas, into a metaphysical and the symbolic leap. This metaphorical shift is often found in the last stanza of the poem. In "Rat Story", the rat now stands for something bigger, something abstract, a foe perhaps: "whichever, everyday is for contending/beleaguered as she is by packs of all/Sizes and shapes and nuances of black." Here, the battle looms bigger between the woman and the rat, and the fight is no longer just confined or contained within the arena of "open or hiding," or dawn or within the day. The rat transcends to become a metaphor for something else- a greater danger perhaps, or some difficult challenge, or a foe that "gnaw[s] at every piece/of cloud... of her dreaming, swan-filled eyes." It must be noted that this "piece of cloud" and "flight with swans" serve as metaphors for beauty, serenity, security, or that which salves. Like the swan from a fairy tale which is transformed into a ravishing beauty, the woman's transformation—from a "ragbag" or rat-harassed into a whirling wanton or "flight with swans" is characteristic of her private world. There are two opposing images at work here: a rat the size of a house and flight with swans—images that stand for repulsiveness and beauty, of fact and fancy, respectively. Initially, the woman that is delineated here is forced to abandon her "flight with swans," her dreamworld, if she were to confront the reality of rat which can stand for anything opposite the image of a swan, like oppressive patriarchal injunctions on women, for example. The woman's hesitation at the sight of the rat is but momentary because she then braces herself for the day's tasks, "rolls her sleeves" and the "battle royal of the day begins." There may be initial hesitations as illustrated in her sagging down amidst a flash of "dreamy swan filled eyes," but bracing herself to function, she psyches herself up for the challenge, even "vow[ing] to hold the fort." Although the woman has an aversion for the foe that she has to contend with, as illustrated in the ugly rat that "gnaws at her piece of cloud," the reality that reminds her that as a woman or a housewife, in this case, tells her to be on her toes and abide by her role of a dutiful wife

at all times. But the poem shows a competent woman, vowing to carry out with competency the challenge for the day. She knows her way around the house. She attacks work with a certain resolve—"she rolls her sleeves… ready for the day's minor battles." She is in control of the house and holds fort in this feminine sphere. On the other hand, her construction of a "piece of cloud," her fantasy world which she oscillates to from time to time, must be a way of relieving the drudgery of the routine of the feminine sphere and the demands generally expected of her as a woman. The "piece of cloud" serves as the woman's well- spring of strength and source of sustenance against "shrewd rats" that come in different "sizes and shapes and nuances of black." Precisely this show of resolve and resoluteness as she gets down to attack a houseload of work or challenge, actually springs from this feminist side, her piece of cloud—her source of strength and staying power. In order for the woman to come out unscathed from the vagaries of patriarchy, she has to construct a "piece of cloud" or a "flight with swans" to cope and stay sane.

The slippery nature of language, meaning, textuality, and consequently, of identity allows the reader to negotiate meaning and to render a space and agency for women, contrary to the notion of the stability of meaning and identity. Moreover, it unsettles the deeply-entrenched ideology of women's essential traits, such as that of being maternal and nurturing. This ideology is also substantiated by the conflation of physical characteristics one is born with, thus, equating women with physical "weakness" in contrast to men who are physically stronger, and thus, justifying the notion of home and motherhood as a fitting place and domain for women. The slippery nature or eliding character of language is recuperated to coax and foreground the ambivalence of identity and meaning to dismantle such patriarchal ideology and discourse. This concept is strongly illustrated in the next poem.

In the poem "Heart of Waiting, " deploying "dead cold center" as the central image and metaphor, illustrates two simultaneous ideas: the opaqueness of language and the persona's response towards this characteristic of language. Like the unpinnable quality of words, one detects the persona's rather vague frustration at the randomness of meaning: "I wish for shoulder

of rock/ for firmer grip on what sputters forth vaguely." Thus, in the persona's attempt to seek for a "shoulder of rock," or for a "firmer grip" of meaning, she embarks on an endless search, going from one station to the other, from Omaha to Sioux City, "down at the first station…/ then off to…a landing on the other side." The more involved she goes into this search to pin down meaning, to throttle this "dark force hurtling onward," the more she is flung

> Into deeper continents…,
> Through vast chartless routes,
> Past customary grasslands…
> On to some free-floating sea
> Of the night's womb, thrashed
> About in one deep uterine babble.

In the process, she flounders, is swept and keeled over, furrowed "both sides/under, over…sliding and floating." Thus, continually subverted in her quest, she goes "off center." She fails to fill the gap, gets past a firm grounding or a solid foundation. However, in the midst of this "polysemic speech," of unpresence, and the absence or lack of proper communication to enable a "cross[ing] over " from this floating condition, she sees a sliver of light. Thus, after all this vain search, the woman discovers this condition of being alone as "good, this bliss, this being lone, this anarchy of anonymity/ this being momentarily lost to all…/'tis good to be alone, unmissed…/unaccounted for."

The advantages of being "unaccounted for," of uncenteredness, symptomatic of the sliding character of words is finally brought home to her. However, this autonomy/solitude is momentary. Given the elusive quality of language, and by extension, meaning, it gives the persona a slip again. Once more, this bliss of solitude which takes on a positive inflection, turns to loneliness, and thus, perceived as a gap that needs to be filled. The poem ends with the line, the "heart of waiting/ is one dead cold center," reasserting, in turn, the impossibility of pegging a presence.

The woman expresses a frustrating lack—"the heart of waiting/ is a dead cold center." While this feminine upbringing primes her, among other traits,

to be refined, modest, passive, and be unassertive (thus, to wait rather than to actively search), she expresses a feminine ideology that this loneliness that assails her—"a dead cold center," can be assuaged and filled by a man, as evinced in the lines "I wish for some shoulder of rock/for a firmer grip… for sure hands." But this inertness of waiting for life's meaning eludes her: "I wait for some old signs/and blinking signals …" Thus, inducing her to shrug off this supposedly feminine expectation of passivity (which includes waiting), and goes in search of happiness, represented by a man: "I wish for some shoulder of rock/for a firmer grip… for sure hands."

At this point, we see a blurring of the feminist and the feminine impulses in the woman. The feminine trait of passivity is supplanted by assertiveness (deemed a feminist trait) to get closer to her desire. Thus, she embarks on an endless search. But "happiness" eludes her. In the midst of the search for this firm grip and shoulder of rock, she comes into an epiphany: "suddenly… who cares!" She does not find her happiness which rest on a man, but in the process of the search, she comes instead, into a new knowledge about herself. She revels in this new-found freedom, this emancipation from a need, in this case, for a man to complete her life. She discovers that 'tis good, this bliss, this being/ lone, this anarchy of anonymity…/ unaccounted for… /free, and undefined, off center, plural." The persona, a new woman, finally realizes a new meaning of happiness and independence—one that is not dependent on a firm grip and a shoulder of rock but a being for herself. At this point, with the woman's new and exhilarating discovery about herself, which includes autonomy, anonymity, freedom, and the new idea of happiness, the patriarchal ideology on feminine conventions and tradition is deconstructed. However, this new discovery is momentary as this deeply-rooted feminine tradition, much-inscribed in the woman, reasserts itself in the hankering of the woman for "some fixed post." This old feminine self, "one's past palling over," momentarily abandoned, reasserts itself in this peception that the woman's happiness, life's significance, is still dependent on pinning down meaning. Thus, if such happens, thence can she only be "centered," otherwise, "the heart of the waiting /is one dead cold center." Here, the hierarchical play of meanings assumes that man is the "center," the "fixed" principle

upon which meaning lies—a notion that still holds strong and true for many. However, the unpinnable character of language, this continual flickering which threatens meaning's presence, ironically throws the woman into an endless search.

Conclusion

What looms clearly before the readers is the picture of women as a site of contestation between and among many impulses and forces, largely the feminine and the feminist polarities. The formulation of Toril Moi on the absence of an automatic connection between the "female" and the "feminine" explains the ambivalence of women as they shuttle back and forth the opposed polarities and other alternative paths. Moi's theory is applied in the selected poems of Dimalanta, analyzing the images of women on three counts: first, the assertion of the feminine polarity as a socio-cultural construct, and that such construct bears on their representations as women; secondly, the articulation of the feminist impulse in women, teasing out a nuanced reading of how this polarity works (whether consciously or unconsciously) to transcend or escape from the oppressive feminine stereotypes; and thirdly, the foregrounding of the tuggings or the push and the pull between the feminine and the feminist polarities, dichotomizing, in turn, the patriarchal concept and definition of "women" as necessarily "feminine," and that there is a "given female nature" making them inherently feminine. This deconstructs the notion of stability and unproblematic character of identity, which, in turn, is recuperated to dismantle the patriarchal ideology of the female and the feminine,

Since Dimalanta is a consummate artist-poet whose poetic vision is enfleshed through her art, the analysis of craft was imperative. Thus, the process of foregrounding the feminist project was two-fold: first, rendering the complexity of the poet's poetic process, and second, appropriating the specificities of technique, such as the centrality of Dimalanta's creation of metaphors not only to illustrate and understand the female sensibility, experience, plight, and condition, but in the recuperation of craft and technique to deploy the deconstruction of oppressive patriarchal assumptions and

structures. The constant tugging or tension between the polarities (feminine and feminist) which is rendered in a form of metaphors and images: Monday world (ragbag, rat as big as a house, etc.,), vis- a vis Sunday world (piece of cloud, swan- filled eyes, trauntlike, lush forest of a wildly pulsing vagabond heart}, are reread and appropriated as illustrative and symptomatic of the fact and fancy that the female persona and the female subject in the poems of Ophelia Dimalanta constantly oscillate to, and by effect, gain some reprieve and agency from the demands of patriarchy.

The study has attempted to show that while Dimalanta's excellent New Critical training and education have rendered her a quintessential poet conscious of form, technique, and craftsmanship, which in turn, has been foregrounded by her equally New Critical-trained colleagues, this New Critical education has limited the study of her oeuvre to form, suppressing, in turn, myriad concerns that the poems may have. The present study, in turn, has recuperated form and technique to illustrate another angle of Dimalanta's poems. Foregrounding Dimalanta's vision enfleshed in art, the study recuperates the sexual/textual politics in Dimalanta's *Lady Polyester: Poems Past and Present.*

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The Toponymic Inscription of Sulu in Oral Narratives

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Abstract

In this paper, the tropological construction of Sulu—coded in the category "lupah sug," meaning "land and current"—will be analyzed and elaborated, with the intent of contributing to incipient discourse on the kapuluan. Framing Sulu in this way would prove generative to the extent that it decenters primordial assumptions regarding territoriality, which are often land-based, to foreground a sociality which has as its ontogenetic principles movement, migration, and dispersion. Representing Sulu as a dynamic space, which accommodates a history of contact and exchange, would subserve the demands of a contrapuntal reading geared toward reversing colonial and statist assumptions regarding Sulu.

Keywords

Sulu, Nesology, nusantara/kapuluan, trope, contrapuntal reading, oral literature

Straddled between the confluence of cultures and histories, the Sulu archipelago is an open and permeable space which accommodates diverse movements and influences, making it inherently dynamic and transcultural. It is this liminality—its capacity to obscure the border between land and sea and to evoke a continuum[1] which does not dissolve the border but interiorizes it—which makes it suitable if not ideal for a study of the peculiar character of "archipelagicity" in the region. Its status as a space-in-between, whether in the context of the state or with respect to the region, makes it particularly important as it marks the limits of both epistemic thinking as well as geopolitical boundaries. In keeping with its liminal and relational character, the imaginary representation of Sulu is also markedly fluid and shifting, its specificity as an island space also turning out to be contingent on the particular interests as well as locationary position of certain cultural and historical agents. The politics of nomination, for example, reveals this particular indeterminacy which is characteristic of its status as a permeable zone and maritime entrepot.

In an important essay by Benj Bangahan[2] titled "Origins of the Names Sug and Suluk", the surrounding discourse pertaining to the categories "Sug" and "Suluk" is laid out, providing a contextualization of the issue of self-iden-

1 Credit to Lina Puryanti, graduate student from the National University of Singapore, for this insight on the nature and character of islandness peculiar to Southeast Asia.

2 The article is taken from the author Benj Bangahan's Facebook profile (www.facebook.com/benjbangahan, Accessed: Dec 2015). Although the article has only been published as a note, it is nonetheless an instructive one, especially since there has not been any formal scholarship devoted to an exploration of the etymologies and cognates of the names of Sulu. The critical reception of the article also confirms the importance of this preliminary treatment, supplying as it does a tentative answer to an enduring question indissociable from the Tausug/Suk quest for self-determination. The politics behind self-representation, which this question encodes, became particularly evident to me, an outsider, during a forum on Sulu entitled "Lindu Randam sin Masa" at the Capitol in Jolo, Sulu, which I have had the privilege of attending in the latter part of January this year. My rather peremptory response to Bangahan's historicization of the etymology of Suk/Sug/Sulu was met with a rather vehement response from the crowd,

tification. Having incited a great deal of discussion on the origin of the names of Sulu, along with the ethnogenetic possibilities which a given name permits, the article is an ideal marker for the various, although complementary, streams of historiography that are at stake in the collective self-creation of Sulu. From the more retrospective to the reconstructive versions of Sulu history, the debates surrounding nomination have revealed not so much the sources of verifiable knowledge as the ideological and political positions of competing claimants. During the first forum on Sulu history titled *Lindu Randam sin Masa: Foregrounding Sulu History*, for example, there was general consensus over and appreciation for a statement issued by Professor Abubakr Mohammad, who happens to be a contemporary of Nur Misuari, who in turn vehemently opposed any suggestion to a more "productive"(which this author naively made during the ensuing panel reaction) engagement of Sulu history if it did not serve a practicable or useful purpose in the end. This meant that for any historicization to be at all "productive," it was necessary to enlist it in this service of a civilizational history—that is, the revival of the old glory of the sultanate—while ironically and, in one and the same turn, invoking a vision of history which would ultimately be just and egalitarian. The contradiction behind these turns in discourse, which may be cast in terms of the dichotomy between *kesultanan* (the sultanate) and *masyarakat* (the people), may be traced more systematically through recourse to Benj Bangahan's article.

According to Bangahan, the more popular and widely accepted definition of the category "sug" is a misnomer, which has come to encode such meanings as the "sea" or "current," but which continues to appeal to the imagination given its evocative, if idealized depiction of Sulu as an archipelago straddled, precariously, between swirling currents. In reality, however, the archipelago is connected by an ocean characterized by a general flatness and placidity[3] and a general absence of currents. The general movement of the

whose investment in the term or category is invariably laden with such pathos and feeling owing to its connection to their ongoing political struggle.

3 During an inter-islandic voyage to Simunul island, for example, an island which is situated at the interstices of the Sulu and Sulawesi seas, I felt as though the vast

waters, which although in certain months—particularly early in the year—could be described as rough, cannot be attributed to the motion of underlying currents but of the wind, a peculiarity that reveals the generally flat or placid sea floor of Sulu[4] and, as such, the predictability of its movement. Bangahan would further assert that the insistence on "sug" as a name for currents and, moreover, the fetishization by some of the name "Lupah Sug" (or land of the currents), which has come to be used as a popular name for Sulu, even evoking a certain pathos or affinal feeling among the Tausug, are a by-product if not a function of the Western construction of Sulu. It would seem that to adopt this particular definition would be tantamount to an uncritical or unconscious subscription to a Western geographic schema, a misrecognition which would be nothing short of a betrayal of the ethnonationalist aspirations of Sulu.

Bangahan argues moreover that the designation "sug" with a long *u* has been deployed erroneously when in reality "sug" is a condensed version of the term Suluk, hence retains the short u (with the umlaut), a misnomer which may be attributed to the facile if romanticized perception and representation of Sulu by foreigners as a seaward polity. In contrast to this received connotation, the term sug is in fact derived from "Suluk," albeit in a shortened

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sea assumed the aspect of a flat surface and an unbroken continuum, a quality which made me view the southern seas not in terms of constant tension—of tidal push and pull—but rather of an expansive continuum.

4 By comparison, for example, the Indian Ocean, from my observation, tends to be rather craggy, jagged, and volcanic, with sea mounds suddenly jutting out of the ocean floor, attesting to the long history of geological movement in such a turbulent and seismic zone. In the south seas of Java, for example, which is already part of the Indian Ocean and whose vast reaches and unbounded expanse mark the edge of Southeast Asia, before extending vertically to the south pole, the movement of the current is typically strong and tendentious, attuned as it is to an asymmetrical because constantly shifting, sea floor. The qualitative difference between these two oceans—the Sulu sea and the Indian ocean—would reinforce the misattribution of "sug" to refer to the currents of an ocean which is largely insular and, as such, undisturbed by the "tidalectic"—to allude to Elizabeth De Loughrey [Cf. *Roots and Routes* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2010)]—pattern of movement peculiar to a transoceanic space like the Indian Ocean.

form, its historical origin borne out by the use of "a-a Suluk" and "a-a Suk" by the Banguinguih and other subgroups respectively as a term to refer to the Tausug. The interchange of the letters "k" and "g," on the other hand, reflects a problem in terms of auditing the language than it does a substantive difference in sense or reference.[5]

To rectify this particular misattribution, Bangahan proposes the adoption of "Suluk" with "suk" as the shortened derivative, arguing for its merit and validity on the basis of an explicit religio-civilizational ideology deemed to be purposeful or indispensable to the constitution of Sulu as a nation in its own right. This particular turn in the argument reflects the overt reconstructive bent which motivates contemporary discourse pertaining to the historiography of Sulu and the politics of nomination underlying this effort. According to Bangahan, the term "sug"—apart from having been inherited from foreigners, whether Arab traders or Western colonizers, whose perception of Sulu had been mediated by the experience of voyaging—is in fact a corrupted derivative of "suk," which is in turn derived from "suluk." The substitution of "g" for "k" in "sug"/"suk" is, he added further, a problem of auditing rather than an objective semantic or historical variation. In other words, the currency of "sug" as a recognizable name by which to refer to Sulu was nothing but a modern invention; its original etymology being "suluk"—prior to becoming "suk"—a name which in Arabic "means path, way, travel, or journey."[6] The term "suluk" in this sense accords with a central tenet in Sufi Islam, which posits a view of faith that is predicated on a journey and, as such, is easily conflated with the islandic lifeways of the inhabitants of Sulu. In addition, Bangahan drew a connection between "suluk" and the Islamic or Sufi sect known as the "Ahl ul Suluk,"[7] demonstrating his argument by means of a chronological account of Sufi masters which had arrived in Sulu. What is particularly interesting, however, is that this reconstructive project tends to be too bound up with the quest for legitimacy that is grounded in the

5 Bangahan, "Origins of the Names Sug and Suluk," pars. 6-7, 9,10.

6 Ibid., 13.

7 Ibid., 29.

presupposition of a traceable genealogy which is distinctly Islamic, such that other variants of the name of Sulu are consequently rendered moot or irrelevant. The problem with this particular mode of ascription is that it elides the sedimentation of histories embedded in a term whose motility attests not to a determinate origin but rather to a confluence of influences as well as distinct moments of contact or exchange in the course of a particular cultural history. While it is certainly possible to argue that any historiographical practice is indissociably linked to an ideological project, it is also well worth exploring the sorts of exclusions which are effected by a singular, hegemonic view of history; how, for example, would the adoption of "suluk" as opposed to "sug" be both useful in the quest for social self-emergence on the part of the Tausug on the one hand; and, on the other, to what extent does this religi-civilizational discourse in fact perpetuate the denial of the rights of such minority groups, such as the Sama or even Christians in the area?

Be that as it may, this initial foray into the imaginary representation of Sulu, whether as "sug" or "suluk" is crucial to our present treatment of islandness to the extent that it specifies the topological encystment of histories, whether Islamic or colonial, which had inhered in Sulu. In particular, the "islandness" that is operative in the context of Islamic discourse and history(outlined above) seems to be keyed in to the *nusantara* even as it retains links with the Mediterranean. The space-in-between, as such, which spans the entire breadth of the Southeast Asia island constitutes a crucible in which influences, whether cultural, political, or religious, are not simply received but rather rearticulated—whether by processes of reproduction, appropriation, or transculturation, however, the particular procedures behind this rearticulation remains to be clarified. This particular notion of "islandness" implies a complex form of mediation, which could account for the passage or transmission as well as diffusion and differentiation of cultures, beliefs, and practices across time and space, something which will be elaborated more fully through concrete examples in the following discussion. It is worth noting for now that the dominant view among the Tausug in Sulu seems to be consistent with a concept of "islandness" associated with Islam which, despite being of external origin, is held to be closer to the needs and

interests of this ethno-national group and, as such, is seen as arising from within. This particular detail is important in that it shows the localization of a foreign religion and culture, and the way in which it has been redeployed in the interest of a collective self-identification, thus illustrating the reconstructive procedure behind the constitution of the Bangsa Suk.[8]

If in the previous discussion the external influence of Islam is seen to have become interiorized, a process which shows the dissolution of the boundary between inside and outside, the interior dimension of Sulu as an island zone will be shown to contain an outward-looking tendency when we examine more closely the significance of the category "sug." A term which had been imputed to it presumably by Arab and Chinese traders, whose presence has been recorded as early as the 9th or 10th century,[9] It shows the way in which an external structure of reference had always already been constitutive of Sulu as an island polity. This peculiarly liminal character is important to our discussion of the second and alternate view of "islandness," in addition to the Islamic definition mentioned earlier. While the first one pertains to a type of islandness that is keyed in to a determinate process of interiorization, the second one marks the deterritorializing, ex-centric character of Sulu as an entity which had been, at the outset, migratory and dispersive. The ethno-genesis of the inhabitants of Sulu is inextricably linked with patterns of inter-islandic migration and settlement, something that would in turn be articulated to the subsequent arrival of Arab as well as European traders and colonizers. To view Sulu in this way would mean a shift from the conventional assumptions of linearity and succession to give way instead to a mode

8 Bangsa Suk refers to the political designation with which the dominant faction of elite society, particularly the political functionaries, along with more spatially and socially mobile members of Tausug society who have been forced to move and migrate to other parts of the Philippines owing to the ongoing war, identify. This nominalization of their collective pursuit, however, is inherently selective and exclusionary, relegating as it does the interests and needs of certain groups which flout ethnonationalist aims.

9 Please refer to Najeeb Saleeby in *The History of Sulu* (Saleeby, Najeeb, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science and Division of Ethnology Publications, 1908).

of historicizing which is intrinsically heteroglossic and cosmopolitan, whose most pertinent expression would be the status of Sulu as an islandic entity.

Pre-Existing Conceptual Formulation or Framing with Respect to "Islandness"

By way of a preliminary formulation, this chapter will begin with a theoretical formulation of "islandness" or "archipelagicity" in view of the demands of local specificity on the one hand while taking into account the participation or connectedness of Sulu to the maritime world of Southeast Asia on the other. In contrast to the widely held and somewhat romanticized view of the Sulu archipelago as a land of the "currents," where no such currents are empirically to be found, it is perhaps useful to propose a conceptual framing of Sulu in terms of continuity or contiguity with islands[10] and, moreover, the role of the sea as passage or channel which mediates this interconnectedness.[11] It is no longer the elemental or spatial slippage which is emphasized in this revised formulation but rather the principle of relation or communication whose tropological representation are the insular waters of the *nusantara*. This particular notion is useful if we are to trace its permutation

10 For this particular conceptual apparatus, I wish to acknowledge the contribution of Lina Puryanti, PhD student from NUS, to the refinement of my thinking and theorizing and for incisively pointing out the limits of my previous proposition of Sulu and the surrounding islands as comprising a land-sea dialectic. Lina Puryanti was quick and keen to point out that the interphase between land and sea seems to revert back to the primacy of borders, and of liminality in terms of the presence of borders, when it would perhaps be more useful as well as practicable to refer to a continuum of land and sea. Rather than adopting this idea wholesale, however, I have tried and reinflected this category of continuity in my attempt at operationalizing, conceptually and discursively, the notion of islandness proper to Sulu.

11 As for the concept of "interconnectedness," I first encountered its inscription, toponymically, in the colonial archives, where the originary definition or conceptualization of islandness is ascribed to the term Banda (for the cluster of islands known by the same name), which in one footnote is described to mean "unified" or "interconnected," thereby resurfacing what could possibly be an indigenous mode of sense-making relevant to the present analysis.

discursively and its operationalization, by way of the counterpoint, in both the colonial archives as well as in representative Tausug literature.

To further specify the origin and development of the term *nusantara*, it is perhaps necessary to turn to the classic definition—islands (nusa) in between (antara)—associated with it, a definition which has been simultaneously adopted and disavowed by different historians and scholars. From the perspective of scholars engaged in a historicization of the modernity peculiar to Southeast Asia, the notion of the *nusantara* seems to be framed from the vantage-point of nationalism and colonialism, while being explicitly unhinged from what could possibly be recuperative and polemic ends. In the case of Indonesia, for example, the deployment of the term *nusantara* seems to be focused primarily on Java which, like Luzon in the context of the Philippines, has been the site and object of a territorial fetishism, its "islandness" a mere perceptual or discursive screen or sleight-of-hand which obscures its decidedly insular character. The same sort of cognitive displacement or aphasic movement takes place as is evident in the way that the category of the "pulo" in the Philippine context is conflated with the geographical notation underlying official nationalism, despite the fractal and irruptive tendency inscribed in the term. Despite its subordination to the ends of political nationalism, the category "pulo" or "kapuluan" is revealed to contain a fissure or divide, such that the insularization or centralization of Manila and, by metonymic extension, Luzon appears to stand at a qualitative distance from the islandness of rest of the Visayas and, most especially, of Mindanao.

Among the Sama, for example, this concept of the *kapuluan* is operationalized in and through voyaging, in which the islands are perceived as points or coordinates[12] which comprise an intelligible map. Islands are thus made to function as vectors which indicate or point to a certain direction, orienting voyagers as to which way to go as well as allowing them to gauge the distance separating one island from another. Additionally, islands are

12 Maria Karaan's own work on Sama oral literature has exerted considerable on my own thinking and theorizing on islandness.

also apprehended in terms of affective atlases which bear resonance and evoke familiarity or solicitude with and among voyagers, who are able to verify upon close encounter with these islands, the distance which they have traversed from the high seas to the insular waters. For the Tausug, on the other hand, the trope and topos of the island acquire a different valuation; as it were, islandness is simultaneously emotive and transversal for the Tausug, something which represents both a frame of thinking as well as an emplotment by which personal as well as social forms of identification could be intended or effected. It is, in other words, ex-centric to the extent that islandness gets enacted or is performed in between the self or subject and his or her phenomenal world. A projective and affective frame, the island mediates the relation of the subject, whether individuated or collective, to identitary and historical alternatives. From this description, it can be inferred that islandness here constitutes an imaginary cartography, which is as much contrived or produced as it is reproduced, which is to say that it must be re-enacted to evoke new relations and routes within and across the maritime space of Southern Mindanao in conjunction with Southeast Asia.

The Toponymic Inscription of the Islandic in Oral Literature

In what follows, only a selective and representative sampling of riddles as is relevant to our discussion on the poetics of islandness will be dealt with, particularly in relation to the issue of spatial play and manipulation. The first selection is taken from an undergraduate thesis[13] housed at the Mindanao State University in Tawi-Tawi prepared and compiled by Mari-Ann Robles, and the riddles reflect a common motif or trope which is spatially configured.

In the following riddle, a certain view of organicity that does not coincide with itself and that in fact works metonymically in the reconstruction or

13 The preliminary selection is culled from Mari-Ann S. Robles, *Compilation of Some Tausug Folk Riddles* (Undergraduate Thesis. The Faculty of Language Department. College of Arts and Sciences. Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography. Bongao, Tawi-Tawi, March 2010), with permission from the university. A sampling from the actual thesis has been included in the Appendix.

re-imagination of absent parts in order to point to some which is other than the plant metaphor used:

> A branch without a fruit/
> A leaf without a stem.
> Awn batang way bunga/
> Awn dahun way Sanga.[14]

It is the absence of that which is supposed to complement it, to lend it definition and distinction foregrounded in this riddle, to reflect a certain aesthetic dis-ordering. It is in this dis-ordering that the notion of *techne* peculiar to indigenous communities emerges. The indigenous knowledge pertaining to making or *techne* becomes apparent here in the way that the material dimension—the quality and contour of the wood—is reinstated as inseparable from the functional utility which a particular object acquires when it is shaped or fashioned into something else. The intricate system of making takes as its structure or referent the mimetic as something which is verified in an already complexly structured nature is presented here.

In another riddle, spatial play is once again demonstrated in the description of an otherwise ordinary object—that is, *nangka*—revealing a peculiar conception of inside/outside, which is a recurring motif in the Tausug repertoire. In this example, "iskilalang" is the nominative for bird eggs, while "Ja" is the nest,[15] a description which impresses upon the mind the image of containment within a vessel, an egg within its nest, albeit the vehicle of this figuration is displaced onto mundane objects. In the following lines that continue "Still in the womb of the/ mother already hatched/ Still inside the egg/Has already tail,"[16] the same transgression of space is portrayed, encapsulated in embryonic imagery with the subject mentioned earlier becoming a gestational entity while still in the womb is already hatched; still inside

14 Ibid.

15 Mari-Ann S. Robles, *Compilation of Some Tausug Folk Riddles* (Undergraduate Thesis, Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, March 2010), 13.

16 Ibid.

the egg but already possessing a tail, an inversion of borders which is also a distension of time or progress. The way in which cognition is manipulated here is moreover confirmed by the complete alienation of the vehicle from its undisclosed tenor—that is *nangka* or jackfruit[17]—showing the way in which perception in this society is tied to a dynamic concept of space whose localization brings objects into view. The scene which is set in the description of a fruit that is rather unique and complex in its composition, with various compartments filling it with fruit or skin which is in turn formed by a seed, attesting to a mode of knowing which is keyed in and is attentive to structure and architectonics with the combination of shapes and dimensions, i.e., concentric circles, great vs. small, figuring prominently in this perceptual and phenomenal frame. Knowledge or cognition is inseparable in this sense from the matter which supplies a pattern or design and is drastically different from the assumptions of Kant or the poetics of Bachelard.[18]

The element of spatial play is also evident in the way that the body is construed as a space of textuality but in the expanded sense of textuality to include a reconfigurative and performative dimension. The reordering that takes place here places body parts in a configurative matrice such that it resembles the inhuman, albeit with the aid of terms that are corporeal. The exact lines are as follows:

> Usug maitum tunukan/
> Taga mata ha tiyan

17 *Nangka* is a prominent fruit widely enjoyed by Southeast Asian countries, particularly Indonesia and the Philippines, although the mode of preparation which is done in Mindanao, as well as in Java, tend to be more complicated, with the addition of spices and coloring. The manner of preparation of *nangka* in Luzon or the Visayas, however, tends to be pretty straightforward with only *gata* as its base and, at times, with a mixture of chili and ginger.

18 In the case of Bachelard, the representation of space is often seen as something which proceeds out of the consciousness or cognition of the subject, and its variation is only ever manifested in the distension and inversion of space. For example, he would assert in the *Poetics of Space* [Trans. Maria Jolos. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997] the way in which Rilke figures or elaborate space as an immanence, although always relative to the self as its locus.

A dark guy with thorns/
Has eyes in his stomach.[19]

The answer to this riddle, the *tagum/tayum* or sea urchin, shows the representation of this creature as the embodiment of everything that is against the familiar or the habitual—to wit, of that which is alien—but it could only be done through its domestication in the body as locus. The sort of interarticulation which emerges here is a productive and metamorphic one, as indeces of the body or of the human and the animal/non-human are disordered. The same sort of regenerative figuration is also reiterated in the following riddle, this time on the stingray:

It walks like a lumber/
Looks like a grated cassava/
Wrapped in banana leaf/
When its tail snaps it/
creates a wound that is/
painful.[20]

In this riddle, the image of the stingray is described in terms of a domestic metaphor (the most commonplace delicacy of cassava cake) but in a way that lends it an almost sinister character. The humble delicacy begins to be seen and figured as stingray, whose pointed end is likened to a tail which when snapped creates "a wound that is painful."[21] The fluidity of the image of the cassava as stingray shows not merely a contiguous character, in the way that Western riddles, tend to have; rather, it is a refiguration by which the impression, a moving image, which one has is superimposed upon the other, in order to generate new connections and revitalize the phenomenal world.

19 Mari-Ann S. Robles, *Compilation of Some Tausug Folk Riddles* (Undergraduate Thesis, Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, March 2010), 14.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

The ontic status of the image thus gives way a sensate and shifting one by which the attributes of things are perceived or known.

Thus far, the various riddles tackled have been selected for their demonstration of spatial play on the one hand and the mobility associated with figuration, extending and expanding it, in order to allow for a more phenomenological view of island reality on the other. While the riddles do not necessarily contain an overt allusion to islandness, they are nonetheless important for the insight they give, pertaining to the mode of performance which is grounded in the shifting island scape as it is enacted in the text. Moreover, they are able to show the non-representational character of Sulu literature, with its emphasis on or orientation toward the eidetic as embodied in matter, an epistemic mode which is distinct from the appropriative purview of Western representation. Concepts are not only intended by means of performance but they also develop organically, acquiring significance and materiality in the process.

In the following set of riddles, the images which are more topically attuned to islandness will be tackled but with the aim of showing how they set the stage and scene for the history of travel and exchange. In these riddles, boat imagery as well as vessels of transport figure prominently, as in the following:

Kahuy tu tiyalus
Sali Sali in dagbus
Bang kugdanan hunus
Dumagan Lumagunus
Basnig

Tree woods being done
It looks the same
When hit by strong winds
It runs very fast.[22]

22 Ibid.

In this particular riddle, the phenomenology of islandness is made apparent by the transposition of wood into something which is capable of moving, propelling forward, a shift marked by the unleashing of strong winds. The sudden transformation which takes place here is one which marks the shift from stasis to potency, which also and by the same movement, marks the construction of the boat. In other words, *techne* is understood here precisely in terms of this transformation from a formal cause to a dynamic cause, which is conveyed by the reference to the woods "running very fast," a term which suggests a motor movement and interplay with the wind, as of a gliding action than a violent force. As opposed to the reduction of matter into a passive, inert entity, matter here is complexly bound up with elemental or natural energy and, as such, force is something considered to be generative rather than destructive. It is also the complementarity of the different objects, ranging from wood and wind to water, in an economy where forms are made into the very function or concept which it had formerly been, albeit in potentiality, and now transformed into something which can be used and set into motion. This transposition, which attends the act of making,[23] seems to be key to the concept of *techne* or building among the Tausug. The wood which had been touched by the wind has now been made to run, a series which shows the way in which home or habitation is embedded in making or in building, and the interweaving of these elements can only be represented by the figure of the boat, which is simultaneously a temporal home, a sailing vessel, and the link of this maritime society to its external and outward-looking reference. The moving image of the boat is an index to the migratory character of Tausug society and at the same time

23 I am indebted to Heidegger and Thinking," in *Poetry, Language and Thought*. Trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1971), in this instance for his treatment of making or *techne* as indistinguishable from dwelling and as a form of being, as it permeates various aspects of culture. His rethinking of this classic notion is particularly useful owing to its phenomenological notation, and its general consonance with the mode of being proper to island societies, including the Sama and the Tausug.

hints at the practice of mooring,[24] which is suggested by the use of certain types of wood with which boats are constructed. The convergence of wood and wind adds a further dimension to building in order to indicate motion as another instance of *techne*, showing as it does the sailing techniques wielded and mastered by the Tausug. From making to dwelling as movement, the boat riddle is able to evoke the phenomenological dimensions of the Tausug maritime lifeworld.

In another riddle on boats, another dimension of the maritime lifeways of the Tausug is demonstrated, that attunes to the historical and religious routes followed and re-enacted by the Tausug as a predominantly Muslim society. The hajj pilgrimage, which is done among the pious, is already embedded in cultural memory as seen in the following line:

> Duwa digpi tiyapil
> Hiang sin kapil
> Minsan in mga pakil
> Kahunitan mamikil
> Kappal
>
> Two lumber put together
> Made by Islam non-believer

24 For a more nuanced discussion on mooring, it might be worth referring to Maria Karaan's work (in progress) on the seafaring lifeways of the Sama, whose mooring on shore is merely a temporal rest or reprieve from their seagoing life patterns, a cyclical interval in the continuous unfolding of their maritime cultures. The boat when moored to the shore is thus an image of mere repose rather than of extended settlement, and its placement in the littoral zone indicates their orientation toward the sea, with their attachment to land only serving as a marker of temporality but without any evident or palpable imprint or dent on space. This particular view of the Sama, however, is something which is closer to the past but has proven to be radically different from their situation at present owing to such factors as the sequestering of littoral zones by the local governments as per the jurisdiction rights of municipalities, and the gradual resettlement of the Sama along zones demarcated for them, cutting them off from access to the sea. This particular spatial policy has resulted in the dissolution of the lifeways as well as maritime mode of labor possessed by the Sama.

Even the Imam (priest) finds
it difficult to ponder'[25]

In this passage, the seasonal pattern of the pilgrimage is implied, albeit in a manner that demonstrates the participation of Christians in the industry of boat-building. As possible investors as well as builders, the Christian population must have displayed their skill and adeptness at this task, a topical reference to the way in which their relation to the maritime lifeworld of the Tausug had been mediated by way of industry and enterprise. The general surprise with which this practice is met by the imam shows the view which Muslims have of ship building and seafaring as intimately tied with religious practice. This unlikely allusion, however, is significant for its demonstration of Christian-Muslim relations in Sulu, and the mutual participation of these groups in the practical and cultural affairs of Sulu.

From these examples, it is clear that riddles pertaining to boats or "kappal" contain topical references that show both the internal as well as external constitution of island society and the practical aspect of islandness within this society. The first riddle, which pertains to the making of the boat, and the way in which *techne* accommodates the multiple aspects of building, dwelling, and being, supplies a dimension of a land-sea relation, with the voyage out to sea complemented by the momentary mooring for the building or rebuilding of ships. This interplay between land and sea is here construed in terms of the extension of the habitus such that it is always in between, in a state of transitoriness, and is mediated by travel and traffic between and across coasts and islands. An entire phenomenology is borne out of this description and demonstration such that the islandness proper to Sulu is lent a more material dimension. In the second riddle, on the other hand, the diachronicity of the Islamic pilgrimage is inflected by contemporaneous cultural phenomena which contain traces of the longstanding interaction between Christians and Muslims. The concept of islandness is figured

25 Mari-Ann S. Robles, *Compilation of Some Tausug Folk Riddles* (Undergraduate Thesis, Mindanao State University - Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography, March 2010), 19.

or portrayed in terms of concrete material traces in the course of history as they remain embedded in the present frame. It also reproduces the general ground upon which islandness could be established, a ground which is necessarily heterotopological, recoding as it does historicities which in turn open up alternate modes of relation or exchange.[26]

Lastly, a slew of water-based imagery figures prominently in the repertoire of oral literature. In particular, images pertaining to the movement of the waves, its crest and cleavage, reflect a particular turn or operation in the tropology of Sulu. The intractability of water is conveyed not by analogous referents but through the demarcation of movement and the impression which is evoked by such movement. The various details included in the riddle thus work together in order to conjure up an impression or idea. It is displacement within a metonymic frame which allows us to refigure and reconfigure the various poses and patterns of movement, adding a dimension of spatial play to the tropological work. In the following passage, this particular operation is made apparent:

> A white bird/ That fights like a cock but suffers no wound.

In this line, the transfiguration happens both on the figural or rhetorical level as it does on the referential context in which the allusion or description

26 During my short visit to Tawi-Tawi with Maria Karaan and Nash Tysmans, it was brought to my attention, after a gratuitous encounter with one of the staff of MSU Tawi-Tawi, that the dominant ethos in those parts is one of mutual recognition, and the relation between Muslims and Christians is harmonious, disproving the representation by the North of Southern Mindanao as a conflictual zone in the area of religious relations. This rather misguided perception only goes to show the projection of certain prejudices upon Muslims in general, which is informed by the prevailing structure of feeling implicitly endorsed by nationalism, which conflates Islam with the political conflict in those parts. Secessionism is thus shown, by a perceptual or cognitive elision, as synonymous with religious intolerance, with the same tautological ascription operative in the logic of state nationalism whose own policy of intolerance is surfaced in their continued militarism and counter-insurgency operations in Mindanao.

is made. Not only is the image of ferocious movement and graceful flight evoked by the mention of the fighting rooster,[27] the impression which is left on the mind is what allows for a further refiguration of the entire scene as akin to the pattern of waves or the motion of the seas. The image of something which is quite brutal, almost unrepresentable in its brutality, is transmuted—aestheticized if you will—into something that conforms to a certtain logic, rhythm, and order but by way of a transference or transposition through indirect reference to the ocean. The tropological turn here is one which slides and elides across space, and this becomes the site or locus for imaginary production.

In the following lines drawn from Rixhon's collection,[28] the same tropological technique is executed, which is evident in the description of a *tiyumpi* whose movement is used as a vehicle or basis for refiguration while the atrributes of fluidity and grace described here are invested upon the subject of this riddle. As a spinning object, whose constituent parts retain their balance and completion at the moment of spinning, the *tiyumpi* is an apt vehicle for the description of the repetitive and continuous oscillation of the waves. The transmutation which takes place here is expressed in the following lines:

> "It walks flat on the surface;
> It looks like a *tiyumpi*';
> When it wags its tail,
> [It produces] a torturous wound." [29]

In this line, the flatness of the surface is contrasted with the motion of the *tiyumpi* or top, whose spinning tail inflicts a torturous wound, delin-

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27 Roosters incidentally play a prominent role in the cultural and socio-symbplic repertoire not only of the Tausug but in Southeast Asian contexts in general. Glifford Geertz, for example, would deal with the topic of cockfighting at length, citing the aesthetico-philosophical aspects of it as it is practiced in Bali.

28 Irene Hassan and T. Iklali Jainal", trans. "A Selection of Tausug Riddles and Proverbs" in *Sulu Studies 2,* Rixhon, Gerard, ed. *Sulu Studies II (*Jolo, Sulu: Notre Dame of Jolo College, 1973), 210-244.

29 Sulu Studies 2, "A Collection of Tausug Riddles and Proverbs," 212.

eating as it does the parting of the crest and the curvature or dent beneath it, a description which supplies another tropological mechanism. This mechanism entails not only a movement in space but also the breaking or parting of a continuum, both of which specify the dual components of an island poetics, whose phenomenal reality is composed of cleavage, irruption, and recreation. In addition, it supplies the aesthetic principle or norm by which artistic and cultural performance is accomplished. The trope of the wave and of the island also demonstrates the encystment of matter, its memory as well as its continual reproduction, as that which is also constitutive of the socio-symbolic repertoire of island societies. It is in other words, it is a trope which carries with the inscription of the real, even as it subjects the latter to a continual excavation.

Apart from sea imagery, another type of aquatic element, the inland water, also appears in the Tausug oral repertoire, and the following analysis will be devoted to a description of the way in which this motif or trope not only complicates the relation between inside and outside; it also offers a particular view of islandness in the resincription of water on land. The following examples revolve around the trope of the bamboo, configured variously to reveal specific aspects of islandness.

For instance, the couplet on the bamboo, captured by the lines "Water in a small bamboo;/It cannot be poured"[30] reflects the containment or enclosure which is typically associated with insularity or enclosure, as a space which coincides with itself, albeit with a crucial difference. The toponymic inscription of water within an enclosed space shows the porosity of the island as well as the prevalence of water as an element, a motif or theme which would be reworked more fully in folk narratives. By setting the stage or scene for subsequent narrative developments, this particular trope is able to specify or indicate the relation between land and sea as that which is not necessarily separated by borders but is rather defined by its dissolution, such that what is conventionally deemed outside is now accommodated within.

30 Ibid., 213.

In the next riddle, the same idea of insulation and, as such, invulnerability to disturbance or encroachment from the outside world is conveyed in the following lines: "Water inside a tunnel;/ No leaves can be dropped in it."[31] In these lines, the water within the tunnel is an image of insularity but it is also one which bears within it the possibility of an opening which could potentially lead to connection, with its inclusion of water within its bounds. The image of the leaf separated from the water within the tunnel, an image which is consistent with the features of the bamboo, is one which indicates exteriority or an absolute separation which is countered by the presence of a fluid, permeating substance—that of water—within its confines. The projective image of insularity is hence irrupted by the containment within itself that could potentially elide and erode borders. Hence, water inside a tunnel is in fact islandness inscribed in insularity, a paradigmatic disjuncture which is also the generative principle for more tropisms.

Lastly, the bamboo trope is furthermore reworked in the following passage, which extends the dialectic of inside and outside described earlier by allowing for actual transformation. Although the bamboo is paradigmatically associated with the enclosure of inland water, it is refunctioned but by way of a turn to the sea in this paratactical syntagmata for the purpose of dramatizing and demonstrating the functionality of objects in an archipelagic setting. It goes:

> It starts as bamboo
> Then it is woven into a basket.
> When buried at sea
> It returns with profit.[32]

The traditional use or categorization of the bamboo is replaced in order to give way to a more seaward one, making it suitable as much for the construction of inland structures as the making of net for fishing. Not only is this structural shift implied by the pliancy of the bamboo as material for

31 Ibid., 212.
32 Ibid., 214.

the creation of the needed implement for fishing, it also—by its emplacement in an archipelagic zone—ceases to become a thing which contains water, becoming instead that which must be suitable for practical activities, part of which ironically is the "uncontainment" or freeing up of water at every hurl of the net and harvest of fish. The "encodation" of the bamboo as such makes it attuned to a different lifeworld and context, one attuned to the exigencies of the coastal and maritime contexts. Interestingly, in the final lines, the act of burying something at sea yields a return, the uncontainment is also the guarantee for accumulation, a shift which is as much conceptual as it is keyed in to structural shifts in economic production, and in the material lifeways of archipelagic groups.

Phenomenal Interphase as a Constitutive Feature of Islandness

In this particular set of folktales, the archipelagraphy proper to Sulu is configured in terms of the interphase between island and ocean, an interphase which is mediated by migration not only of people but of objects and animals, hence supplying a historicity to the general phenomenological sphere which surrounds the island. The migration of animals in particular is rendered in terms of a fabulation, in which they figure as the agents or characters, as shall be seen in the following illustrations.

The following examples are culled from an undergraduate thesis prepared by May Fatima V. Jalbuna of MSU-Tawi-Tawi,[33] a copy of which can only be accessed at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the MSU Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography and which is valuable for its inclusion of folktales that are otherwise not available in the collections

33 The undergraduate thesis is entitled Jalbuna, May Fatima V., *Some Folktales in Taw-Tawi: A Documentation and Analysis*, which has been placed under safekeeping at the Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences, Language Department, Mindanao State University Tawi-Tawi College of Technology and Oceanography. Sanga-Sanga, Bongao, Tawi-Tawi, March 2011. The thesis was accessed by this author in late November of last year during her short stint in MSU-Tawi-Tawi.

of Nimmo, Rixhon, or Revel. In the following illustration, the hawks and monkeys are seen to be engaged in a battle owing to their competing claim over sovereignty in a given island territory. This fabulatory made can thus be read in terms of an allegory for the question of island agency and autonomy, although the narratological also yields a rich and fertile interest to the attentive reading, as it deals with the migration of biota from one island to another. By reading this folktale, this paper aims to show a phenomenology that is distinctly islandic.

In this narrative, the monkeys on a particular island are migrating *enmasse* to another island inhabited by the hawks in search of food, especially since the resources in their place of origin had already been depleted. The description of the voyage to the next island is rather peculiar, as it involves hawks latching onto logs floating beside them, until they were washed safely ashore.[34] Although the migration has been previously been permitted and in fact facilitated by the eagles by carrying the monkeys with their claws,

34 This particular trope seems to be evident not only in this folktale but also in *Darangen* [Ed. Maria Delia Coronel, et al, Folklore Division, University Research Center (Marawi City: Mindanao State University, 1986)]. In the introductory chapters of *Darangen*, for example, there is an account, indicated in the footnote, of a deer swimming across the seas separating Zamboanga and Jolo to escape the clutches of a relentless hunter. This particular device, while certainly able to construed in terms of conventional fabulation, could also be used as a counterpoint to the latter if we treat these accounts as having its own variant or branch of ecological critique. In this account, the prototype for ecological critique is already foregrounded in indigenous discourse. In addition to which, in a conversation with some of our contacts in Tawi-Tawi and Zambaonga, they have shared to us how stories percolate pertaining to the migration of *babi* or wild boar from North Borneo to Sulu, a detail which indexes a great deal of anecdotal reasoning among the Tausug pertaining to the right of ownership or appropriation over a given island setting, and its biota and fauna. In fact, during dinnertime conversations, while I was in Jolo in late January, my hosts would often crack jokes about how even the "manuk" or chicken have migrated as a result of war from Sulu to North Borneo, adding furthermore that this does not in any way detract from the sovereignty rights of the Tausug; rather, it only serves to affirm it. I never really fully understood the significance of those jokes until now that I've immersed myself in animal fables from Sulu.

relations between these two animal groups would turn ultimately sour after the latter are found to dishonor and violate the pact these groups had drawn up prior to the actual migration. In exchange for their help, the monkeys are bound by their agreement with the eagles to respect the rules and laws of the latter's island territory. The picture is something significant as it is demonstrative of the mode of material and phenomenal encounter and experiences which are accommodated by inter-islandic travel.

However, this particular event would only result in such a full-blown conflict between the monkeys and the eagles, especially after the former consume the resources—particularly the fruits in the next island[35]—a gesture which the hawks took as an affront but which the monkeys heedlessly continued to do. The hawks construed this as an infringement of their sovereignty, expressing their anger in such political terms, namely in terms of the transgression of local rules and laws. As an allegorical narrative, this folk tale is able to dramatize the topogenetic dimension of islandness, the imbrication for example of movement as well as of the interdependency between and among agents across inter-islandic settings as indissociable from its constitution. In addition to which, it shows how, in an inter-islandic context, human-animal interphase is singly mediated by the sea in the course of travel, whether contingent or accidental. The inter-islandic is further articulated to the aerial, as the first instance of recorded or depicted air travel appears in this account, adding another dimension to this mode of travel. The aerial is another common trope or medium in Tausug literature, as it is often used in order to make less overdetermined the spatiality of polity, its nomos, in order to give way to something utopic but also, in certain cases where this escape flight fails or founders, it gives way to its ideological ossification in the form of the synoptic. The tropological turn which is remapped here is crucial to the extent that it shows the sort of figuration and its limits which a projection, flight, and fancy that tends toward the aerial, sets in motion. It also shows the imaginative resources in indigenous literature by which flight is figured, which are drawn from the metaphor of the flight of birds as

35 May Fatima V. Jalbuna, *Some Folktales in Taw-Tawi: A Documentation and Analysis*, 68.

coincident by a vertical paradigm with inter-islandic travel. As this flight is beyond human experience and can only be imaginative configured by other means, it naturally allows for the reinscription of the conceptual but within the domain of the material. The flight of birds, then, supplies a nomos and a phenomenological dimension, once removed from human experience but which is consequently returned to recognizable and practical experience.

The other part is foregrounded here is the nomos of the political that now becomes intertwined with, at the same time that it is ironically inessential to the island habitus. Here the abuses or excesses of the monkeys are rendered in terms of an invasion by a formerly fugitive group of a space occupied by another animal group. The fugitive status of the monkeys is also another significant dimension as it provides possibly one of the earliest traces of the history of displacement, attributed in this case not only to natural resources but to the abuse of the environment. If the general recklessness and profligacy of the monkeys are any indication, the depletion of their own island resources must have been also a result of this, which is replicated again in their transfer to another island setting. Not only is the nomos of politics assaulted but also is the topicity of islandness itself, with its own natural order, hence necessitating a form of redress. In what follows, the monkeys are dominated by the hawks after a historic inter-islandic battle, sending the monkeys to the coasts and father inland, where they now remain in perpetual fear of hawks.

A note should be made about the aerial dimension of the inter-islandic, which I would like to argue adds a significant and constitutive dimension to islandness. Here the turn skyward is also from the vantage point of the island, whether as fixed or floating, and this is most concretely seen in the following line: "Bubu is a fish trap shaped like a square basket."[36]

In this particular riddle, the implement for fishing—the strewn or woven bamboo fish trap—is turned into a hole-ridden square basket, which is then used as an analogue for the complexly arranged constellations which are strewn across the sky. The relation between the basket and the constellation,

36 Sulu Studies 2, "A Collection of Tausug Riddles and Proverbs," 214.

which is figured in terms of the latticed pattern of the basket, is also mediated by a more immediate, experiential element—that of fishing—which at night and, in the context of other related activities, as in long sea voyaging, relies on stellar configurations at any given time. The tropological turn from sea to sky is figured in terms of the contingencies of voyaging, with the skyward dimension supplying the points, coordinates, or axes by which the phenomenology and vicissitudes of actual voyaging are then carried out. It is here that the conceptual is regrounded back in a phenomenology which is directly verified and experienced.

The Poetics and Politics of Islandness: The Shifting Configurations of Power in Southeast Asia

At this point, it is necessary to take a look at the way in which the various folk tales included in Rixhon's collection[37] deal with the issue of the spatial configuration behind politics, particularly as it relates to the dispersive nature of power in the island of Southeast Asia. In foregrounding these samples, this paper seeks to draw a relation between the previous treatment and discussion of oral poetics in the form of riddles to the narrative forms, such as folktales, in view of the politics—apart from poetics—of islandness. Two narratives will be taken under consideration, particularly the "The Philosopher, the Goldsmith, the Archer, and the Robber" from *Sulu Studies 2,* which belonged to the collection arranged by Ziegler, along with "In Sultan Sulayman Iban in Sumayang Galura."[38] As the latter partakes of the mode of fabulation and is directly pertinent to the issue of islandness as a notation for power, it will be dealt with first prior to a discussion of the other folktale.

"In Sultan Sulayman Iban in Sumayang Galura," a folktale narrated y Imam Ibbalahim and translated by Mohammad Daud Abdul in collaboration with Gerard Rixhon, Sumayang Galura is portrayed as a renegade figure, bent

37 Rixhon's multivolume work *Sulu Studies* contains folktales compiled over the span of about three decades included in volumes 1, 2, and 5. This selection is taken from Rixhon, Gerard, ed. *Sulu Studies II (*Jolo, Sulu: Notre Dame of Jolo College, 1973), 105-159.

38 Gerard Rixhon, "A 1932 Collection of Tausug Folktales," *Sulu Studies 2*, 105-169.

on overthrowing Sultan Sulayman. It is important to note that the breach in the political order is rendered in the narrative in terms of a scission between the animal and human realms. This cleavage is moreover casted and coded in terms of the distinction between terra and aeris, with the concept of flight being counterposed with the boundedness of land. The threat of dis-order posed by the Galura heralds the dissolution of existing socio-symbolic structures to give way to a new order of things, an order which is prefigured by umipeded flight, upward mobility.

The story begins with a prediction regarding the birth of a boy and a girl in the West and East respectively, a prediction made by Sultan Sulayman, which then prompts him to order the birds under his charge to scope his entire retinue to confirm the presence of these newborn babies. The foretelling made by Sultan Sulayman also included the opportune or auspicious marriage between this boy and girl in a merging of East and West, a marriage which spans the entire circumference of the globe. The referencing of East and West reinscribes an entire circumference which spans from one end of the globe to another. It is significant in that it lends specificity to the field of vision that is opened up by a deterritorializing narrative. The conception of Taksina' and Marksina' as abstract concepts reinstate a certain globality, but one which remains non-striated. This is observed as a geographic notation which coincides with the trope or imaginary of flight in the narrative.

The dramatic situation thus provides a pretext for the inscription of this geographical reference as it extends and enlarges the scope and reach of the domain of Sultan Sulayman as shall be seen in the ensuing developments. By charging his retinue of birds to find and to bring the boy and girl to his kingdom, Sultan Sulayman is effectively perpetuating his legacy not only within his immediate domain but also as far as the East and West, giving him the illusion of complete control over the globe.

The girl, whose beauty is said to be beyond comparison, is paired off with a boy, who will similarly be found to be beyond equal. Sumayang Galura,' fearing that the prediction would turn out to be true, then began to interfere by finding the boy and girl, taking them separately in different

directions only to find[39] in the end that his intervention, through a series of circumstances, would eventually lead if not even facilitate the marriage of the two (Imam Ibbalahim, "Sultan Sulayman Iban in Sumayang Galura,')). After this rather strange and fortuitous turn of events, Sumayang Galura feared for his life, knowing that his flagrant act of disobedience would warrant high punishment, and began then to steer his course far away in another direction—far away from the realm of Sultan Sulayman. True enough, Sultan Sulayman dispatched the birds to come after Sumayang Galura,' but only the smallest bird, Bulantuk, ironically had the audacity to pursue the obviously larger bird.

The trickster theme and tone which are employed in the subsequent part of the narrative are crucial for their reinscription of a dimension of Sulu literature which tends to be subversive. As with the attempted mutiny of Sumaya' Galura, whose motives for disobeying was to prevent the perpetuation and expansion of the power of Sultan Sulayman, among the ranks or company of the birds, the display of strength or valor by a larger bird is also inverted when confronted with the smaller but cunning character of Bulantuk. Consistent with the spatial play mentioned earlier in our discussion of the different riddles, this motif is more amply demonstrated in the staging of the conflict in this narrative where the smaller bird must resort to such extreme measures as emphasizing or banking on his smallness in order to trick or manipulate the larger Galura' (Imam Ibbalahim, "Sultan Sulayman Iban in Sumayang Galura,'). Bulantuk pulled a trick on Sumayang Galura' by threatening to peck a hole in his brain should the latter refuse to head back to their homeland, a detail which reworks the structure of the trickster tale, albeit within the frame of a fable. The image of a bird entering the head of a much larger bird seems to constitute a device or innovation which is specific to the transculturated fabulation of Sulu. The politics of diminution is enacted or maneuvered in a way that undermines the larger and more powerful character of Sumayang Galura. The concept of interiority that is

39 Imam Ibbalahim, "Sultan Sulayman Iban in Sumayang Galura," *1932 Collection of Folktales*, ed. John Ziegler, 154-155).

set in motion here in which a smaller bird breaches spatial boundaries by penetrating through the head of a larger bird frees up a spatial play which is specific to the oral narratives of Sulu but absent elsewhere.

In the end, the tiny bird prevailed as the Galura' was reduced to begging the bird to intercede or mediate on his behalf in order to alleviate any penalty that the king might impose upon him. On the word of Bulantuk, the Galura promptly decided to turn back, mollified by the promise made by the smaller bird.[40] The reversal of events, which could have only been maneuvered through strategies of inversion, facilitated not so much by the dissolution of border but rather by a certain interiorization that exerts a pressure or effect on the external form. The privileging of the smaller, less powerful entity is also encoded or expressed in spatial terms in a transgression of borders and bodies rather than the dissolution of boundaries.

Near the resolution of the story, Sumayang Galura' becomes beholden to the smaller bird Bulantuk, pledging fidelity to him should he succeed in interceding on the Galura's behalf and averting imminent punishment against the larger bird. As soon as the birds reach their homeland, pardon is obtained on behalf of Sumayang Galurau' by Bulantuk, signaling the restoration of the original state of affairs. In the end, it is the smaller bird Bulantuk who is able to receive recognition and honor from the king.[41]

The threat of overthrow which had been posed by Sumayang Galura' at the outset, a threat which is encoded in terms of his unhampered flight and the unbounded reach, is overturned to pave the way for a resumption of the nomological order. It is crucial to point out, however, that the momentary irruption in the narrative and the spatial play which it has permitted is significant insofar as it unmasks the artifice of territorial power; instead, it liberates a potential or moment which is utopic, unhinged from conventional boundaries, whether in knowledge or in geography to momentarily but also abortively foreground a different ontological order. In this order, the possibility of a non-human regime displacing human polities—repre-

40 Ibid., 161.

41 Ibid., 165.

sented in the text in terms of the attempted foreclosure of the marriage of the woman from the East and man from the West—shows the mental operations behind the eteliological system of Sulu culture. The peculiar features of this narrative deserve further examination, particularly in the way that the conventions of the Indian myth are reworked in order to acquire both a local valence and a transcultural dimension. It would be useful to be able to trace the way in which local symbology is accommodated but also alters the generic structure of this classical text.

In the next narrative entitled "The Philosopher, the Goldsmith, the Archer, and the Robber" from *Sulu Studies 2,* a curious incident close to the death of the king left the brothers befuddled, especially after their father issued a statement that the remaining inheritance would have to be divided into three, with the fourth brother consigned to a life of contentment despite this rather unfair and inequitable distribution. Completely at a loss as to how to proceed, the brothers are reduced to simply following the orders of their father, part of which was that they embark on a voyage to a distant territory where they can prove their mettle and merit.[42] Upon arriving at the distant territory to which they had been sent by their father, the brothers proceed to apply themselves to their respective tasks or roles. The youngest brother, however, appears to be devoid of any talents—save for his prepossessing countenance—and he is thus left with no other recourse but to be interpellated by this new kingdom, becoming in the course of his personal development the consort to the princess of the said kingdom. As such, the illocutionary utterance of the father is fulfilled, such that the last brother who has been divested of inheritance turns out to be the happiest among them. This unexpected turn of events and rather paradoxical arrangement, where the other brothers began to become jealous of the fate of the youngest prince, is the most viable solution to their problem, and it was only by means of arbitration that this solution came about.

What is clear from this arbitration is the fact that internal stability in a given realm, which is represented by the brothers' dispute over the fair

42 Ziegler, "A 1932 Collection of Sulu Folktales, 139.

distribution of inheritance as in the account above, is often devolved to another realm for a more neutral adjudication, a mode of arbitration which seems to be peculiar only among island societies. The burden of establishing legitimacy, for example, is something relegated to another party, putting the inquiring party at risk, but this sort of arrangement seems to be perfectly acceptable and applicable in island settings. The sort of redistribution of functions and roles which are normally wielded by territorially-bounded states is something which is diverted to and shared with other neighboring territories. Sovereignty in this case is something that is certainly effective but is also fluid and negotiable, vehiculated by such factors as kinship, religion, and other modes. Moreover, the accession of the youngest brother to the throne by marriage to the sultan's daughter attests precisely to the sort of power sharing and redistribution which takes place in the *nusantara*, with legitimacy or adjudication deemed contingent on the presumably amenable and mutual decisions shared not by power actors but by kin as well as friends. The proprietarian or exclusionary tendency behind territorial states is thus inapplicable to a context in which politics is mediated by friendship and patronage, which is not to say that struggles do not exist. Quite to the contrary, the existence of struggles is something which happens frequently, but the occurrence is of a different dynamic with competing allegiances often brought about by divergent lineages, becoming one of the main factors of this type of conflict. The power struggle is fought not by access to and control over such apparatuses as force but by the deployment of cultural and symbolic values and the control and monopoly of which as a means by which to establish legitimacy. As such, contestation and negotiation remain relatively open and unfinished that is subject to the influence of different players.

Finally, the absorption of the instability of the other realm within the confines of the neighboring territory is something which is enabled by the contiguity of the princes and the royal family in terms of power and position. Despite the seemingly ideal or viable model which is suggested or implied by this power redistribution, it is nonetheless ensured and warranted by an existing elite structure upon which certain exceptions, concessions, or

accommodations could be made. This means that while this system is an effective strategy in neutralizing conflict, it remains rather traditional in its reproduction of symbolic or political power.

From this illustration, power in the *nusantara* is hence mediated by circuits of kinship and affinity but remains confined to the elite structure. It is this that facilitates the maintenance and reproduction of power, but this only specifies and constitutes one side of the *nusantara*, eliding and excluding the other forms of sociality and its equally dispersive power that form between and among human and cultural groups defined by their labor as well as class. It is the latter that is established here as the subject of local agency outside of and against the hegemony of elite power.

Across these texts, the islandic is set into motion as critical topos by which the textual, generic, as well as geographical traces, which have been re-enacted in the course of transmission, is shown to be contextually determined. In this particular locale, translation, which appears to be heterodox owing to its simultaneous assimilation of foreign elements on the one hand, and the expansion of the shifting island repertoire on the other is a peculiarly Southeast Asian feature, which could lay down the ground for further comparisons of textual variants. While the selections included here are only partial, although arguably exemplary, the general idea which is conveyed by the preceding analysis is the valence of the *kepuluan* or *nusantara* as a geopolitics for both language and literature. Another critical aspect of this discussion is the way in which the space of the text has been turned into a field for constant dialogue as well as active refiguration in the interest of subserving the interests of particular groups—in this case the Tausug—in their quest for epistemic and representational agency. It is here that the historiographical function of poetics becomes most apparent and is seen to be actualized in the mode of performance carried out contemporaneously as the continual narrativization of tradition and memory. As opposed to a distant relation to the past, the object of historiography is the active, processual, and ateleological recuperation with respect to the present of elements from the past which could potentially be articulated in the future. The island, as such, is the critical space within which a poetic historiography could be undertaken. It is the

actualization, albeit partially and provisionally, of a futuricity whose sensate traces are inscribed in the living present. It is a trope whose heteronomy is also its condition of possibility and futuricity.

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Unravelling Negative Capability for Potential Transmediation in The Grave Bandits (2012)

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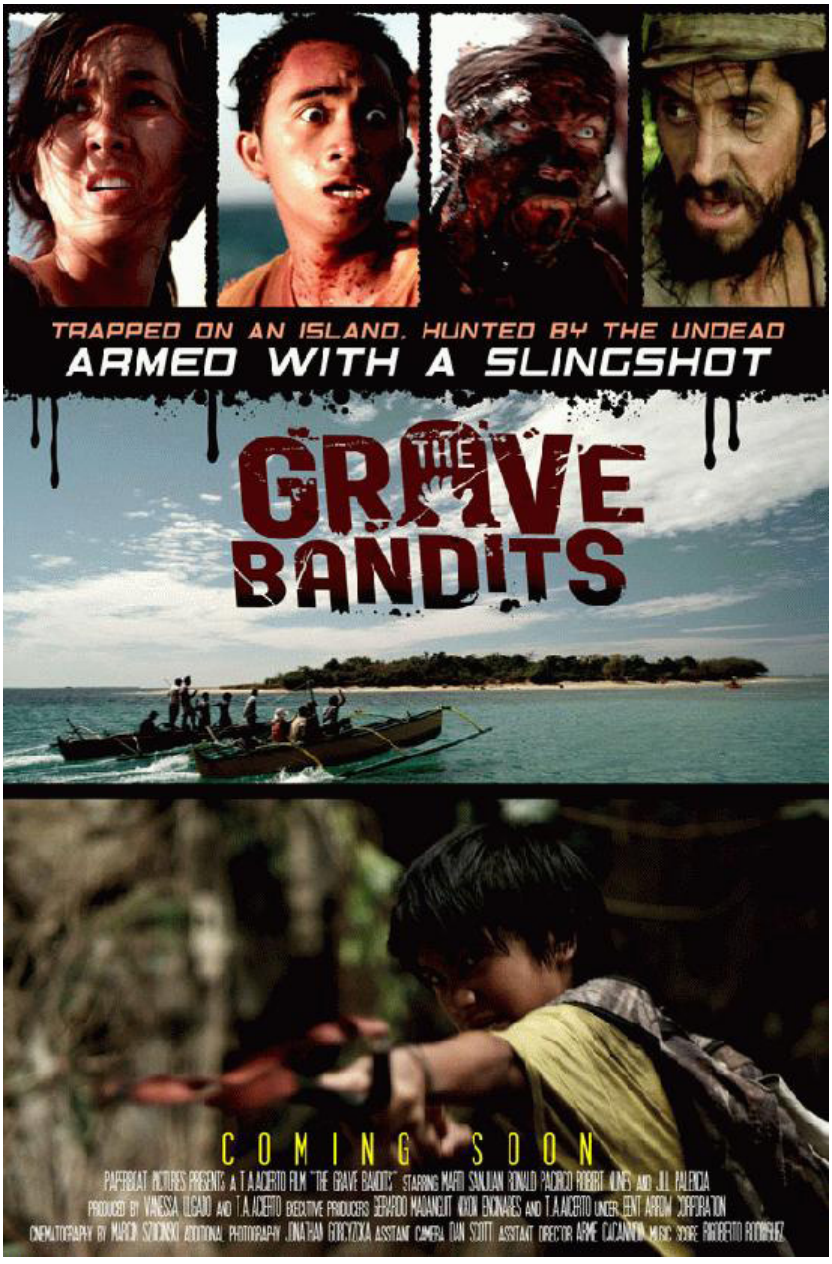
Abstract

In the era of media convergence, the emphasis of aesthetics alongside economics has affected the manner of production in entertainment businesses. Because of this, new and improved forms of entertainment have emerged, one of them being the practice of transmedia. Transmedia is the technique of distributing media content across multiple platforms, whether narrative or otherwise. As transmedia is a growing media practice and scholarship in Western countries, this paper endeavors to introduce the concept and the field in the Philippines by exploring *The Grave Bandits*, advertised as the first Filipino transmedia film. Since *The Grave Bandits* as a transmedia project is still a work in progress, this study focuses on negative capability, the capacity of a narrative element to incite curiosity among the audience by leaving the element wrapped in mystery, which can be explored in another transmedia expansion. By using Roland Barthes' hermeneutic code and expanding it to accommodate what Geoffrey Long calls the "transmedial context", this research unravels the negative capability of *The Grave Bandits* for potential transmediation. Through an exploration of the film's roster of characters, *The Grave Bandits* offers multiple entry points for transmediation.

Keywords

negative capability, semiotic navigation, storytelling, transmedia, transmedial context



Movie Poster of Tyrone Acierto's *The Grave Bandits* (2012)

The rise of convergence culture paved the way for innovative methods in entertaining audiences. Because of new media and their accompanying technological characteristics, traditional practices in the media industry have been challenged. As media scholar Henry Jenkins explains, convergence culture is the site "where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (2). In the entertainment industry especially, the increasing trend of the audience's immersion and investment in a series has led to the emphasis on aesthetic alongside economic considerations (Jenkins, "Transmedia Storytelling"). For a consumer, a franchise will not suffice if redundancy permeates its media contents. To remedy the problem of repetition, media conglomerates have resolved to what Jenkins calls *transmedia storytelling*.

Transmedia storytelling is the unfolding of a story "across multiple media platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole" (Jenkins 97-98). Originally coined by Marsha Kinder (38), a transmedia story may start with a film, continue with a novel, and then television and comics, as well as expand with games. *The Matrix*, *Doctor Who*, and *Lost* are considered as transmedia stories (Jenkins 97; Johnson 1; Perryman 22) because apart from the series' flagship medium, i.e. film for the first example and television for the second and third, they employ comics, cartoons, websites, mobisodes (mobile episodes), and games to make the overarching stories richer.

Multiplatform distribution enables stories to extend their marketability by creating sequels, prequels, spin-offs, and ancillary products. It is a popular technique among films: *Star Wars* episodes I, II, and III, for example—released on 1999, 2002, and 2005 respectively—are prequels to the 1977 film *Star Wars*; while *Star Wars: Clone Wars* is a television series from the same title. This multiplatform distribution dates back to the 1920s, with characters such as Felix the Cat and Mickey Mouse (Dena 26). At the time, characters were more viable for a media crossover, as the practice has been observed since 1751, when English poet Christopher Smart used the character Mrs. Mary Midnight, originally from a magazine, in a stage production (Beddows

4). Labeling the practice, however, did not occur until the late 1970s. The term "blockbuster franchise" has been attributed to Steven Spielberg's *Jaws* (Dena 26). Adapted from Peter Benchley's novel, *Jaws* enjoyed massive success spawning film sequels, theme parks, musicals, video games, and slot machines.

Jaws may have defined the idea of a blockbuster franchise, but it was George Lucas's *Star Wars* that exemplified the transmedia prototype (Dena 26; Jenkins 108; Long 29). Drawing from the canonical film series, *Star Wars* explores its world through the media franchise called the *Expanded Universe*. It includes books, television series, video games, and comics. These extensions stay true to the films and at the same time builds upon the ideas and aspects of the original story that have not been dealt with in greater depth.

What can be considered as "true" transmedia story, however, did not appear until 1999, when *The Blair Witch Project* (Beddows 5; Jenkins 103) and *The Matrix* (Jenkins 97) came out. Prior to *The Blair Witch Project*, the creators of the film had set up a website devoted to the fictional Burkittsville witch, aired a pseudo-documentary on Sci Fi Channel, and published comic books revolving around the mysterious killings and disappearances of people in the aforementioned town. *The Matrix*, meanwhile, produced animated series, comic books, and games that revolved around the film trilogy, creating a more complex narrative when consumed in its entirety (Jenkins 100). Following Jenkins' example, Geoffrey Long (70) considers Jim Henson's *The Dark Crystal* and *Labyrinth*—films that were released in 1982 and 1986, respectively—as transmedia stories due to the companion books that came with them.

While transmedia storytelling may be considered a franchise, several media scholars differentiate franchise from transmedia. To them, an entertainment franchise emphasizes profit only, whereas a transmedia story requires a balance between aesthetics and economics (Dena 30; Jenkins 106; Long 30). Each transmedium contributes unique elements to the whole in order to provide the audience a fulfilling experience (Jenkins 104).

Being multi-platform and encompassing different audience demographics, transmedia storytelling does not stop with its entertainment func-

tion; its nature extends to other functions as well. For instance, the employment of transmedia practice can resuscitate a dying program (Perryman 22). It can also establish a fictional brand in the real world instead of relying on advertisers and brand sponsors (Johnson 5). Due to transmedia's vast potential, other fields such as journalism (Alzamora and Tárcia 23; Moloney 11; Pase, Nunes, and Da Fontoura 64), education (Gutierrez 32; Lachman, Clare, and Lieberman 1355; Lamb 16; Lettieri and Faro 23), and branding and advertising (Edwards 2; Ford 111; Johnson 16; Merkin 54; Stork 14) have adopted the practice.

This study seeks to analyze how *The Grave Bandits* lent itself for transmediation, through a hermeneutic reading of the film. Using the principle of negative capability (Long 53) makes the analysis of the film conducive for unveiling narrative elements that can give way to transmedia expansion. Given how young transmedia scholarship is still so far, studies that utilize the semiotic cues Long presented still lack the substantial quantity to claim with confidence the efficacy of such modes (Beddows 46); hence, part of this research addresses some of the aforementioned research gaps by using Long's notion of negative capability. In addition, this study explores how the Barthesian hermeneutic code can be appropriated in unraveling negative capability in a narrative.

Transmedia as Storytelling

In order to explain the concept of transmedia storytelling, Jenkins (103) appropriates the ideas of Umberto Eco in his analysis of what made the movie *Casablanca* a cult hit. According to Eco, what makes *Casablanca* a cult movie are its "completely furnished world" (198) and its state of being a "textual syllabus" (199)—that is, it must be "encyclopedic, containing a rich array of information that can be drilled, practiced, and mastered by devoted consumers" (Jenkins 99). These two traits can be applied in transmedia storytelling in general, as illustrated by Jenkins' detailing of the first film of *The Matrix*:

> The film's endless borrowings also spark audience response. Layers upon layers of references catalyze and sustain our epistemophilia; these gaps and excesses provide openings for the many different knowledge communities that spring up around these cult movies to display their expertise, dig deep into their libraries, and bring their minds to bear on a text that promises a bottomless pit of secrets (100-101).

He then proceeds to enumerate the various references scattered throughout the film like hidden tokens that, while not immediately important to the plot, invite the audience to play a game of sorts, enriching their viewing pleasure even further.

At such point, Jenkins avers that transmedia storytelling does not yet have a "very good aesthetic criteria for evaluating works that play themselves out across multiple media" (99). Granted, the entertainment franchise has been practicing multiplatform distribution, but several scholars maintain that the main goal of franchise is profit (Dena 30; Jenkins "Transmedia Storytelling"; Long 30). As a result, subsequent studies have developed initial aesthetic qualities for transmedia storytelling. In his thesis, Long proclaims that the primary aesthetic of transmedia is that "each component of a transmedia story is designed as canonical from the outset" (40). Canon dictates what is legitimate in a story, and with large projects such as media franchises, consistency is key: a well-handled, well-thought-out canon aids the fans with what can be analyzed and referenced in their consumption of the story.

Aside from canonicity, storyworlds come up high in the list of significant transmedia qualities. In transmedia storytelling, the greater whole is the world, and everything that constitutes this world is a transmedium story that, while self-contained, echoes certain meanings that can be found throughout the rest of the extensions.

Long asserts that the evolution of technology has allowed for a remarkable change in storytelling (43). In ancient times, plot was the central component of the story; come cinematic era, the character becomes the central focus (Long 32) as evidenced by the character franchises of *Hellboy* and *Indiana Jones*. Another shift of emphasis has occurred today in the era of

media convergence where neither plot nor character suffices for an engaging narrative. It is the world that attracts the audience into coming for more (Aarseth 203; Dena 39; Jenkins 116; Leogrande 88; Long 45; Perryman 24). This is seen by the vast number of titles that are attributed to large franchises such as *Star Wars*, *Final Fantasy*, *Lord of the Rings*, and *Harry Potter* series, to name a few.

Because of this trend in entertainment franchises, Lisbeth Klastrup and Susana Tosca developed the model of "transmedial worlds" (409). This model sketches out the qualities of a narrative world or universe that make it eligible for transference across media. They define transmedial worlds as "abstract content systems from which a repertoire of fictional stories and characters can be actualized or derived across a variety of media forms" (409). The model draws from the idea of "worldness"—that is, the distinguishing features of the universe shared by the original text and its subsequent texts.

To determine the portability of a narrative world across multiple media, Klastrup and Tosca outline three core elements: mythos, topos, and ethos (412). Mythos refers to the history and culture of the world, the "backstory of all backstories" (412); it is the basis of any successful interpretation of events in the world. Topos pertains to the setting of the world; it includes topography, geography, and the "physics and navigation in the world" (412). Finally, ethos refers to the "explicit and implicit ethics of the world and (moral) codex of behavior which characters in the world are supposed to follow" (412); it is the encompassing philosophy existing in the world. While these three elements constitute the significant aspects of transmedial worlds, Klastrup and Tosca stress that the success of the world is still dependent on how designers make use of the materials supplied.

World-building provides the opportunity for unlimited exploration and space for fans to settle in. A single work or medium cannot contain the entirety of a storyworld, and to maintain fan interest, one will be hard-pressed to expand the story, drawing details from canon and the original plot. However, one cannot just create a continuation or a companion story for the sake of increasing sales. As Jenkins claims, world-building is an art (116), and Long elaborates:

> [A] storyteller charged with creating a story open to eventual transmedia expansion should be aware that while the story he or she is currently writing may focus on one character, a different storyteller might focus on someone completely different, in a completely different era. The trick is to build enough compelling texture, opportunity and character into the larger world to bring audiences back again and again no matter what media form future extensions may take, and to do it gracefully (50).

One trick used by a lot of transmedia storytellers is the use of semiotic codes. These codes open up gates where fans and audiences can continue consuming a transmedia story. Semiotic codes act like allusions that point to another text, which readers may choose to read if they want a richer experience. From the idea of semiotic codes comes Long's notion of *negative capability* (53). He describes negative capability as potential plot-holes of a sort, calculated and intended to attract the audience's attention, leaving uncertainties that will compel them to seek answers. However, these may or may not be resolved by the creator.

Along with negative capability, something similar and complementary is the concept of *migratory cues* (Ruppel 61). These are signs in the story that will help the audience seek the answers by directing them to the transmedium site that possesses what they are looking for. While these two ideas come from separate scholars, Emma Beddows (46) treats the two as simply stages of a single process: negative capability serves as the potential trigger, and migratory cues serve as a vehicle for transfer.

All semiotics codes—negative capability and migratory cues included—used in linking transmedia are what Dena labels as *catalytic allusions* (277). Catalytic allusions are diegetic cues that establish connection between two or more transmedia sites, no matter the immediate relevance among each other in terms of narratives. In her dissertation, Beddows explains the idea further: "[t]he catalytic properties of the allusion allow the audiences to act upon the reference. This concept is therefore uniquely situated within a transmedia framework because it accounts for structured exploration across media rather than focusing simply on the referential function of allusion or intertextuality" (46). She goes on to state that while catalytic allusions and

the others still lack enough studies to prove their efficacy, they are still useful in transmedia research from a narrative perspective.

Negative Capability

Negative capability is a transmedia storytelling concept developed by Geoffrey Long (53) in his study of Jim Henson's transmedia stories. He borrowed the term *negative capability* from one of the letters of the poet John Keats, who described the idea to be suggestive of doubt and uncertainty. Appropriating it within the context of transmedia, Long modifies the concept of negative capability into the "art of building strategic gaps into a narrative to evoke a delicious sense of 'uncertainty, Mystery, or doubt' in the audience" (53).

Using negative capability on the study of Jim Henson films *The Dark Crystal* (1982) and *Labyrinth* (1986), Long broke the films down into scenes and listed all elements that can potentially be used as entry points for another connected narrative. These elements may be mentions of people, artifacts, or even the mere background; as long as they arouse curiosity from the audience, they can open up new pathways for the world and its stories.

Negative capability is similar to Marc Ruppel's migratory cues (61), Christy Dena's catalytic allusions (277), and Emma Beddows's transitional capacities and transitional thresholds (50) in that they present links, connections, and relationships between the hypotext—the point of departure—and the hypertext—the expanded element. However, Long insists that negative capability already fulfills its function as long as there is a potential for an expanded narrative; it does *not* necessarily have to be addressed in a new transmedia installment, unlike the concepts of Ruppel, Dena, and Beddows.

Semiotic Navigation of Transmedia Stories

Transmedia stories rely on the openness of their narrative elements—the hidden token-like quality of details—in order for producers and audiences alike to fill in these gaps, making these stories richer. Producers fulfill this endeavor by means of transmedia expansions; audiences can create their own fulfillment by writing fan fiction or something similar. This is why the concept of negative capability is crucial in transmedia stories. Jenkins, in

2003 and then in 2006, introduced transmedia as a concept, contemplating about the existing franchises that branch off the usual media business model, but he did not delve on a concrete "structural and dynamic model of transmedia [...] that explains how transmedia structurally works and how we motivate audiences to travel across platforms" (Bastiaens and Bouwknegt, 1279). Understandably, at the time the idea had been fresh, but eventually many media scholars pitched in their studies on transmedia that address some of what Jenkins had not been able to examine.

Certain scholars, like Long and Bastiaens and Bouwknegt, propose that semiotics can provide a clear illustration of how a transmedia story is constructed and read by the audience. Because semiotics—Saussurean and Barthesian in particular—is structural in nature, it can offer the audience a way of navigating transmedia by presenting signs or codes embedded in a medium. It becomes a system that produces these codes that link intertextually with other media, encouraging an extensive and expansive media consumption that a single medium cannot accomplish (Bastiaens and Bouwknegt, 1282).

Barthes has explored this capacity early on by discussing the characteristic of a text that can be filled, interpreted, and re-interpreted by readers. As is by now well-known to scholars in the humanities and the social sciences, he distinguishes between two kinds of texts: one that is conducive for "re-writing"—that is, the quality of a text that can be re-interpreted by a consumer—and the other one is restricted by its own interpretation (4). The former is *writerly*; the latter, *readerly*. A writerly text allows readers to create their own assumptions on the text. Authorial intent, in this case, becomes obsolete. It is no longer the role of the author to dictate the reader on what the text means. There is a paradigm shift that treats the reader as "no longer a consumer, but a producer of text," as the famous "slogan" goes. (4). Meanwhile, a readerly text cannot accommodate the freedom a writerly text possesses, and thus it can only arrive until a certain point. Literature, for Barthes, should not isolate the text and the reader from each other. Instead, a harmonious relationship will be the ideal option.

While Barthes' main concern is in literature, his ideas can be applied to other media, especially in the concept of transmedia storytelling, and this is what the paper tries to undertake. Writerly texts operate in the same manner as negative capability: the quality of a text to evoke upon a reader an exploration of its world. Barthes might have already envisioned what Jenkins and Long have viewed transmedia storytelling to be:

> In this ideal text, the networks are many and interact, without any one of them being able to surpass the rest; this text is a galaxy of signifiers, not a structure of signifieds; it has no beginning; it is reversible; we gain access to it by several entrances, none of which can be authoritatively declared to be the main one; the codes it mobilizes extend *as far as the eye can reach* [original emphasis], they are indeterminable (meaning here is never subject to a principle of determination, unless by throwing dice); the systems of meaning can take over this absolutely plural text, but their number is never closed, based as it is on the infinity of language (5-6).

What Barthes sees of the writerly text is similar to Marshall McLuhan's concept of cool media. McLuhan, in his book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, categorizes media into two types: hot medium and cool medium. A hot medium is "high definition," one rife with data, while a cool medium is the opposite—"low definition" (22-23).

Being of low definition, cool media can afford spaces for details that the audience can fill for themselves. If this were applied to transmedia storytelling, the nature of cool medium will be tantamount to negative capability. The "lowness" of definition of a cool medium can be fulfilled by the media producer (through sequels and the like), or if left ignored, can be satisfied by the audience (through fan works). These potential spaces for details motivate Jenkins' concept of convergence culture (2). Especially with fans, the idea that there are informational gaps in the stories they read, films and TV series they watch, games they play, encourages them to create their own pieces of interpretation that complement (or challenge) the narratives in question.

Barthes then proceeds to analyze Honoré de Balzac's *Sarrasine*, a short story about a castrati opera singer. In his book, *S/Z*, Barthes lists five

narrative codes that emerged from studying *Sarrasine*. These codes are the following: hermeneutic, semic, symbolic, cultural, and proairetic (19). Of the five codes, the hermeneutic code stands out due to its similarity with negative capability. He describes the hermeneutic code as the articulation of "a question, its response, and the variety of chance events which can either formulate the question or delay its answer" (17). This code can take on many manifestations—suggestions, hints, formulations—and it can either be answered or left to anyone's guess. In it is the capacity of being expandable, in which the narrative can stretch the distance between desire and its fulfilment (Modleski 29). For example, Modleski cites soap operas as a nest of hermeneutic codes. She links Barthes with soap operas in that the medium creates narrative expectations: cliffhangers, mysteries, questions at the end of each episode. But these expectations are not entirely fulfilled because soap operas are serial in nature and they do not end. As Modleski writes, accurately, "tune in tomorrow, not in order to find out the answers, but to see what further complications will defer the resolutions and introduce new questions" (29).

Similar with Modleski's argument, Long provides an example of incorporating Barthes' writerly text into transmedia storytelling: "The trick […] is to use these writerly approaches as a lure to bring audiences back when those gaps are filled in, and then provide a tale good enough—and riddled with enough new gaps—to keep them coming back for more" (59). He continues that hermeneutic codes are "the most directly connected to negative capability" (62). The very nature of hermeneutic codes allows audiences to maintain engagement with the text, to make them ask questions and seek answers within the text. From this basis, Long has classified the Barthesian hermeneutic code into six types: cultural, chronological, character, geographic, environmental, and ontological. These six hermeneutic codes serve as a means to unravel the negative capability of a text.

The Grave Bandits (2012)

The Grave Bandits (2012) is a zombie-genre, independent film that revolves around the orphaned brothers Romy and Peewee. The film follows the

brothers, who make a living by looting in cemeteries after they were forced to run away from the townspeople who could no longer tolerate their crimes. In their escape, they end up in an island infested with zombies. Faced with a new problem, Romy and Peewee use their resources to defend themselves and survive, and at the same time to save an island native who is a link to the zombie infestation plaguing the island.

The film was written, directed, and produced by Tyrone Acierto, a Filipino-American filmmaker based in Chicago. He founded Paper Boat Pictures, a film company, with his co-producer Vanessa Ulgado.

Acierto and Ulgado collaborated with Haexagon Concepts, a Hong Kong-based creative IP management and development agency led by transmedia producer Marco Sparmberg, to market the film, build an audience pre-release, and manage the transmedia expansion that would follow. Several transmedia extensions surrounding the film had been outlined: the first phase included audience-building, utilizing social media to cultivate engagement with the film; the second phase included upcoming mobile games, online community, energy drink, comic books, adventure tour, and television series to supplement the main story of the film (Sparmberg, "The Grave Bandits DNA Map").

The Grave Bandits as a transmedia story is still incomplete as of this writing. According to the film's Facebook page, the production team is still selecting a comic artist to draw the comic book prequel of the film. Other transmedia extensions, particularly the television series and mobile games, have yet to be announced.

The Grave Bandits as Transmedia Storytelling

Originally, *The Grave Bandits* was exclusively a film, but after meeting with Marco Sparmberg, CEO of Haexagon Concepts, a Hong Kong-based company that "provides one-stop solutions for any media- and movie-related project, from conception to production to implementation of transmedia content" (Paper Boat Pictures and Haexagon Concepts 1), the idea for transmedia storytelling was born.

While presenting the transmedia project pitch at the *Fantastic Film Lab, Fantastic Film School—Punchon International Film Festival 2012*, Paper Boat Pictures and Haexagon Concepts introduced three main titles: *The Grave Bandits* film, the comic book *Red Moon*, and the mobile phone game application *The Grave Bandits* and *Zombie Pirates*. Details and information on these three titles are written in a "brand bible," which makes Acierto—and to an extent, Ulgado—the "transmedia czar" (Dena 129).

The Grave Bandits, the feature film, is the main narrative from which the two extensions were drawn. *Red Moon* is a comic book prequel written by Tyrone Acierto. Set a year before the events of the film, it follows Professor William Seabrook and his colleague Doctor Sarah Bergman as they are chosen by the US Center for Scientific Research to investigate the origins of life. *Red Moon* covers the backstories of the character William Seabrook and the ancient gemstone that houses the alien virus which plagued the island in the Philippines.

The Grave Bandits and Zombie Pirates is a zombie game application sequel that picks up where the film left off. It is written by Vanessa Ulgado and will be developed by Komikasi, a game developer company. In this game, Romy, Peewee, and Maiya battle zombies once more when they find out that the zombies are swimming towards China.

Exploring Transmediation in *The Grave Bandits*

This paper attempts to lay bare possible entry points for transmediation in *The Grave Bandits* through hermeneutic analysis. King posits that a reader's subjectivity is "central to the accounts of interpretation" (213) and that textual meaning is established "between real readers and texts" (Staiger qtd. in King 213). In other words, as is now generally understood, the text has no inherent meaning; it is the reader who plays a key role in the construction of the text's meaning.

The application of hermeneutics to this study is derived from Geoffrey Long's method of extracting negative capability by adopting Roland Barthes' narrative codes (19). In reading Honoré de Balzac's *Sarrasine*, Barthes drew five narrative codes that highlight an enigma, an element that establishes a

mystery or allusion, grabbing the reader's attention and curiosity and making him or her seek an answer as the story progresses. Of the five codes, only hermeneutic codes are useful for Long's analytic method. It is the hermeneutic code that establishes the enigma through distinction, suggestion, and formulation in the story, "held in suspense, and finally disclosed" (Barthes 19). However, Barthes is quick to add that the abovementioned terms do not occur all the time.

An enigma may not be answered in the story itself, which is what Long emphasizes in his discussion of transmedia storytelling and negative capability. As long as the enigma is planted, negative capability fulfills its function, and this opens up for a possible transmedial process. Deriving from Barthes's hermeneutic codes, Long came up with his own six classes of hermeneutic codes. He defined them as:

1. **Cultural**. It consists of codes that pertain to the cultures, such as architecture, clothing, rituals, artwork, and the like.
2. **Character**. It indicates "characters or aspects of characters that do not appear on screen" (Long, 64).
3. **Chronological**. It refers to past or future events hinted or mentioned in the story.
4. **Geographic**. It refers to places that have been suggested, hinted at, or appeared briefly in the story.
5. **Environmental**. It pertain to the species of plants, animals, and other biological and life-sciences-related aspects of the world.
6. **Ontological**. It enables the audience to "wonder about the very existential nature of the story they're consuming" (Long 65). Such stories consist of elements that break the fourth wall, for example, or follow logic that is different from the real world.

What Long did, and what this paper has tried to undertake, is to read the film scene by scene, taking care to detect all possible enigmas that it presents. These enigmas are articulated through questions, and are categorized according to Long's six hermeneutic codes. Drawing from Long's elaboration, this study has constructed a matrix for the analysis, which includes the film's scene, description, identification of codes, the articulation of enigmas, and scene interpretation.

Hermeneutic Codes as Vessels for Potential Transmediation

In this research, *The Grave Bandits*' negative capabilities emerge through Long's method. These codes explore, scene by scene, the narrative aspects as well as the possible entry points for further transmedia expansion of *The Grave Bandits* as a transmedia project. Among these six codes, character codes are the most prominent, implying that the film relies on its characters to establish mysteries and enigmas. For one such instance, early in the film there is a scene where Peewee, the younger protagonist, shakes a radio into functioning. As he is performing the action, his watch falls from his wrist. It turns out that this watch has a picture of a smiling lady. Peewee panics and hastily retrieves it; this leaves the viewer wondering about the identity of the lady and her relationship with Peewee, based on the swiftness with which Peewee takes the wristwatch back with him. As Long has maintained in his study, character codes manifest when a character is mentioned or hinted at, or there is an allusion to an aspect of a character. In this case, the lady in the picture is Peewee's mother, answered ten minutes later, punctuated by his line, "To find my mother." But not all codes are answered in the film. Peewee's partner, Romy, is confronted with a similar treatment: conversely, Romy declares that he has no relatives. This engenders in the minds of the audience questions regarding Romy's relatives. Such backstories can be good fuel for further transmedia expansion.

Other hermeneutic codes are not as frequent as the character code, however. Environmental codes come second. These codes mostly pertain to virus-related questions, considering that Long includes in environmental codes many elements that can relate to science (65). In the film, the virus is studied by William Seabrook, a scientist researching on the meteorite that fell into the island. Cultural codes refer to cultural artifacts of the fictional world. One such question addressed in the film is the island tribe's legend. It can be said that, because the legend is tied with the meteorite, the meteorite, too, is a cultural artifact. Although the question is answered at different moments in the film, it only provides a brief summary of the past, not providing the full context of the legend. Chronological codes in the film mostly address the island's past, particularly the tribe that lived in

it. Geographic codes refer to the island itself and the places mentioned in the film, such as Romy and Peewee's life in Manila.

The last code, ontological, addresses the question of the film's genre itself. Halfway through the film, after Romy and Peewee are chased by the zombies, Peewee encounters the third protagonist, Maiya, hiding in a cave. Peewee fills Maiya in with details on how he and Romy came to the island. It is at that moment when the word *zombie* is first mentioned in the film. Meanwhile, William Seabrook, who is with Romy at the time, says that the zombies in the island are "not really zombies" and that the zombies are merely "myth, glamorized by Hollywood." The film subtly jabs at the Hollywood zombie movies such as *World War Z* and *Warm Bodies*. So the questions that arose address the nature of the zombies in the film itself and—if those zombies are truly not the zombies people know—what should they be called. The first question is answered, as it has been said that the 'zombification' is actually an alien virus, and has nothing to do with the mythical zombie. The second question, however, is not answered, which allows the film to maintain the mystery of the zombies throughout and beyond the medium. This may encourage the audience to question the nature of zombies themselves.

In determining *The Grave Bandits*' potential entry points for transmedia expansions, the points are phrased as questions. Some of them are answered within the film, while some are left unanswered. Unanswered questions, then, can be addressed in a transmedia expansion (Long 68). All the question sets are categorized according to their common elements, since many questions posed refer to a recurring object or character. Based on their commonalities, the matrix has produced eight categories for the kinds of questions that emerged in the film.

"The meteorite, the virus, and the legend" refers to all details pertaining to the meteorite, including the alien virus it houses, the tribe that found the meteorite, and the fate of that tribe. "William Seabrook" encompasses all things related to the scientist—his backstory, his motivations, his work and research, and his connection to the meteorite. "Peewee and Peewee's mother" explores the relationship between Peewee and the lady in the picture, hidden in his wristwatch. "Maiya" asks questions all related to Maiya—her skills,

her connection with the tribe, her abilities, and so on. "Romy, Peewee, and stealing" focuses more on Romy, his history, and his relationship with Peewee in the context of grave robbing. "King and his pirates" concentrates on the pirates who kidnapped Maiya, and their leader, King. "Zombies and their nature," while connected with the meteorite, strictly inquires onto the nature of zombies and their capabilities and superhuman characteristics. Finally, "the mob" centers on the group of townspeople pursuing Romy and Peewee. Table 1 illustrates these further.

Table 1 Categories of the kinds of questions obtained in *The Grave Bandits* and their frequency

Questions	Number	Answered
The meteorite, the virus, and the legend	18	8
William Seabrook	22	11
Peewee and Peewee's mother	20	10
Maiya	16	8
Romy, Peewee, and stealing	29	5
King and his pirates	10	6
Zombies and their nature	13	7
The mob	9	4
Totals	137	59

Table 1 shows that there are one hundred and thirty-seven sets of questions that can pose as entry points for transmediation. Among the 137 sets of questions, fifty-nine are answered in the film. The category with most questions is "Romy, Peewee, and stealing," with twenty-nine questions revolving around it; followed by "William Seabrook" with twenty-two questions; "Peewee and Peewee's mother" counting up to twenty. However, when it comes to the answered questions it is "William Seabrook" that has been addressed the most, with eleven answers. "Peewee and Peewee's mother" comes in a close second with ten answers. It can be said that *The Grave Bandits*

does not focus so much on the zombies themselves but on the characters, especially on William Seabrook and Peewee and his search for his mother.

Based on the unfolding plot of the film, Seabrook's character and the meteorite are entwined. Questions arise about the relationship between Seabrook and the gemstone. While some questions surrounding them have been answered, there are still many aspects about Seabrook and the gemstone that have not yet been explored by the film. These are then transferred to the comic book prequel *Red Moon*. According to Paper Boat Pictures and Haexagon Concepts' proposal, *Red Moon* focuses on William Seabrook and his group of researchers traveling to the Philippines to study about the meteorite. In this prequel, the questions posed in the film can be answered.

Apart from *Red Moon*, Paper Boat Pictures and Haexagon Concepts (2012) planned on releasing a zombie game application, *The Grave Bandits and Zombie Pirates*, which takes place after the events of the feature film. During the last part of the film, Romy, Peewee, and Maiya have managed to push the zombies off the pirate boat and escape. The zombies that know how to swim have remained on the sea, and the zombie game plays with this idea: since the zombies in this universe can swim, the zombies fended off by the three main characters do not stop with them—the zombies continue to swim until they find more prey. The zombie game plot indicates that these zombies have kept on swimming all the way to China; Romy and Peewee learn of this and enlist Maiya's assistance to stop them all over again.

Other than the planned transmedia projects, there are still plenty of things to explore in the world of *The Grave Bandits*. *Red Moon* may answer the questions posed about the meteorite, the virus, and the legend, and William Seabrook, while *The Grave Bandits and the Zombie Pirates* might attempt to answer questions about zombies and their nature, and King and his pirates, but the rest—such as Maiya's and Romy's backstories—are still full of transmedia extension potential and can be springs for further expansion.

Conclusion

The Grave Bandits as a transmedia project is still incomplete; future transmedia installments have yet to be announced. Since this study only focuses on the

potential transmediation of the main film, hermeneutic codes have served well enough to determine the negative capability of the story. The results and interpretation show that *The Grave Bandits*' entry points rested primarily on character codes. Character aspects such as backstories and hinted abilities are great ideas for further narrative expansions, which are usually what major media productions are undertaking, and the greatest number of enigmas in *The Grave Bandits* pointed to Romy, Peewee, and stealing.

The film introduced Romy as one of the main protagonists, but where he came from and how he ended up as a grave robber are only alluded to in the film, thereby portraying him as a totally mysterious character. With only a hinted past, and one of the least answered enigmas, Romy is a treasure trove of potential transmediation. Enigmas revolving around William Seabrook and the meteorite have the second greatest number. According to the film producer, Vanessa Ulgado, the comic book *Red Moon* will address a number of the questions raised about the character William Seabrook.

As the field of transmedia studies is still growing, a notable number of its research concentrate on the elements of production and business, and transmedia applications to other industries. There have been, indeed, several explorations on the storytelling side of transmedia, mostly conceptual, such as Long's thesis; however, there is a need for more studies that apply these transmedia storytelling concepts in real-life projects (Beddows, 45), which this study endeavored to achieve.[1] Here in the Philippines, researches on transmedia are relatively few and far between, but they are growing.

Notes

1. There have been studies that explored transmediality on many media franchises, but several of them, such as *Star Wars* and *The Matrix*, have existed way before Jenkins coined the term *transmedia*. A lot of these studies treated the aforementioned media franchises as transmedia retroactively, but I'm talking about titles that consider themselves transmedia projects from the point of their inception. Some examples include Square Enix's *Final Fantasy XV* and Jacqueline Olive's *Always in Season Island*.

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Politics of Immigration Control and Detention in Post-war Japan

The Mobility Experiences of Koreans

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Abstract

This paper examines the institutionalization of the post-war Japanese border control system through an analysis of the international origins of the Ōmura Detention Camp (hereafter "the Ōmura Camp")[1], which was established in Japan under the Allied Occupation. In its origin, the Ōmura Camp was aimed not for confining people who committed illegal entry but just for offering a temporal waiting station for newly arrived immigrants. Nevertheless, the function of the Ōmura Camp began to deviate from its expected purpose and gradually started to play its unexpected role as a long term detention house exclusively for the detainee from the Korean peninsula or Korean residents in Japan, in accordance with the strained international situation around Japan. By focusing on the functional transition of the Ōmura Camp from a "normal" immigration control center to the detention camp which aimed to intern a specific national group, this paper reveals the political oscillation of the Japanese migration control system and evaluate its international origins in the post WWII and the early Cold War period.

Keywords

the Ōmura Detention Camp, Japanese immigration control during the Korean War, Korean residents in Japan (Zainichi Koreans), refugeeism in Japan

April, 1969 A demonstrator with a board "Japan's prison, StopOmura Camp"
(Photo: *Nakatani Yoshitaka/Ryozan*)

April, 1969 Beheiren's members walking around the wall of the Omura camp
(Photo: *Nakatani Yoshitaka/Ryozan*)

April,1969 Talk through a wall
(Photo: *Nakatani Yoshitaka/Ryozan*)

April, 1969 Oda Makoto put a bullhorn to his mouth
(Photo: *Nakatani Yoshitaka/Ryozan*)

Though plenty of studies have treated on the post-war Japan's immigration control administration, the slightest attention has paid on the history of the Ōmura Camp, one of the largest detention centers in Japan. Small numbers of detainee's reminiscences have published which told us the author's own experiences in the detention house. Among many immigration studies on Japan, there are few which intended to bridge both the institutional aspects which concerned with the socio-political, legal system and the individual aspects which concerned with one's own private reality: there is a gap between the institutional and the individual, when we treat the matter of immigrants in Japan.

From this perspective, Ōnuma Yasuaki focused on the difficulties with which Korean residents in Japan encountered as a symptomatic case for evaluating the character of Japan's immigration control system.[2] Nevertheless, Ōnuma concentrated his arguments in confuting the myth of homogeneous nature of Japanese society as well as in asserting the civil rights of Korean residents in Japan. Yet, in his study the actuality of Japan's immigration control system, which was shown towards Korean detainees in the detention camps, was overlooked. The Ōmura Camp always became a hard-fought field of political struggles. For example, after the outbreak of the Korean War, the Ōmura Camp gradually became a site of proxy war: bloody factional conflicts between "North Korean" detainees and "South Korean" detainees occurred repeatedly, though they were equally "alien nationals" to be deported to the Korean peninsula in the view of Japanese immigration control. In the middle of 1960s, Japanese citizen movements against the Vietnam War took their activities to protest against the Japanese immigration control and detantion centers. To dissolve the Ōmura Camp and to liberate Korean detainees became their cause of movements, for the Ōmura Camp was considered as a physical apparatus of totalitarian oppression.

Other studies managed to understand the radical change of postwar Japan's immigration control policy just in a series of social reformations executed by the initiative of General Headquarters (GHQ). However, compared to other major reformations led by GHQ, such as the educational reform, the land reform, the labor union reform, and the constitu-

tional amendment, the reformation of the immigration control policy and border management system has garnered less attention among scholars. It was simply believed that the Immigration Control Order of 1951, which provided a basic framework for the post-war Japanese immigration control system, declared a brand-new immigration policy and had little to do with the political prosperities of pre-war days.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out that such kind of view which was shared among scholars overlooked an essential element: the draft of the new immigration control order was carefully framed by the mutual cooperation between the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) and Japanese officials in the face of the impending crisis of the Cold War.[3] According to her critical analysis of the history of the Japan's border control policy, Tessa Morris-Suzuki stresses on that the experiences of war in Japan were comprehended as an insurmountable abyss or a gap which resulted in a discontinuity between the prewar and the postwar period.[4] Yoshikuni Igarashi shows people in postwar Japan struggled to find out the way how to understand what they experienced (and what they lost) in the war, by focusing the fragments of wartime memories left in the postwar Japan's cultural production and social strategies.[5] Lori Watt provides a suggestive overview of "human remnants of Japan's empire" through an analysis of how the "returnees" (*hikiagesha*), those who moved back "home" from the former colonies, were served important roles in postwar Japan's society after the empire collapsed.[6] Hyun Mooam insists that the reorganization of the postwar Japanese immigration control reflected the process of the collapse of the empire into a nation state.[7] Yasuhiko Hikichi maintains that, from a geopolitical viewpoint, the Ōmura Camp contributed to the Japanese government's policy of expelling the colonized people from Japanese society.[8] From such viewpoins, it is possible to describe that the Ōmura Camp functioned not only as a waiting place for detainees' deportation, but also as a symbolic remnant of the wartime/colonial memories with encompassing a conflict between what wanted to remember and what wanted to forget in post war Japan. That is to say, many layers of social contradictions in postwar Japan

were accumulated thickly in the site of the Ōmura Camp and they are still left to be analyzed using the tomographic method .

History of the Sasebo Repatriation Center 1945–1947: From "Reception Center" to "Deportation Center"

Repatriation of Japanese and Korean citizens

In early September 1945, the number of Koreans awaiting repatriation rapidly increased. Those who hurried to return to Korea in the early post-war period included unskilled laborers and Korean soldiers released from conscription.[9] Beginning in October 1945, 3,000 people per day descended upon the port of Hakata. In that period, when a full political system for the occupation had not yet been created, repatriation of Koreans was complicated. Hence, repatriation was shouldered by independently-built Korean organizations, which negotiated directly with ship companies and the Ministry of Transport to secure ships as well as demanded that the Japanese authorities arrange trains to carry Koreans to harbors from all over Japan. Through their actions, between August and November 1945, no less than 800,000 Koreans returned to their home country. Of those, 525,000 were irregular returnees; the remaining 275,000 were formally repatriated.[10]

Formal repatriation of Koreans by the Japanese government began in September 1945. Ships departed from Hakata, took on Japanese in Busan, returned to port, and headed for Korea again. Formal repatriation of Koreans during that time was intimately connected to the repatriation of Japanese from the southern part of the Korean Peninsula and occurred via the government only from Hakata and Sasebo. Therefore, there was a constant chaotic rush of people into both ports. For that reason, in practice, informal repatriation overwhelmingly exceeded formal repatriation. In the end, repatriation of Koreans in the immediate post-war period was generally accomplished by individual efforts. Despite the haphazardness of this effort, a high and steady number of Koreans were able to return home successfully. In this way, the repatriation of Koreans in the immediate post-war period

co-mingled official and unofficial approaches, and the demarcation between the two was not clear.

Based on orders from GHQ, after 1945, the repatriation of Koreans completely changed from independent returns to "Planned Transportation."[11] These orders toward the Japanese government created the burden of giving Koreans, Taiwanese, and Ryukyuan opportunities to return to their home countries. However, the returnees were strictly limited to having 1,000 Yen in their possession and no more than 250 pounds of luggage, making Koreans insecure in their post-return lives and reducing the number of applicants for repatriation. To increase interest, GHQ implemented registration procedures such as the "Registration of Koreans, Chinese, Ryukuans and Formosans" (SCAPIN-746, February 17, 1946), which stated that those who failed to register with GHQ or depart within the time frame specified would lose the privilege of repatriation at the Japanese government's expense. As a result, while 647,000 people registered, of whom 514,060 were repatriation candidates, only a few attempted to return to their home country. The process of switching Korean repatriation-related initiatives from local authorities to the central government did not facilitate simple repatriation, and operation of the system by the Japanese government did not promote genuineness; control and operation by Koreans within Japan truly allowed for the establishment of the Korean repatriation system.

The Foundation of "Smuggled Korean Camps"

For Koreans in the immediate post-war period, "accommodation" referred to temporarily staying somewhere for the purpose of returning to the Korean Peninsula. However, with the re-entry of Koreans, which increased around 1946, "smuggled Korean camps" were founded with the intention of forcing Koreans to repatriate. One case of public order control that was related to Koreans was the Cholera Order issued on June 12, 1946, which was a GHQ countermeasure against the outbreak of ships carrying large quantities of cholera patients from the Korean Peninsula.[12] The Japanese government accommodated all illegal immigrants at Sasebo Repatriation Aid Stations and made individual decisions regarding sending them home. The

port of Sasebo was designated as a cholera quarantine port, and exclusive "illegal immigrant" camps were created to accommodate arrested stowaways. Thus, stowaways were all transported to the Hario camp in Sasebo, facilitating a unified repatriation system.[13] Additionally, the cholera epidemic on the Korean Peninsula caused an influx of Korean stowaways, which were considered to be a threat to occupation policies. GHQ stated, in regard to the flood of Koreans, "An influx of Koreans is a threat to the occupation and the Japanese people. The presence of these immigrants is likely to spread cholera and typhus."[14]

During this period, several accommodation spots were established for Koreans arrested as illegal immigrants. According to the GHQ memorandum, Sasebo Repatriation Aid Stations were designated for the transportation of smuggled Koreans. In addition, the Karatsu camp in the Saga prefecture and the Kanezaki camp in the Fukuoka prefecture were used for Korean detention.[15] At the Kanezaki Village camp in the Fukuoka prefecture, approximately 300 inmates died of indigestion and malnourishment between July 24 and September 15, 1946.[16] Conditions at the camp were poor as storehouses were used as lodgings, and people slept with nothing more than blankets they had brought themselves atop boards on concrete floors. Inmates were fed crackers; however, because this was insufficient nutrition, they would also eat food they had brought themselves.

The foregoing confirms that the establishment of the smuggled Korean camps both accompanied and reinforced the functions of operating the Korean repatriation system. From the perspective of Japanese authorities and GHQ, establishment of the camps eased control of the stowaways, and intervention via police power was justified. However, the reality of the camps demonstrated that the system of control over the stowaways was graduated and imperfect. Among the camps themselves, only the Hario camp in Sasebo was under the leadership of the central government; management processes there were not unified. Generally speaking, the smuggled Korean camps of this period were spaces for temporarily housing illegal immigrants, and they were not fit to be turned into a full-scale immigrant housing system. However, an apparatus was created for implementing repatriation; there-

fore, the creation of a space for enclosing stowaways and isolating them from society was vitally important to the later development of the camps.

The Impact of the Korean War on the Immigration Control System in Japan: 1948–1952

The Korean War and the Ōmura detention camp

In 1946, the mass repatriation of Koreans from Japan largely came to an end, with approximately 600,000 Koreans remaining in Japan. Those Koreans vigorously engaged in various political activities including demanding cultural autonomy through ethnic education and joining the Japanese Communist Party; as such, the Japanese government became increasingly concerned about related public order issues. In addition, the state of affairs in the Korean Peninsula during the Cold War deteriorated, which steadily strengthened the anti-communist attitudes of SCAP. In 1946, illegal immigrants were regularly deported from Japan, but no clear guidelines were developed for how to identify an immigrant as illegal. Starting in approximately 1948, a notable trend appeared toward linking illegal immigrants and communism. An SCAP document dated March 10, 1949 stated that illegal immigration to Japan was a method used by spies and subversive agents who were bent on destruction to enter the country.[17] The establishment of the North and South Korean governments in 1948 further raised—or amplified—SCAP's fears, leading to substantial measures concerning Zainichi Koreans. These included closures of Korean schools, crackdowns on displays of the North Korean flag, and dissolutions of Korean groups. The Korean Peninsula's division and the Korean War's outbreak were directly reflected in the anti-communist precautions taken through immigration control.

Meanwhile, the war resulted in a new influx of Korean immigrants to Japan and, because forced repatriation was impossible, the Japanese government sought to implement countermeasures to address the need for public order in and intelligence on this ethnic community, which increased as the war evolved. For the time being, SCAP and the Japanese government

decided to intern the refugees as illegal immigrants in the Hario Detention Center. Wartime refugees' migrations are often far more about survival than politics, but these circumstances were not considered in domestic Japanese policies. At the time of the Korean War, the legal category of "refugee" was not recognized in Japan; therefore, foreigners entering the country were required to have passports, and those who did not were treated as illegal immigrants and interned in the Hario Detention Center.

At that time, Sasebo was the only domestic port used for non-Japanese deportation. In actuality, this was a port primarily utilized to deport Koreans, which shows that Sasebo played a large role in non-Japanese deportation operations. The records also clearly show that Sasebo held a vital position in the essential processes of both the interning and deporting of Koreans by post-war Japan immigration control. In December 1950, at the outbreak of the Korean War, the Hario Detention Center in Sasebo was relocated to Ōmura because the National Police Reserve was to be housed on the Hario Detention Center's grounds, and the Ōmura detention camp was created to take over Hario's functions.[18] Overall, the Kyushu region surrounding Hario had become a candidate for the facilities needed to rearm Japan. GHQ and Japan initially planned to relocate the detention camp to Hiko Sima (i.e., to the city of Shimonoseki) and not to Ōmura. However, because of the large number of Koreans living in Shimonoseki in 1950, planners thought that the city was unsuitable for housing the deported Koreans.[19] The new camp's location was determined by the conditions the detention center had to offer including avoiding escape issues by ensuring prison containment far from transportation as opposed to more convenient geographical locations in terms of transportation links. In other words, security-related problems with transportation were considered more important than those of ideal geographical or traffic conditions. This appears to have led to the decision to relocate the detainees to the Ōmura camp.

The Category of "Excluded Alien": The Legal Basis for Deportation

The original impetus for the Ōmura detention center's creation was a SCAP memorandum in September 1950. That same directive pointed out

flaws in the Japanese government's management of—and mechanisms to control—illegal immigration, noting that "processing centers necessary for taking into custody persons arrested for illegally entering the country must not be correctional facilities, nor national, nor a segment of the municipal police or any lower branch of it." SCAP asked that immigration control mechanisms be a separate jurisdictional matter and as such completely different from the Japanese police's operations. Thus, the Ōmura detention camp was established, on SCAP orders, as the primary detainment camp for illegal immigrants. The Korean War provided the ultimate impetus for the creation of a structured immigration bureau in Japan. One direct consequence was the enactment of immigration control commands in 1951. The June 1950 Korean War outbreak intensified the need to unify immigration operations, which had been decentralized up to that point. The joint concerns of the Japanese government and SCAP about immigration control led to concentrated efforts to establish a unified immigration organization to handle deportation issues.

The Ōmura camp began its operations under the strong influence of Nicholas D. Collaer, a GHQ official who had been previously engaged by the United States (U.S.) Immigration Service as an expert in deportation matters and who played a critical role in the creation of Japan's 1951 Immigration Control Order.[20]Collaer traveled to Japan after receiving MacArthur's order and exercised strong influence over the drafting of legislation addressing deportation. Collaer had assisted with Mexican-American border security in the U.S. and, during the war, had been appointed as general manager of the first Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Wartime Enemy Alien Detention Center. He worked in the detention section of the INS and was responsible for supervising all INS internment camps throughout the U.S. Collaer's position as a supervisor of internment camps provided considerable opportunities to formulate his ideas on the issues of migration in post-war Japan. During his stay in Japan, Collaer designed a framework of immigration policy that has had a lasting impact on post-war Japanese immigration control. For example, the category of "excluded alien" that Collaer proposed for Japan directly reflected one of the categories found in the McCarran-

Walter Act. Collaer emphasized that, although Japan needed a new immigration control system, its system should not solely apply to Koreans but also to all subversive elements, regardless of nationality. The active imaginations of Collaer and SCAP policymakers caused their anxieties about "subversive elements" to increase further.

When a detainee in the Ōmura camp was connected to left-wing movements, such as the League of Koreans in Japan or the Japanese Communist Party, their release was disallowed, and they were forced to emigrate. Conversely, when a detainee was connected with "anti-communist movements," they were sometimes exempted from deportation.[21] The records are unclear as to whether or not ideological surveys were conducted within the detention camp; however, officials clearly considered "thoughts" to be a factor in their decisions on whether or not to release or deport detainees. In addition, during the Korean War, SCAP suspected adult male illegal immigrants of draft evasion and, without releasing detainees domestically in Korea, used deportations from Japan to augment the American and South Korean forces.[22] After the outbreak of the Korean War, at the same time that Japan grappled with illegal immigration, the country's policies were being influenced by American wartime strategies.

The Ōmura detention camp was an embodiment of the state of affairs in the Korean Peninsula during the Cold War—a microcosmos that reflected those external circumstances. In particular, as an ideological confrontation, the Korean War greatly influenced the Ōmura detention camp. SCAP's principal objective during this war was the prevention of a communist invasion. For this reason, the occupying army's discussions of communism, radical agents, and Korean illegal immigrants awakened fears of the latent danger of Japan being seized by illegal immigrants who were spies and subversive activists. The illegal immigrant investigation center proposed by SCAP included intelligence gathering through direct interviews of all illegal immigrants. However, apart from personal thoughts and beliefs, official policies left almost no room for spy activities through the geographical transfer of individuals during the Korean War. For refugees transferred back to Korea during the war, the problem was not to determine which ideological system

to choose, as the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea demanded;[23] these individuals' struggle was simply to stay alive.

In addition, while directly engaged in dealing with illegal immigrants, the Japanese police were not limited to matters of public safety. All information was placed into the hands of those in charge, and public safety was used as a pretext for strengthening government control. Japan's government repeatedly applied the phrase "radical elements" to Koreans and all left-wing ideological groups involved in any incidents. The phrases "anticommunist," "radical elements," and "smuggled Koreans" were used to rationalize the legitimacy of police control. SCAP and the police made any individuals considered capable of opposing the existing system the subject of their investigations and direct supervision. In short, the authorities suspected that everyone was capable of planning a revolution. However, given the on-going situation, officials seemed uninterested in determining whether or not any single individual possessed that ability. During the Korean War, refugees were detained as illegal immigrants in the Hario detention center on SCAP's orders, which subsequently influenced the conditions of the Ōmura detention camp. The Korean War was used as an opportunity to transform the Ōmura camp from a place merely to detain illegal immigrants to a physical space with political undertones.

New Aspects of Japan's Immigration Control: After the Allied Occupation Era

Changes in the Renovation and Housing at the Ōmura Camp

Japan recovered its sovereignty after the implementation of the Treaty of San Francisco on April 28, 1952. Immigration control, which had been regulated under the Allied Forces, was also given back to Japanese authority. Although border control of occupied Japan was executed by the GHQ, the Treaty of San Francisco restored Japan's control of its border. Japan's sovereignty recovery was also declared in the Immigration Control Order of 1952, which was partially amended in accordance with the first article of "Law on the Effect of Directives Concerning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, based

on Orders Given Following the Acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration" (Law No.126 of 1952) as follows: the term "aliens" should be univocally understood as persons such as "non-Japanese nationals." As a result, Korean residents in Japan were forced to abandon their Japanese nationality and subsequently became targets of the revised Immigration Control Order.

The Bureau of Emigration and Immigration, which had been an external bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was transferred to the Ministry of Justice and reorganized as the "Immigration Bureau." According to the Ministry of Justice, the transfer of the immigration authority was approved based on four points: (1) Investigation of an alien's landing, status, and violation is a legal service, which examines the specific legal requirements and gives a certain status to aliens. (2) The procedure of deportation has so-called quasi-judiciary character. (3) Alien registration is related to the legal service of nationality or family register, whose authority belongs to the Ministry of Justice. (4) Deportation is a crucial limitation of the human rights of an alien, which is why theMinistry of Justice, "the champion of human rights," should be a competent authority.[24]

The Japanese government had always planned to utilize the facilities of the former Ōmura Naval Base for establishing the immigration detention center. During the March 27, 1951 meeting, the government committee for the Bureau of Immigration reported that the Ōmura detention center was "... originally built as the commanding office of the Navy. The buildings are grand structures but not suitable for use as a detention camp. Unless they have the necessary equipment for the detention facilities, detainees would easily escape from the center and might break out in insurgences in the future."[25] However, the Ōmura detention facilities did not proceed with restoration until Japan recovered its sovereignty.

In 1953, the South Korean government refused to accept Korean repatriates to their homeland, stating that they were "violators of criminal laws and ordinances"; as such, they sent them back to Japan. Hence, the Ōmura detention camp was in urgent need of an expanded capacity. The major improvements to the Ōmura detention camp were completed in September 1953, and the Ōmura began its full operation with new facilities. When the

Ōmura detention camp had first opened in December 1950, they utilized the main building of the former 21st Naval Aeronautical Technology Institution, after partial repair, and its capacity was then 690. The new detention center expanded its capacity to 1,000 people. At the beginning, the exterior fences were made of wood once used in the Hario detention camp. It was then replaced with fencing made of reinforced concrete, and the surveillance system was intensified. All improvements to the detention facilities were carried out to handle what was viewed as a new political problem.

The official repatriation program was executed seven times before it ended in March 1952, on the eve of the Treaty of San Francisco coming into force. At that time, 3,633 Koreans who were interned in the Ōmura were transported to Busan.[26] When Japan was under the Allies' occupation, the South Korean government supported all the repatriates being admitted. However, it changed its policy after the Treaty of San Francisco: 125 of 410 Korean repatriates who arrived in Busan were refused entry into South Korea, and they were sent "back to Japan."[27] Those who were "deported to Japan" were labeled as "violators of criminal laws and ordinances" because they had been in Japan before the Pacific War came to an end. When the first Japan-South Korean talks ended in collapse, the South Korean government insisted that they could not accept Korean repatriates because the legal status of "(South) Koreans in Japan (Zainichi-Kanjin)" remained unestablished. Korean repatriates who were "deported to Japan" claimed to be free without reservation, but their claims were never approved, and they were committed to the Ōmura camp once again.

In October 1952, four months after the suspension of the repatriation program, the number of detainees interned in the Ōmura camp surpassed 1,000, and it reached 1,300 in 1954.[28] The Immigration Bureau constructed a new detention center immediately, but it soon overflowed with Korean detainees. As an urgent countermeasure against the influx, the Hamamatsu branch of the Yokohama Immigration Center[29] was additionally established on the property of the Shizuoka Prison in Hamamatsu in December 1954. However, the overflow issue was never solved, and the matter of long-term internment persisted. The Japanese government focused on long-term

internment in terms of the highly increasing expenses. During a judicial committee meeting held on June 16, 1955, the matter was discussed, and the committee stated that "it is necessary to obtain an international agreement for the matter to be solved completely."[30] The Japanese government came to recognize that the long-term internment of detainees in detention centers was a diplomatic issue between Japan and South Korea.

Prior to the official talks between the two countries, which were supposed to resume on March 1, 1958, the Japanese government and the Rhee Syngman administration reached a mutual agreement on the "Release of foreign nationals being subject to internment" on December 31, 1953. The agreement stated that Japanese fishermen interned in Busan and Korean detainees in the Ōmura campe and the Hamamatsu branch would be released by each government without reservation. Approximately 950 Japanese fishermen were sent back to Japan, 1,260 "illegally immigrated" Korean detainees were forcibly deported to South Korea, and other Koreans labeled as "violators of criminal laws and ordinances" (with most of them accused of offending the alien registration law) were released in Japan. In post-occupation Japan, the domestic and diplomatic struggles of those seeking the ambiguous status of "Koreans in Japan" greatly influenced the operation of the Ōmura camp, which had been initially established for the practical purpose of sending back "illegally immigrated" aliens. While the circumstances surrounding the Ōmura camp changed gradually, its primordial function changed drastically.

Following the instruction of the Ministry of Justice Correction Bureau, approximately 50 solitary cells and a new isolation ward building were added to the Ōmura camp in September 1953. The immigration authority decided to "admit those who committed acts of damage or destruction, and those who were considered to be interned in solitary to the isolated wards."[31] The Ōmura camp did not adopt the segregated internment policy until the new isolated ward building was settled in 1953. Koreans, Chinese, and other Western nationals were taken into the same detention chambers together. However, the camp later began to separate detainees by sex and ethnicity in 1953 due to quarrels between men and women and ethnic conflicts. This new detention policy was contradicted by the Immigration Bureau's official

view: The Ōmura detention camp was opened for the purpose of "providing a wharf for the repatriation, and repatriates were to be made to stay together in a large room, without considering the sexes."[32]

Notably, conflicts and troubles arose frequently at the Ōmura camp.[33] After the outbreak of the Korean War, there were severe conflicts between the so-called "Pro-North" group (repatriates who wished to be returned home to the People's Republic) and the "Pro-South" group (zealous adherents of the Rhee Syngman administration). A bloody conflict, known as the "Jang Dong-Gon Assassination Incident," happened on November 18, 1955: A political argument between Jang Dong-Gun (Pro-North) and Yi Man-dok (Pro-South) escalated into Jang Dong-Gun being clubbed to death by Pro-South activists. After the turmoil, 69 Pro-North detainees were transferred to the annex building on December 31, 1956.[34] However, the political and ideological collisions did not cease and even became more complicated. North-South conflicts as well as internal quarrels among Pro-North members were reported such as the flag of North Korea being torn away, Pro-North detainees being assaulted by Pro-South activists, and a detainee who withdrew his desire to return to North Korea was lynched by leaders of the Pro-North group.

There were also conflicts between the "illegally immigrated" detainees and those labeled as "violators of criminal laws and ordinances," because they were often from different districts of the Korean Peninsula and their language, accents, and customs were unfamiliar to each other.[35] Park Soon-Jo, a former detainee in the Ōmura internment, recalls his experience there: "Even though all detainees were of the same national origin, some spoke Japanese and the others Korean. The situation provoked them to the cruelest of quarrels against each other. It would not have happened if they were interned among thoroughly foreign people (such as persons of Western nationality)."[36]Hence, the political confrontation in the Korean Peninsula had negative effects on the lives of detainees at the Ōmura. Kim Dong-Chun points out that all the political, economic, and social aspects of the Korean Peninsula were produced, without exception, by the Armistice Regime of 1953.[37] The same situation was noted in all Japanese immigration policies

from 1953 on, which reflected the deep diplomatic changes in the East Asian region.

Due to the long suspension of the repatriation programs from the Ōmura camp, the immigration authority planted more detention centers all across Japan. For example, the Okazaki detention center at the Nagoya Immigration Center was founded in March 1954; the Hamamatsu branch of the Yokohama Immigration Center, located in the corner of the Hamamatsu Prison, opened in December 1954. Hirosumi Kondo, former chief of the Haneda Immigration Control Office, revealed that "there was a notification from the government that four or five other detention centers would be needed to maintain public security."[38] Some locations, such as Saijo in Ehime or Shimonoseki in Yamaguchi, were considered as new detention centers; however, the site of the Hamamatsu Prison was selected because of its vacant spaces.[39] They also planned to create a new immigration office in Osaka[40] because there was only the Kobe Immigration Center in the greater area of Kinki, which had one of the densest populations in Japan. It was reported that fundamental reorganization and restructuring of the immigration centers were required in that area: In 1956, 32% of "aliens" in Japan lived in the greater area of Kinki (Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Shiga, Nara, and Wakayama), which verified that another office in the center of Kinki was needed to perform proper immigration control in association with relevant authorities.

Fundamental reorganization and restructuring of the immigration centers were also required because the Immigration Bureau stated that "a rapid increase of the application for re-entry permission submitted by Koreans who have been living in Japan since the pre-War period changes the character of the immigration control service, and its weight moves gradually from the port areas to the inland areas."[41] Initially, the local branches of the Immigration Bureau were deployed to conduct economic activities in the port areas, especially in proportion to the capacities and scales of seaports. For that reason, the immigration service, as far as the status of residence and as with the application for re-entry permission for "aliens," was not fully responsible for the immigration control policy in Japan.[42] The

changing circumstances within immigration control moved Japan's immigration policy into another stage.

Public Movements Against the Ōmura Detention Camp

Petitions for the improvement of detainees' circumstances were persistently submitted to the Japanese government under the leadership of Korean organizations in Japan. During the winter months, living supplies were delivered to Korean detainees and their families in the detention centers all over Japan including at the Ōmura detention camp.[43] By 1955, approximately 1,600 detainees had spent the better part of their lives inside the Ōmura including 650 women and 200 children.[44] Chongryon, or the General Association of (North) Korean Residents in Japan, claimed that 370 of 1,685 Korean detainees inside the Ōmura should be released immediately because they had been in Japan before September 2, 1945.[45] They also insisted that those 370 Koreans were either forcibly recruited workers or conscripted wartime soldiers and, as such, their release would be justified, and their deportation should be withdrawn for both legal and humane reasons. Chongryon also submitted a claim stating that the other 1,263 Koreans, who were considered to be "illegally immigrated," should also be allowed to stay in Japan because their livelihood had already been established there.

Moreover, Chongryon wanted to help draft dodgers and political/military refugees from South Korea who "strongly wished to be back home in North Korea because their deportation to the Rhee Syngman administration would obviously be fatal." Chongryon eagerly committed to the relief campaign of Koreans, especially those who "strongly wished to be back home in DPRK," including "students who want to study at North Korea's universities" or "engineers who want to engage in the Homeland Restoration Projects of North Korea." Chongryon's strategy to gain the release of Korean detainees from the Ōmura was to negotiate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the planning of the new repatriation program. However, Mindan, or the (South) Korean Residents Union in Japan stated, regarding the deportation policy for Koreans, that "it is to be regretted that Koreans

are treated in a discriminative way," and they held the "Public Meeting to Protect the Rights of Fellow Nationals" in various regions in Japan. Public movements led by the (North and South) Korean organizations regarding the Ōmura camp were aimed at highlighting the unjustness of the Japanese immigration policy and eliminating Koreans' fear of deportation. Furthermore, those organizations tried to promote their own "Homeland Return Project." Such projects emerged from conflicted ideas of "home" that were reflected by the divided Korean nations. In this manner, the Ōmura was not only a site of discrimination against Koreans in Japan but also a site that harbored the ideological campaign of fellow Koreans' engagement in their own "Homeland Return Project."

In an attempt to intervene on behalf of detainees, from August 1958 to March 1959, Pastor Masaharu Oka and Evangelist Peter Rasmussen of the Isahaya Church (a branch of Japan's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Nagasaki) were sent to the Ōmura camp on religious missions.[46] At the Ōmura, a correspondence course for study of the Bible was organized. Additionally, 170 detainees listened to the nationwide radio program "The Lutheran Hour" and took correspondence lessons through the Lutheran Hour's Kyushu Center, Fukuoka. Religious activities, such as preaching, Bible study, Bible picture-story shows, and playing hymns, were performed inside the Ōmura. Christian missions at the Ōmura were officially recognized. Immigration authorities regarded the missionary visits as religious activities that were not compelled by the institution of the Ministry of Justice but were rather requested by the detainees' of their own will. The detainees' spontaneous activities were permitted; therefore, the Christian missions never breached article 20 of the Constitution of Japan. There were some background matters involved. Notably, Christian missions were positively introduced by the immigration authorities to pacify resentment among Korean detainees at the Ōmura camp, in which serious incidents, such as escapes, (attempted) suicides, injuries, assaults, hunger strikes, and building occupations, were taking place often. Christian missions in the detention center hoped that, through religion, they could avoid having detainees put under sedation.

When Pastor Oka and Evangelist Rasmussen visited the Ōmura, a dismal atmosphere between the Pro-North group and the Pro-South group was ongoing, and detainees' struggles for better treatment were escalating. Pastor Oka recalls seeing overflowing repatriates to South Korea being interned in the buildings, with married couples segregated from each other and children separated from parents. Repatriates who wished to return to North Korea were isolated in the first detention building because they were regarded as subversive or disturbing elements.[47] In addition, detainees' freedom of assembly and association as well as their freedoms of expression and action were restrained. Koreans, especially those who wished to return to North Korea, suffered terrible treatment by immigration control officers. Those circumstances were intolerable for the clergy. Pastor Oka and Evangelist Rasmussen expressed concerns and requested better treatment of Koreans interned at the Ōmura camp, which was answered with a notice from immigration authorities, stating that their visits to the center should end immediately.[48] Thus, the Lutheran church's missions to the Ōmura, which lasted for eight months, came to an end. However, their religious activities left a significant imprint: the clergy were the first outsiders to enter the Ōmura camp and witness the dismal circumstances of internment inside.

On March 31, 1969, 57 members of Betonamu ni heiwa wo! Shimin rengo (also known as "Beheiren") or the Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam, which was led by Minoru Oda, held a mass demonstration against the internment policy of Japan, and they called for the dissolution of the Ōmura camp. It was the first mass demonstration since the detention center had opened, and the participants considered it the "struggle for dismantling the Ōmura camp." Notably, they never demanded improvements of the detainees' treatment but rather requested the complete disorganization of detention facilities. From 1969 to 1970, the total number of participants in the demonstrations reached approximately 2,300.[49]

The Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church of Nagasaki, to which Pastor Oka belonged, provided accommodations for Minoru Oka and those members of Beheiren who organized mass demonstrations. Pastor Oka was engaged in the movement for the release of detainees after his missionary works in

the Ōmura were suspended. He also formed the "Association for Protecting Human Rights of Zainichi" (Koreans in Japan) in Nagasaki and became its representative in 1965, continuing his devotion to the support of detainees. Christian churches, which banded together with Pastor Oka, viewed their protest movement against the Ōmura camp as a decisive struggle to eliminate all forms of discrimination, and they collaborated with other citizens' groups in Nagasaki.

Beheiren began to be engage in the "anti-immigration control system" movements as a result of supporting the "Kim Dong-Hee Refugee Incident." Kim Dong-Hee (at the age of 27), a sergeant in the South Korean Army who was commanded to join the expeditionary troop to South Vietnam, deserted from the Busan base camp to Japan as a military refugee. Kim was arrested by the Tsushima police for being an "illegal immigrant." He was subsequently indicted for violation of the Immigration Control Act and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. While serving his time in the Fukuoka Prison in February 1967, Kim was sent to the Ōmura camp and hoped to be permitted to stay in Japan. However, he realized that it would be almost impossible to acquire permission for residence.[50] Kim then drew up a petition for repatriation to North Korea in his own handwriting as follows: "Of my own free will, I earnestly request to return home to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."[51] It was feared that Kim would receive a death sentence by court-martial if he was deported to South Korea.

Kim Dong-Hee's predicament became widely known in Japan through his letters posted from within the Ōmura detention camp. The "Supporters' Association for Kim Dong-Hee" was organized on March 8, 1967, and supporting movements were carried out mainly by the members of Beheiren. Soon after the Supporters' Association was formed, a complaint consisting of three points was submitted to the Ministry of Justice: 1) Mr. Kim Dong-Hee's behavior should be fully approved. 2) Deportation to the "Republic of Korea," which would impose the death penalty on Mr. Kim Dong-Hee, should be objected. 3) Respecting Mr. Kim Dong-Hee's own will, he should either be recognized as a refugee in Japan or his repatriation to North Korea should be guaranteed. However, actual activities to support Kim were

restricted to those of minor impact such as signature-collecting campaigns.[52] Visitors who requested interviews with Kim Dong-Hee were thoroughly rejected by the Ōmura camp on the pretext of security reasons. The only way to contact him was through letters. In the middle of his lawsuit requesting revocation of the deportation order, Kim was unexpectedly sent on "refugee departure" to the Soviet Union in January 1968. As a result, he was able to enter North Korea via the Soviet Union.

How did the supporters of the public campaign for Kim Dong-Hee, which was led by Beheiren members, evaluate their own attitudes? What kind of meaning or effect resulted from their supporting activities? Ardent participants of the campaign, such as Minoru Oda and Shunsuke Tsurumi, proposed "solidarity of Asian people" through the support of Kim Dong-Hee's predicament.[53] Shunsuke Tsurumi expressed his idea as follows: "Let us have fellow feelings with the anti-war advocators in the United States; let us admire the Vietnamese people, who were fighting against the overwhelmingly predominant U.S. forces; let us join hands together with people's protests of their everyday lives in every part of Asia."[54] Moreover, in his public lecture in July 1968, Shunsuke Tsurumi spoke of the "fundamental crime of the Japanese nation" and the war responsibilities of Japan to Asian people. He stressed that the presence of Chinese, Koreans, and Taiwanese in Japan should always remind us that the fundamental crime of the Japanese nation would not disappear.[55]

However, citizens who took part in the "anti-immigration control system" movements look back upon the days of protest in a positive manner. Eiichi Mori remembers of his participation in mass demonstrations: "In response to our call, I heard the detainees' voices say 'thank you,' I will definitely never forget their voices."[56] Ikuko Miyazima recalls her memories: "After holding a meeting, we marched for two kilometers from the station to the Ōmura camp. We were singing folk music songs to the accompaniment of young men's guitars and started to call slogans: 'Abolish the Ōmura detention camp!'; 'Recognize the right of asylum!'; and 'Blow up the horribly changed Immigration Control Act!' In a country town, passersby stopped walking to look at us, and children were following us by running. University

students coming home for the holidays from Tokyo jumped to join us in the middle while wearing Geta sandals. When we started to march around the wall of the Ōmura camp, I heard a faint voice say, 'thank you,' from inside. I could not forget that."[57]Manabu Inoue, who reported Beheiren's "anti-immigration control system" movements, pointed out that many participants lacked even the most fundamental knowledge about the problems of Koreans in Japan. Inoue confessed that "'Non-experts in Korean problems protested against 'the Ōmura,' and that is my question."[58]

In this way, the Ōmura was represented as a point of convergence of all struggles, to which every kind of protest movement set its achievement regardless of its political intentions or motivations. For intellectuals who claimed "solidarity with Asian people," the Ōmura camp was seen as the incarnation of Japan's war responsibility. For Pastor Oka and his fellow Christian church organizations, the Ōmura was a site for domestic missions, in which relief for detainees should be carried out with humanity. For citizens who took part in demonstrations, the Ōmura was regarded as the breeding ground of discrimination and suppression in the local community, even though they had little knowledge about the Korean detainees. Hence, the multidimensional characteristics of the protest movements toward the Ōmura camp reveal that the Ōmura itself was a complicated phenomenon that was never generalized by a one-sided viewpoint.

The Ōmura was considered as a symptomatic site of contradictions, which reflected the waving tides of domestic and international issues such as the outbreak of the Korean war; the restoration of sovereignty of Japan by the Treaty of San Francisco; the diplomatic difficulty in Japan-South Korea talks; and other changes in the political conditions and circumstances in East Asia at the time. Sentiments against political and diplomatic contradictions in Japan were acted out in the guise of the struggles against the Ōmura camp. Therefore, it could be said that the Ōmura was the "political" aspect and the movements against the Ōmura camp were the "social" aspect. Protest movements against discrimination that erupted in the Ōmura camp were connected to every form of citizen's movement and relief activity. However,

when the mass movements reached their peak and subsequently began to recede, the problem of the Ōmura became of little concern in Japan.

The Intersection of "Refugee" Protection and "Stowaway" Detention

When the Korean War broke out, the Japanese government did not recognize the legal status of refugees. Aliens were required to possess valid passports or other certification documents to enter Japan. Violators of laws or regulations of entry were accused of illegal immigration and sent to the Hario immigration detention center which was later reorganized as the Ōmura detention center. Meanwhile, "Indochinese refugees,"[59] who began entering Japan in 1957, were never regarded as "illegal immigrants" but were accepted into "the Ōmura Temporary Refugees Reception Center." Most refugees placed at the Reception Center did not possess any identifying documents, such as a passport from their nation of origin or identification cards; however, the Japanese government did not deport them.

The first Indochinese refugees landed in Japan in May of 1957. Because no legislative system for protecting refugees was established in Japan at that time, matters of these refugees were treated individually by government offices and authorities in association with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice.[60] The Japanese government placed responsibility for accepting the Indochinese refugees entirely on the private facilities managed by the Japanese Red Cross Society or by religious organizations. Due to the separation of religion from politics, there was no official aid to the private facilities operated by religious organizations, creating a significant financial burden for them.[61] In November 1979, the Refugee Assistance Headquarters was established in the division of the Foundation for the Welfare and Education of the Asian People under commission from the Japanese government. The Himeji Resettlement Promotion Center was then opened in Himeji, Hyogo in December 1979 and the Yamato Resettlement Promotion Center was added in Yamato, Kanagawa in February 1980.

At that time, the acceptance of Indochinese refugees was treated within the general principles of the immigration control policy. According to the Immigration Control Act of 1975, aliens who did not possess a valid passport

were detained in the same vein as stowaways and illegal immigrants. On April 28, 1978, as an interim measure, the Japanese government provided Indochinese refugees with the status of temporary residence, not from the basis of law but rather from cabinet approval, which authorized them to enter and stay in Japan, albeit with restricted conditions.

When Japan approved the ratification of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1981, the former Immigration Control Act was amended and renamed. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was then enacted in January 1982. One month later, the Ōmura Temporary Refugees Reception Center was opened for the protection of Indochinese refugees. Temporary landing was institutionalized under the guidance of the "Landing Permission for Temporary Refuge" (Article 18-2, Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of 1982). Thus, Indochinese refugees who arrived in Japan after January 1981 were issued permission for landing when their statuses as refugees were recognized, even if they did not possess passports and visa documents.[62] The issue of Indochinese refugees was repeatedly reported as a serious concern in the news media.[63] On the contrary, the problem of the Ōmura camp was left behind. On April 18 and 19 of 1977, just when Indochinese refugees arrived in Japan, the Investigation Committee of the Ōmura camp (consisting of 15 members) visited to survey conditions inside the facility.[64]

The Investigation Committee reported the following on April 18, 1977: "The Ōmura camp was just a 'prison without a definite term.' There were 102 Korean detainees inside (as of April 1, 1977), with 27 Koreans in long-term internment from over a year up to four years. Detainees spent their ordinary lives having their human rights, such as visits by family, friends, and supporters, severely restricted. In addition, private letters were censored, detainees were forced into interviews with the consul of "South Korea," inappropriate pressure was placed on detainees to withdraw their lawsuits, and requests by detainees for improved treatment were rejected."[65] When a lawyer visited the camp to conduct interviews, detainees were always accompanied by detention officers, even though they were interned due to the administrative procedure of "deportation" and not because of crim-

inal activity. The Ōmura detention center insisted that "deportation is an administrative treatment, and there is no need to apply the code of criminal procedure." They stressed that no one, including lawyers, was permitted to interview detainees without an officer's attendance.[66] Roju Yoshitome, an Investigation Committee member, depicted the camp's atmosphere as follows: "On our second visit, we saw the first article of an interview instruction titled 'Speaking Japanese is recommended.' On our third visit, the article was changed to 'Speak Japanese as a rule.' We feel that the Ōmura detention camp became a prison year by year."[67] The Investigation Committee summarized the problems of the Ōmura camp, which were determined during their visits, and submitted a petition for improvement to Hajime Hukuda, the Minister of Justice. In reality, the problems that the Investigation Committee pointed out were not "problems" at all for the Immigration authority. Moreover, the Investigation Committee's "investigation" had no proven authority; it was merely a "petition and request."[68]

The "Outline of the Bill to Revise the Immigration Control Act" was publicly announced to accept "Indochinese refugees" in Japan and to amend a part of the Immigration Control Act of that time due to the ratification of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The primary purpose of this bill was to add articles that would update the domestic acts and ordinances related to the immigration policy. In the process of discussion, a debate was requested to add articles "to confirm the ambiguous status of Koreans and Taiwanese who belonged to the Japanese nation in the pre-war period and have lost Japanese nationality pursuant to the Treaty of Peace with Japan yet still reside in Japan." Namely, the necessity of a legal definition for refugees and other aliens living in Japan emerged from the process of reorganizing the immigration control system. However, opinions within the government had not been coordinated. Articles concerning the status of refugees were not discussed openly and were detached from other parts of the bill.[69] Accordingly, the issues of "refugees" and "aliens" in Japan were segregated in the legal discussion.

The Japanese government accepted refugees from the Indochinese Peninsula on the condition that they had sufficient reason to be recog-

nized as "refugees." As for refugees from the Korean Peninsula, in light of the geographic dynamism, there was no distinction between people who escaped from the Indochinese Wars and those who escaped from the Korean War. "Refugees" always aroused sympathies among Japanese society and were represented as objects of humanitarian aid.[70] In contrast, "illegal immigrants" aroused antipathies among Japanese society and were represented as the subject of disorder.

Who then is a "refugee?" Who is an "illegal immigrant?" On what principles have these categories been defined to a person who escaped from another place? The answer would be "institutional." In other words, these categories are unilaterally constructed by the immigration control system or social institutions in Japan: A person who was detained in the Ōmura camp could be called an "illegal immigrant," while someone who was transferred to the Ōmura Temporary Refugees Reception Center could be called a "refugee." This reflects how "illegal immigrant" is not only a term but a form of exclusion of "the others" in Japan in the guise of the immigration control system.

Conclusion

This paper clarified the influence of the Japanese Government and GHQ on the immigration control system after the post-war period. Although an immigration detention center often tends to be considered no more than an Immigration Bureau-affiliated institution, detention centers allowed Japanese officials to enforce "deportation" smoothly and were essential to the establishment of a deportation system under a series of flaws that led to deportation by accommodation, which was initially the border control's basis for the immigration control system after World War II in Japan. Particularly during the Korean War, Japanese officials and GHQ utilized the Ōmura detention camp to intern Korean deportees. With this specific mission, the center increasingly came to symbolize the complexity of international relations in East Asia after the collapse of the Japanese empire.

Through a diachronic point of view, this study reveals the functional change of detention camps in successive periods. Use of the Ōmura deten-

tion center began in the post-war period in Japan, and its function varied, depending on each era. Changes at the Ōmura detention camp included three main processes:

1) The first stage included when the so-called "smuggled Korean camp" shifted to a central immigration control system, which reinforced the deportation [71] of Koreans in Japan. This was in line with the repatriation support system, and the change was promoted by the cholera epidemic in the Korean Peninsula at the end of 1946. The Hario camp (located at Sasebo), the former Ōmura camp, took central control of illegal immigrants.
2) During the second stage, the process involved a reception center transferring individuals to a deportation center founded in Hario by the National Police Reserve during the outbreak of the Korean War. This camp found that "waiting for repatriation" carried the best role of the immigration control policy in the turbulent political period following the Cold War, a period which reflected the international environment and the process of independence from colonialism.
3) The third stage occurred after Korean residents in Japan left behind their Japanese nationality after the Peace Treaty. On the one hand, since the immigration control duties were carried out under new Japanese sovereignty, the Ōmura camp was treated as a political issue in Japanese and Korean relations. However, on the other hand, the Ōmura camp became a central issue in the local citizens' movement. In this study, I describe the Ōmura camp image, which had previously been portrayed in conventional historical research as only "the spot of discrimination," by examining the positioning of the immigrant camp within the larger immigration control administration and by capturing the function of an immigration camp in a different time period.

Notes

1. The Ōmura Immigration Detention Camp was renamed "the Ōmura Immigration Center" in 1993.
2. Yasuaki Onuma, *Tan'itsu Minzokushakai no Shinwa wo Koete* (Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1986).
3. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Reisen to Sengo Nyūkoku Kanri no Keisei [The Cold War and the Formation of Post-war Border Controls]," trans. by Sigeru Itō, *Zen'ya* 3 (Spring 2005), 61-76.
4. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Borderline Japan: Foreigners and Frontier Controls in Post-war Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
5. Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture*, 1945-1970 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
6. Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-4.
7. Mooam Hyun, *Korian nettowa¯ku: Media, Idou no Rekishi to Kūkan* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2013).
8. Yasuhiko Hikichi, "Senryōki no 'Kyūshū' to Mikkou, Mitubōeki kara Miru Imin Kanrishi," in *Kyūshū to Iu Shisou*, eds. Tsunehiko Matsumoto and Akihide Oshima (Fukuoka: Hana shoin, 2009).
9. "Chōsenjin Shūdan Inyū Rōmusha rano Kinkyū Sochi ni Kansuru ken," September 1, 1945, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR) Ref. A06030086000.
10. Edward W. Wagner, *Nippon ni okeru Chōsen Shōsū Minzoku* [*The Korean Minority in Japan 1904-1950*], (Tokyo: Kohokusha, 1951), 59.
11. SCAPIN 224 "Repatriation of Non-Japanese from Japan," (November 1, 1945), in *GHQ sirei "SCAPIN-A"* Sōshusei, ed. Eiji Takemae (Tokyo: ET Shuppan, 1997).
12. SCAPIN 1015 (June 12, 1946) GC, Subj.: Suppression of Illegal Entry into Japan.
13. Kiyohumi Kato, ed., *Kyokusi, Chihō Hikiage Engokyokushi: Hakata Hikiage Engokyoku Tobata Shucchojo* (Tokyo: Yumanishobō, 2002), 118.
14. Wagner, *op.cit.*, 86.
15. Kyong Sik Pak, *Kaihōgo Zainichi Chōsenjin Undōshi* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1989), 106-8.
16. *Kaihō Shimbun,* October 10, 1946.
17. Letter from Hqs 24th Infantry Div. to the CG 8th Army, Subj. Illegal Entrant Screening Center, Mar. 10, 1949, KK/GS-165.
18. Hōmushō Ōmura Nyūkokusha Shūyojo, ed., Ōmura *Syuyojyo 20-Nenshi* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1970), 120.
19. *Ibid.*

20. Morris-Suzuki, *op. cit.*, 90-122.
21. Dok Hyo Choi, "Shakuhō to Kyōsei Soukan no Aida" *Chōsenjin Shōgakkai Gakujutsu Ronbunshū [Bulletin of Korean Scholarship Foundation]* 27 (2009): 91.
22. Dok Hyo Choi "Chōsen Sensō to Chōsenjin: Giyūhei Haken no Bonndai wo Chūsin'ni" in *Chōsen Hantō to Nippon no Dōjidaishi,* Dōjidaishi Gakkai, ed. (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2005).
23. Dong Chun Kim, *Chōsen Sensō to Shakaishi: Hinan, Senryō, Gyakusatsu*, tran. by Mihe Kim (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2008), 343.
24. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri no Kaiko to Tenbo: Nyūkan Hossoku 30-Shūnen wo Kinen shite* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1981), 84-5.
25. Statement of Nobuemon Oka in the record of the House of Councilors Oversight of Administration, Session 10, no. 3 (March 27, 1951).
26. Hōmushō Ōmura Nyūkokusha Shūyōjo, ed., *Ōmura Shūyōjo 20-Nenshi*, 99.
27. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri no Kaiko to Tenbo*, 86-7.
28. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri Hakusho, Shōwa 34-Nen* (Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku, 1959), 94-5.
29. The Yokohama detention center was originally established in December 1951, in the throse of the Korean War, to detain the miss-ship persons, except for Koreans and Chinese.
30. Remarks of Fujio Ushida, secretary in the Ministry of Justice and Director-General of the Immigration Bureau. See the record of the House of Representatives Committee on Judicial Affairs, Session 22, no. 21 (June 16, 1955).
31. Hōmushō Ōmura Nyūkokusha Shūyojo, ed., Ōmura *Sh*ūyōjo *20-Nenshi*, 57.
32. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri no Kaiko to Tenbo*, 362.
33. "Ōmura Shūyōjo no 20-Nen," *Asahi Journal* 14 no. 11 (March 1972): 33-48.
34. The report of The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, "The Issue of Korean Residents in Japan," February 1956.
35. Soon-Jo Park, *Nippon,* Ōmura *Shūyōjo* (Osaka: JDC, 1982), 11–2.
36. *Ibid*.
37. Dong Chun Kim, *op. cit.*, 343.
38. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri no Kaiko to Tenbo*, 373.
39. *Ibid*.
40. Statement of Jyun'ya Koizumi, Government delegate in the record of the House of Councilors Committee on Cabinet, Session. 22, no. 7 (May 31, 1955).
41. Hōmushō Nyūkoku Kanrikyoku, ed., *Shutsunyūkoku Kanri no Kaiko to Tenbo*, 251.
42. *Ibid.*, 261.

43. Cited from the report of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, "The Research of the Living Support in Winter of the Ōmura Detainees," November 4, 1955.
44. *Ibid.* According to the report, there were 1,633 inmates confined in the Ōmura Camp as of January 23, 1956. 400 inmates out of them were permitted to reside in Japan before September 2, 1945. From 1951 to 1956, 38 inmates were born in the camp. From 1952 to 1956, 17 inmates (3 women and 14 men) died in the Camp and 2 out of them were unable to determine their cause of death; 284 inmates were under age 15, who have never received formal education in the camp. 23 inmates were inpatients, including 14 patients who have been suffering from mental illness for a long time.
45. The report of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, "Call for the release of Korean detainees in Ōmura," December 12, 1955.
46. Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church of Nagasaki, ed., *Senkyō: Genbaku no Machi* (Nagasaki: Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church of Nagasaki, 1987), 42-6.
47. Masaharu Oka, Ōmura *Shūyōjo to Chōsenjin Hibakusha* (Nagasaki: Ōmura Shūyōjo to Chōsenjin Hibakusha Kankōiinkai, 1981), 3-11.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Un-Myong Ro, "Beheiren no 'Han Nyūkantaisei' Undō: sono Riron to Undō no Tenkai," *Seiji Kenkyū* 57 (March, 2013): 59-93.
50. The Japanese government was averse to participating in the Refugees Convention. See the following statement of Akira Shigemitsu, a government delegate, in the House of Representatives Committee on Cabinet, Session 58, no. 23 (April 19, 1968): "According to the Refugees Convention (adopted in 1951), as a result of the case that occurred before January 1, 1951, the coverage of the time for a limited number treaty limits it to Europe; this treaty is not a treaty for world-famous refugees and is primarily aimed at European relief."
51. Masaharu Oka *op.cit.*, 10.
52. Yoshinori Shiozawa, "The Report of International Congress for Kim Dong-Hee and Political Asylum" in *Shirō "Beheiren" Undō,* vol. 1, ed. Betonamu ni Heiwa wo! Shimin Rengō (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha,1974), 415-20.
53. *Ibid.*; Makoto Oda, ed., *Beheiren towa Nanika* (Tokyo: Tokumashoten, 1969).
54. *Ibid.*
55. Shunsuke Tsurumi, "Sensō to Nihonjin," *Tsurumi Shunsuke Chosakushū*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1976).
56. Eiichi Mori, "Sanjū no Barikēdo ni Tozasarete: Ōmura Shūyōjo Kaitai Tōsō," in *Beheiren towa Nanika*, 225-7.
57. Yuko Miyazaki, "Hakkiri to Kikoeta 'Arigtō': Ōmura Shūyōjo eno Demo" in *Beheiren towa Nanika,* 231-4.
58. Manabu Inoue, "6.8 Ōmura Shūyōjo Kaitai Shūkai," *Chōsen Kenkyu* 87 (July 1969): 61.

59. The Indochina refugees, commonly known as "the boat people" in Japan, contained Vietnamese refugees from the Laos-Cambodian Civil War, as well as the Vietnam War refugees. In 1975, the number of the Indochina refugees who entered into Japan was recorded 126. In 1977, it counted to 247 and after the following years it rapidly increased to quadruple: from 1978 to 1981, approximately 1,000 people had come to take refuge in Japan annualy.
60. Shin'ya Tanaka "Nihon no Nanmin no Ukeire" in *Nanmin [Refugee]*, eds. Takashi Kato and Takashi Miyajima (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1994), 148.
61. Harumi Suefuji, "The Detention-making Process of Entering into the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees: the Indochinese Refugee Settlement Program of Japanese Government between 1975-81," *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 2 (December 1984): 136-56.
62. Shin'ya Tanaka, *op.cit.*, 146.
63. *Asahi Shimbun,* October 25, 1979.
64. The board of the investigation was consisted of lawyers, the member of the House of Representatives, the authors, and scholars.
65. Masaharu Oka, *op.cit.*, 15-6.
66. Roju Yoshidome, Ōmura *Chōsenjin Shūyōjo: Shirarezaru Keiki naki Gokusha* (Tokyo: Nigatsusha, 1977), 82-118.
67. *Ibid*.
68. Kōichi Yokota, "Ōmura Shūyōjo no Genkyō to Mondaiten: Ōmura Shūyōjo wo Chōsa site," *Hōritsu Jihou* 49, no. 12 (October, 1977): 140-7.
69. The Bill on Arrangement of Immigration Control Act and Related Acts to Accedence of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee (Bill of B) was supporsed to applied only to refugees, while the Bill for Partial Amendments to the Immigration Control Order (Bill of A) aimed to control foreign residents in Japan, excluding refugees.
70. The acceptance of Indochinese refugees in Japan was carried out as a diplomatic pose to respond to the urgent requests from the international community. Therefore, the acceptance policy of Indochinese refugees did not mean that Japan have already had the well-established legal system or social aids for the refugee protection.
71. Yong-Hwan Chong, *Chōsendokuritu eno Airo: Zainichi Chōsenjin no Kaihou 5-Nenshi* (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 2013), 51-65.

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Ang Hermano Mayor

Kuwentong Capampangan ni Braulio D. Sibug

salin sa Filipino ni

Lourdes H. Vidal

Masayang-masaya ang aking Tiyo Cosme sa pag-uwi niya galing sa pulong para sa pista ng baryo namin. Para siyang nakaangat sa lupa. Ngiringitian ang bawat madaanan niyang kabaryo at ikinakaway ang kanang kamay. Kasama niya ang mga nagtaguyod sa kanya sa kandidatura bilang hermano mayor. Sumisigaw sila't nagbibiba sa tagumpay ng aking tiyo. Sa ganito nilang masayang paglakad, maraming sumunod sa kanila, pati na ang mga duling, bungi, bingi at ang mga naraanang naglalarong bata na nakisalo sa sigla't ingay. Lahat sila'y parang mga talangkang nagsulputan sa tag-ulan.

Napatangan ang Tiya Culasa nang makita niya na maraming taong patungo sa tirahan nila. Ano kaya ang nangyari? naisip niya.

Mga mahal kong kapanalig," anyaya ng Tiyo Cosme pagtapat sa bahay, "tumuloy muna kayo sa amin. Kahit tubig ay uminom tayo bilang pagdiriwang sa ating tagumpay. Halina kayo, O, Justo, Pareng Ambo, Teryo, ...Kayo na ang bahala sa mga kabarkada. Huwag kayong aalis. Pare, ayun si Kumareng Damyana, tumatakas. Habulin mo, Pare. Culasa," tinawag niya ang asawa, "dalian mo't magtimpla ka ng kape, patulong ka kay Sendang. Mainitan man lang ang sikmura ng mga bumoto sa akin." Nagkindatan at nagkalabitan ang mga tumangkilik sa kanya.

"Oo, sandali lang," ang sagot, humarap sa mga bisita nila. "Huwag kayong aalis, sandali lang ito," ngunit ang totoo'y masama ang kanayng loob

sa utos ng tiyo ko. Kay-inam na nasa't may magagamit pa sila sa loob ng isang buwan. Ngayon, sa loob ng ilang sandali'y mauubos lahat dahil sa pasikat ng tiyo ko. Humanda ka, naisip marahil nito, kung di aalis ang mga kinaladkad mo dito.

Samantalang nagtitimpla ng kape ang Tiya Culasa, nagsalita nang buong magmamalaki ang tiyo ko.

"Marahil, ngayon lang ninyo masasaksihan ang pinakamasayang pistang magaganap dito sa atin na di pa nakita sa nakaraan nating hermano mayor." Kung sa bagay, may kayabangan ang tiyo ko. Bolahin lang siya'y kumakagat na.

"Kaya ikaw ang dinala namin, Pare, dahil alam naming hihigitan mo pa ang mga nakaraang hermano," ang unang padulas ng kumpare niyang Ambo.

"Ba, kayang-kaya rin namang naging hermano mayor ng kaibigan kong Cosme," ang agad sahod ni Apong Taki, "biruin mo, may dalawang anak na nasa-abord."

"Abrod, Kuyug, di abord."

"Ay, Oo, balita ko pa'y matataas ang suweldo ng mga anak ni Cosme. Tsiken pid lang ang libu-libo sa kanya," ang sulsol ni Pedron sa unahan.

"Asahan ninyo," ngunit di na naituloy ang sasabihin at tumawag na ang Tiya Culasa. "O, tayo na, tumatawag na ang kasama ko. Lumabas na tayong lahat."

"Maasahan ninyo," inulit niya samantalang hawak ang tasa ng kape, "walang sisingilin sa baryo. Solo kong lahat ang gastos." Biglang narinig ang matunog na palakpakan. Nasamid si Goryong Duling sa kanyang narinig. Napalabas ang laway. Sa hiya niya'y bumaba siya nang dahan-dahan.

"Sa bisperas ng pista, may paligsahan ng poesiya at Crissotan. Imbitahin ninyo ang mahuhusay nating manunulat at sa araw ng pista pagkatapos ng misa'y may laro sa tubigan kasabay ng laro sa sakahan. Sa gabi, alin ang gusto ninyong aarkilahing sarsuela?"

Marami ang sumagot, "Ang sarsuelang "Ating Diyos." Balitang-balita ito sa buong Pampanga."

"Kung gayon, siya kong aarkilahin." narinig na naman ang matunog na palakpakan. Masaya silang naghiwa-hiwalay. Si Tatang Isak lang ang walang alam sa usapan dahil bingi siya. Ang kape at suman ang binanatan.

"Hoy, maginoong hermano mayor, parito nga kayo! Kaboboto mo pa lang na hermano mayor, lumaki na ang ulo mo. Totoo ka namang pasikat. Bakit pinangako mo pang sosolohin ang lahat ng gastos? Mayaman ka na ba? O, ano ang sasabihin mo sa ating mga anak pag-uwi nila? Uubusin mo ang perang ipagpapagawa ng bahay natin?"

"Manong isara mo ang bunganga mo, Culasa, Karangalan ito, malaking karangalan. Nauunawaan mo? Di ba nakagisnan na natin ang kaugalian nating Pilipino lalo na tayong Capampangan? E ano kung gumasta man tayo? Baka sa kabila nito'y higit pa sa gastos natin ang ipagkakaloob ng langit. Di ka ba natutuwang sabihin nilang asawa ka ng hermano mayor?"

"Natutuwa? Sus., Maria Santisima! Matutuwa ba ako ngayong lilipad na lahat ang ipagpapagawa natin ng bahay? Di ka na naawa sa mga anak mo. Kulang na lang na dugo ang lumabas sa katawan nila sa init sa Saudi Arabia. Saka ngayon, dahil ibinoto kang hermano mayor, magpapasikat ka na nang walang puknat?"

"Napasubo na ako, Culasa, napasubo na ako. Lalong nakakahiya kung aatrasan ko pa ito. Bahala na."

"Ganyan na lang nga ang matwid mo. Ikaw ang bahala, di naman ako ang sisishin ng mga anak mo. Hanggang ngayon, matanda ka na'y di pa naaalis ang kayabangan mo."

Sa madaling salita, dumating ang araw ng aming pinananabikan. Bisperas pa lang ng pista'y marami nang mga bisitang dumating. Mga kamag-anak, kaibigan, kakilala at magkakasamang naengganyong manood ng mga laro sa tubigan. Iba-iba ang tabas: may magaganda, may pangit, may pilay, may putol ang kamay, may kuba, may unano.

Nakasabit na ang mga banderitas. Maganda ang mga bahay, bagong isis. Nakasabit ang mga kurtinang may iba't ibang kulay. Kumpleto kami sa gamit kahit hiniram lang namin sa kabilang baryo. Saan ka man lumingon ay nakalarawan ang tuwa, kulay, samyo, diwa, ngiti, kumustahan. Inihandang lahat ito upang maging maligaya't masigla ang pista na pinamumunuan ng aming masigasig na hermano mayor. Di ka magkaringgan dahil sa ingay: atungal ng pinapatay na hayop, mga nagpapalakasang radyo, cassette, TV at nakadagdag pa ang iba't ibang tumatapat sa mga bahay-bahay. Lumiligid ang

mga nagtitinda ng lobo at laruang hayop. May larong beto-beto, sakla, dais at pares-pares.

Sa bahay pinakamarami ang mga bisita ng aking tiyong hermano. Lahat ng pinakamalayong kamag-anak ay pinadalo niya. Kinumbida ang matataas na tao gaya ng gobernador at aming alkalde. Pinakamaraming tao sa kanila. Nagpapatay ng isang kalabaw, dalawang malaking baboy, dalawang litsunin, isang daang manok. bukod pa sa mga dalang regalo ng mga inimbita niya. Tatlo ang bantog niyang kusinero. Marami rin ang mga tumutulong na magluto ngunit lihim na nagtatago ng sariwa at lutong ulam.

Tuwing masusukol ng Tiya Culasa ang Tiyo Cosme, lagi itong binub-ulungan., "Tingnan mo nga ang kayabangan mo. Malapit nang maubos ang padala ng mga anak mo. O, ano pa ang ipagpapagawa natin ng bahay? Di mo ba alam ang halaga ng bilihin ngayon? Mahal ang lahat, di ko inaalis na gumasta ka ng katamtaman, ngunit binola-bola ka lang ng mga kasama mo'y nagpauto ka na. Maibabalik mo pa ba ang mga perang ginasta mo sa pistan nating ito?"

"Huwag ka nang umimik, karangalan ito ...karangalan. Dali, aalis ako. ikaw na ang bahala dito. titingnan ko ang mga kumite, baka may kulang sa ipinagawa ko sa kanila." Sa totoo lang, kaya masayang lakad nanag lakad ang Tiyo Cosme ay upang mapansin ng mga taong baryo at mga dumarating na bisita. Maligaya siya kapag naririnig ang, "Iyan ang masipag at mabait na hermano mayor."

Maagang dumating ang Banda Malabon. Nagpaseo muna bago tumapat sa bahay ng hermano mayor. Di ka halos makahinga sa lumilipad na alikabok sa dami ng mga batang sunod nang sunod. Nagmadaling umuwi ang Tiyo Cosme at agad napakilala. "Ako ang hermano mayor dito, tayo na, panhik muna't magmeryenda bago maglibot."

Pagkatapos ng meryenda, madaling sinimulan ang ikot ng mga bangka. Nakisamang sumakay sa nakagayak na pagoda ang tiyo ko. Todo ang bihis. Isinuot ang barong Tagalog ng pinsan ko. Dahil mataas ang pinsan ko. abot-tuhod ang suot ng tiyo. Ang pantalon ay maiksi, kaya't kita ang combat shoes na ginamit ng pinsan ko nang nag-ROTC siya. Kahit puno ng pomada ang buhok niya'y unat pa ring nakasabog. Samantalang umuusad nang banayad

ang pagoda, sinasaliwan ng nakakikiliting sa katawang tugtog ng banda, may sumasayaw ng titingka-tingkayad. Lagi nagpapakita ang tiyo sa mga umiikot at taong nanumnood sa magkabilang pampang. Dahil sa maagap na pagtugon ng lahat sa palatuntunang pambispera, nairaos ito nang maayos. Nakawilihan ng lahat na nanood. Kinagabihan, dumating ang mga imbitadong bantog na makatang Capampangan gaya nina Jose Ganado, Cecilio Lapus, Florentino Tulala, Mario Sigwada at ang makatang babae na si Ofring de las Pinas. Nagdilim ang langit noon dahil ang sumisikat na buwan, tala at bituin ay sinungkit na lahat at ginawang corona at kuwintas. Nakabibingi ang palakpakan. Ito ang nagpapatunay na tinamaan nila ang hilig ng mga nanood at nakinig.

Araw ng pista at lalong lumakas ang alingawngaw sa iba't ibang panoorin pagkatapos ng misa. Inulit nila ang pasada, sumunod ang karera ng mga bangka. kasabay din ng mga ito ang mga laro sa sakahan na basketball at volleyball. Dumating ang tanghalian at di pa tapos.

Salu-salubong ang mga taong nanonood at pilit naghahanap ng kamaganak nila at kakilala. Halos punuan ang mga bahay sa bisitang nangagdagsaan. Kahit saan ay nasisinghap ang bango ng lutong ulam. Naririnig ang maayos na kalansing ng kubyertos. Pangkat-pangkat ang mga namimistang magalang na nagpapatao po. May dalawang beses o limang beses mananghali. Bundat na ang iba sa busog ay gusto pang magdala ng nakabalot. Sa bahay ng hermano, kahit marami ang handa naubusan pa dahil nasa kanila ang mga taong de-kalidad, mga musikero at mga kakilalang nakasunod-sunod, Mangyari pa, pati ang mga pinakatagong sisidlan ng mga tumulong ay nakipamista rin. Nagpahabol pa ng pinamiling ulam para sa hapunan.

Nang bandang alas-dos medya, itinuloy ang larong karera sa paglangoy, anillo de prenda at habulan ng bibe. Natapos naman ito nang lumubog na ang araw.

Tunay na lumitaw na pinakamasaya at pinakamatao sa lahat ang pistang pinangasiwaan ng Tiyo Cosme . Maraming kabaryo ang nagsasabing siya rin ang napagkaisahang ibotong hermano sa susunod na pista. Di lang siya maasikaso, siya pa ang kusang-loob na taya sa lahat ng gastos.

Kinagabihan, marami nang bahay ang madilim. marami ang nakapansin sa biglaang pagbabago ng kilos ni Tiyo Cosme. Wala na ang sadyang gaan ng katawan. matamnlay ang kanyang lakad, nakatungo at parang may mabigat na karamdaman. Di na niya hinintay ang paggawad ng premyo at ang palabas ng sarsuelang "Ating Diyos." Nagpaalam siya sa komite, larawan ng masidhing lungkot.

Pagdating sa bahay, inabutan niyang mapanglaw ang kanyang maybahay. Kapwa sila di nag-imikan. Marahil, naisip nila ang perang dapat sana'y ipagpapagawa ng bahay, ngunit naubos lahat dahil sa marangal na katungkulan. Ano ang mukha niyang ihaharap sa mga anak pag-uwi nila. Ilang sandali siyang parang ipinako sa kanatatayuan. Pilit na itinutuon ang kanyang diwa sa kadilimang kawangis ng nagdidilim niyang isipan.

Kinabukasan ng pista, di pa man sumisikat ang araw, mabilis nang kumalat ang balitang nagpakamatay ang Tiyo Cosme, ang masipag naming hermano mayor.

Ing Hermanu-Mayul*

neng Braulio D. Sibug

Masayang-masaya ya'i bapa kung Cosme kng panuli nang ibat kng pulung para kng pyesta ming baryu. Balamu ing e makatuklung gabun. Balang alalabasnan na karing ka-baryu mi tinaman no't wawagwag ne ing gamat nang wanan. Kayantabe no ring mitaguyud kaya kng kandidatura nang panga hermanu mayul. Kukulyo la't magbiba kng pamanagumpe nang bapa ku. Kanitang masaya rang paglakad dakal lang tinakiki karela, pati na ring duling, bungi, maklak, ampo ring alabasan dang mamyalung a anak mekiayo kng sigla't inge, balamu talangka lang mekiyalkas-alkas neng ka-uran.

Mipamulala ya'i dara kung Culasa inyang akit no ring daka a taung paynturu kng tuknangan da. Nanu kaya ing milyari, nganang minisip.

"Kaluguran kung kapanalig," ing anyaya nang bapang Cosme, katulid da bale, "Salangi ko pa keni, agyang sanang minum tamung danum bilang pamagsaya kng kekatang pamanagumpe. Meko keni, O, Justo, Paring Ambo, Teryo…Ikayu na sang bala karing ka-barkada, eyu paburen mamako. Pare, oyta i Kumareng Damyana tatakas yamu, tagalan me, Pari, "Culasa," innaus ne ing asawa na, "mamirapal kang sangkap kape, pasaup ka kang Sendang, agya sang mikapali la atyan dening migbotu kanaku." Migkindatan la't mikakalbitan ding minantabe kaya.

"Wa, saguli mu," ing pakibat: inarapan no ring bisita ra, "Eko sa mamako, saguli mu ini." Pero ing tutu masukal ya lub kng utus nang bapa ku. Matinatinang agyang maygit pang pabulan atin lang sangkapan, ngeni, kng mapilan a minutu magisan ngan uli na ning kapagpasikat ning bapa ku. Mimingat ya iti, nganang mimisip, nung enala mako ring tiklayas na keni …

Kabang titimpla yang kape i darang Culasa minyabi yang mitmung kapangayan ing bapa ku.

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* This Capampangan short story is found in *Iyas ning Parnaso: Katipunan ding Kasulatan a migwagi king Liligan Pamanyulat Kapampangan, 1980-1981*, a collection of winning entries to the Pampango Annual Literary Contest 1980-1981 sponsored by then Pampanga Governor Estelito P. Mendoza. Edited by Jose M. Gallardo, the collection was published in 1982, No publisher is indicated, pp. 75-81.

"Siguru ngeni yupa asaksyan ing masayang diling pyestang marapat keti kekatamu a eyu tengalan karing mengalabas tang hermanu mayul." Nung kng bage talagang maki kayabangan ya'i bapa ku, pibola-bola ryamu agad nang kakana,

'Inya ikang penigobra mi, pari, uling balu ming igitan mo ring mengalabas tang hermanu," ing minunang pakataluras nang pari nang Ambo.

"Ba, agyu na namang mag-hermanu mayul ning kuyug kung Cosme," ing tambing nang sinalud Apung Taki, "biru mung ating yang adwang anak a maka-abord,"

"Abroad, kuyug, e abord,"

"Ay, wa, balita ku pa matas la sweldu ring anak nang Cosme.. Chicken feed la reng libu-libu kaya," ing binte nang Pedrung ka-buntuk.

"Paka-asahan yu," dapot ene asundu ing buri nang sabyan minaus ya'y darang Culasa. "O, tara na mamaus ne ing abe ku, tara lwal ta na ngan."

"Paka-asahan yu," inulit na kabang tatalnan ne ing tasang ating kape, "alang singilan king baryu, solwan ku gang ing gastus," biglang meramdam ing matning palakpak. Misanipan ya'i Goryung duling king dimdam na. Mengapalwal ya wawa. King pangapakarine na tinipa yang gulung-gulung.

"Itang bisperas bengi mika ligligan poesya ampong Krissotan, Kumbiran ko ring mangayap tang talasulat, at king aldo ka-pyestan kaybat ning misa mika pyalung king danuman kagnan ning pyalung king sakan. Itang kabengian, isanung buri yung arkilan tang sarswela?"

Dakal lang mekibat: "Ing sarswelang "Ating Diyos!" Iti kabalitan ya mabilug a Kapampangan."

"Nung makanyan, yang arkilan ku." Meramdam na naman ing matning palakpakan. Makayan lang masayang mikakawani. Bukud nang Tatang Isak ing alang balu king mepisabi uling maklak ya. Ing kape ampo ring suman ilang sikasu na.

"Hoy, mapyang hermanu mayul, ume nako pu kene! Mibotu ka pamung hermanu mayul meragul nakakalbag. Tutu ka mong pasikat. Bat pengaku mu pang solwan mu ing heganaganang gastus, inta makwalta ka o nanung sabyan ding anak mu potang muli la? Gisanan mo ring kwaltang papagawa rang bale tamo?"

"Mananung isara me ing bunganga mu, Culasa. Karangalan ini, maragul a karangalan, aintindyan mo? E tamu wari akagisingan iting ka-ugalyan itang Pilipinu, lalu na itamung Kapampangan? Male mu mo nung megastus ta man dapot sumangid na nita maygit pa king gastus tamu ing ipagkalam ning banwa. Eka makuswelu ngening sabyan dang asawa naka ning hermanu mayul?"

"Makuswelu? Sus, Maria Santissima! Nakuswelu ku7 Ngening sulapo noman ding pagawa tang bale? Eka malunus karing anak mo, kulang namu nung e daya ing lumwal kng katawan da king pali karing Saudi Arabia, saka ngeni uli mong miboto kang hermanu magpasikat kang anggang binet?"

"Makapasubu ku, Culasa, makapasubu naku, lalung makarine nung atrasan kupa ini. Bahala na ing malyari."

"Makanyan namu pin ing matulid mu. Ika nang bala, aliwa murin aku ing sisyan da ring anak mu. Angga ngening matwa naka emu pa deyu ing kayabangan mu."

Malagwat salita miras murin ing takdang aldo kekaming pagmasusyan. bispera na pa ning pyesta dakal no ring bisitang mamanyatang. Ding kamaganak, kakaluguran, kakilala at ding makitukituki piyukyukan dang alben ing pyalung king danuman. Myayaliwa no tabas: atin nang malugu, atin nang matusra,, atin nang pile, atin nang putut a gamat, ating nang kuba, ating nang unanu.

Pakakatkat na ing barandal. Ding bale-bale manayun lang akakit uling bayu lang me-isis. Pakasabit na ing sari-saring kule kortina. Ganap kami gamit, agyamang pemanandam mi mu karing kasiping ming baryu. Nuka man malikid makalarawan ing tula, kule, samyu, diwa, timan, komustahan, a iti nga pigsadyan ban maganap masigla't maligaya ing pyestang pamuntukan ning masipag ming hermanu mayul. Eka miramdam king inge, ing gaga ring papaten dang animal, ding mipapatlalung gaga ring radyu, kasett, T.V at mekaragdag lapa ring miliwasliwas a manulid karing sibabale. Libad-libad la ring magtindang lobu ampong ayup-ayupan. Ating mu namang mag-beto-beto, sakla, dais at paris-paris,

Mabisita yang dili ing bapa kung hermanu. Pelalung malaut nang kamaganak peparatangan nala. Kimbiran nopa ring mangatas a tau antimo ing gobernador at ing kekeng alkalde. Matau neman dili. Pepapate yang metung a damulag, adwang babing maragul, adwang litsunan, dinalan a manuk subali pa karing daratang dang regalo ding pengumbiran na. Atlu la ring sita nang kosineru. Dakal la naman ding sasaup maglutu dapot lihim lang misasalikut king sagiwa at lutung ulam.

Y darang Culasa indat asarilinang ne'i bapang Cosme pilit neng bubulungan.

"Lon muna ing kayabangan mo, malapit nalang magisan ding parala ra ring anak mu. O nanu pang apagawa tang bale kanyan? Emyu balu ing panyaliwan ngene? Mal ngan ing heganagana. Eku darayung gumastus ka ketang katamntaman, oneng ika pibola-bola ra kamu ring kayabe mu pa-utu-utu ka. Inta magbalik lapa ring kwaltang ginastus mu king pyesta tang ite?"

"Enaka sa bubulad, karangalan ini … karangalan. Dale, mako ku, ika nang bala ken, lawan kula ring komiti pota ating pang kulang kng pagawa ku karela." Ing tutu inya matula yang lakad-lakad ba rya mung apansingan ding taung baryu at ding bisitang daratang. Makuswelu ya ngening damdaman na ing: "Oyan ing masipag at maganakang hermanu mayul."

Maranun lang dinatang ding Banda Malabon. Migpaseo la pamu bayu la tinulid kng bale ning hermanu mayul. Eka halus mipangisnawa kng susulapo alikabuk king keraklan da ring anak a tatakiki. Y bapang Cosme memirapal yang minuli at tambing yang migpakilala:

"Aku ing hermanu mayul keti, tara manik kayu't magminindal bayu ing libad."

Kaybat ning meryenda-an pirapal dang inumpisan ing libad bangka. Mekyabe yang sinake king makagayak a pagoda ing bapa ku. Makapiblas yang "todo." Sinulud ne ing baru nang Tagalog ning pisan ku. Uling maragul ya ing pisan ku inya miraras ya king tud ing susulud na. Ing pantalon na naman kuto ya, mayayakit la ring "combat shoes" a ginamit ning pisan ku inyang mig-R.O.T.C. ya. Agyang sepakan nang pomada ing buak na manalakad mu ring sabung-sabung ing buak na. Maka sunglass ya, eku balu nung nu ne

dinam,. Kabang lulusad yang banayad ing pagoda, kambe ning makagalo katawan a titigan ding musikus ating teterak patikadtikad. Parati yang papalto karing lilibad ampon karing taung manalbe mingatbang pampang.

Ulina ning mayagap nang kalingunan ing anggang makatala king tiuntiun dang pang-bispera meganap manayun at kewilyan ding sablang pesi-albe. Panga bengi dinatang la ring kimbiran nang bantug a poetang Kapampangan antimo ri Jose Ganado, Cecilio Lapus, Florentino Tulala, Mario Sigwada at ing Poetisang Ofring de las Pinas. Medalumdum ya ing banwa kanita uling gisan dong pinyungkit ding makaslag a bulan, tala at batuin gewa rong korona at kwintas. Makapangaklak ing palakpakan a iti babye waga king mituran la buri ring menalbe't mekeramdam.

Aldo ning ka-pyestan, lalung miragdag ing alingongo king myayaliwang pyalben kaybat na ning misa. Inulitan da ing libad, sinalisi ing lulung bangka. Anti murin kagnan na niti atin mu namang pyalung king sakan: basketball at volley ball. Dapot miras ing oras paugtuan ena ikwan meyari,

Sala-salibe la ring taung menalbe aplit manintun karing kamaganak da't kakilala. Halus kakatmu la ring bale karing bisitang makipagdamut. Numan karin masisingap ing banglu ning lutung ulam. Mararamdam ing manayun dang kalaksing ding kubyertus. Pangkat-pangkat la ring makipamyestang magalang papaindispu. Atin nang makatadwa o makatalima maugtu. Ding aliwa agyang magbutaktak no kng kabsi ing buri ra magdala lapang muling makabalut. Ing hermanu mayul mu uling keta la karela mengan ding taung "de kalidad," ding musikus at ding alang kakilalang maketukituki, agyang misnang karaka ing taw ra, mekurilyu la. O malyare, pati ring pakasalikot dang lulanan ding sasaup mekipamyesta mu naman. Pepatagal nyang pepanyali para king apunan.

Itang banding alas 230 sundu ra ing pyalung a lulung kawe, tusuksingsing at putputan bibi. Meyari naman iti itang ume neng saluksaluk ing aldo.

Talaga pung linto masaya at ma-taung dili ing pyestang pengasiwa nang bapa kung Cosme. Dakal lang kabaryu ming sasabing ya murin ing pisan-

metungan dang ibotung hermanu king tuki ming kapyestan. Emu bukud ing malingun ya, yapa ing kusang lub makataya kng heganaganang pigastusan.

Kanitang kabengyan, dakal no ring maralumdum a bale. Linto nong mapag-maragul ding menasang taung baryu. Agyang i bapa kung Cosme dakal lang mekapansing king biglang menaliwa nang kulus. Ala na itang sadyang mayan nang katawan, Malamlam ne panlakad, makaruku, balamu ing ating mabayat a panamdaman. Ena ne penayang meyari ing pamamye premyu at ing panga-palage ning sarswelang 'Ating Diyos.' Memun yang misnang lungkot karing komite.

Ka-uli na bale disan nya namang malungkot ing makibale na. Parehu lang e mibuldanan. Marahil ayisip do ring kwaltang dapat dang patalakad dang bale dapot ngeni megisan la ngan pauli ning marangal a katungkulan. Nanu ing lupa nang makiarap karing anak da potang muli la? King mapilan a penandit anti ya mung mi-paku king kayang katatalakaran, pilit nong dadangat ding panimanman na king karalumduman a makiwangis king matuling nang isipan.

Kabukasan ning pyesta, epa man sinlag ing aldo, mabilis mikalat ing balitang migpakamate ya i bapa kung Cosme ing masipag ming hermanu mayul.

* "Ing Hermanu-mayul," king IYAS NING PARNASO, (Katitipunan ding Kasulatan a Migwagi king Ligligan Pamanyulat Kapampangan, 1980-1981), Pampanga: Estelito Mendoza, 1982, pp. 76-81.

TRANSLATOR'S REFLECTIONS

Confession of an Intuitive Translator

Like most Filipinos I am multi-lingual. Capampangan is my first language as my parents were from Macabebe and Bacolor, Pampanga. I was born in Umingan, Pangasinan and lived there until I was eight years old so I spoke Ilocano. I learned English in school. I learned Tagalog only when my family evacuated in Manila during the Japanese Occupation.

Growing up and studying up to college, I enjoyed being able to understand and talk to more people because of my proficiency in the four languages. Returning to the academe after 17 years as housewife, I found my knowledge more useful. My first term paper was a translation of Tagalog poems into English. For my MA thesis I studied Capampangan narratives.

I did not study translation in school. Although I read a few books I could not understand their linguistic theories well enough to apply them to my work. So, I only worked as a translator when I had to or when given a translation work especially by a friend. Even if I was paid for my work, I considered myself only an occasional amateur translator.

I accepted more work translating from Capampangan to Filipino. Ateneo University Press published a novel and an anthology of stories. I worked for a week on the 148-page radical Capampangan Pasyon Ding Talapagobra which a friend needed right away for her dissertation. I also translated poems and short stories for a Philippine Literature textbook.

More than ten years ago, I was still able to translate my short lyric poem from English to Capampangan for the UP *Diliman Review*. I translated the English biography of a rich businessman. When he read my Capampangan version to his 90-year-old mother she cried. He gave me a computer set as my bonus.

My first translation work from Capampangan to English was a short story for my Ateneo M.A. thesis. Years later, as area editor for Pampanga I worked on poems and short stories for an anthology of regional writing. I wanted to illustrate the development of the literature from Pre-colonial Period to 1980.

My translation work may not be extensive enough to enable me to formulate scholarly theories. But it has been intensive enough. Together with my extensive creative writing work, I learned simple practical insights on work procedures. Translation of literary texts is a combination of scholarly research, intensive perception and creative writing.

As such the translator needs to do research in and outside his personal experience to get enough materials. These he has to analyze, classify and order to understand the materials for the writing of the translated text. With a wider playing field, an emotional involvement and a deeper understanding he will find solutions to the problems he will meet.

In translating from Capampangan, a native Austronesian language, to English a foreign Western language, I found problems first in the reading of the Capampangan text and secondly, in the writing of the translated text.

Reading Capampangan texts can be confusing because of the mixed-up orthography in the writings. Some texts were written in the old Hispanized orthography; others used the Tagalog alphabet but some used both in the same work.

Since the early Capampangan grammar and vocabulary books were written by Spanish Augustinian friars, they used the alphabetical orthography based on Spanish using the letters c, f, j, q, v, x and z.

After the July 4, 1946 independence, the Tagalog-based Pilipino became the official National Language. Zoilo Hilario as the Capampangan member of the Institute of National Language advocated the use of the Tagalog alphabet so Capampangan words could be integrated into the National Language together with words from the different regional languages.

The issue divided Capampangan writers, editors and publishers into two camps. Some Capampangans have for one reason or another started using the new orthography. But many Capampangans out of love for and pride in regional tradition have kept using the old orthography. They did not want to lose the unique character of the Hispanized orthography in their desire to preserve the amanung sisuan or the language sucked with our mother's milk.

Besides, after the 1987 Constitution imposed the expanded Filipino alphabet incorporating both Spanish and English letters Capampangan

words written in the old orthography can be integrated into Filipino as the National Language.

Braulio Sibug wrote his story using the Tagalog orthography. I did not have a hard time reading what looked like a Tagalog text. I missed the nostalgia of keeping in touch with my roots in reading the quaint old orthography.

The vocabulary could pose a problem in reading the Capampangan texts. But my proficiency in Tagalog helped me in working out the meaning of words. Many Capampangan words are similar to Tagalog words with slight differences. Some Tagalog words ending in "o" end in "u" in Capampangan like tutu for totoo, nanu for ano and many others. Pamanagunpe sounds like pagtatagunmpay, milyari like nangyari and many others.

After reading the story over and over I found the storyline very simple and familiar as found in many instances not only in Pampanga but all over the Philippines.

Like many Capampangan parents Cosme and Culasa have two sons working in Saudi Arabia. They have sent home the money to build a new house for the family. Cosme is flattered and persuaded to be the hermano mayor of their barrio fiesta. Because he wants the celebration to be the best ever, he spends the money for the food and the festivities. Filled with shame and remorse Cosme commits suicide.

In writing the English version of "Ing Hermano Mayul," I had problems with the grammar, the vocabulary and literary connotative issues in the tone and attitude. I solved the problems in my personal practical experiential way as creative writer without resorting to critical scholarly theoretical frameworks.

As I said previously, my knowledge of another native language like Tagalog helped enormously in translating the everyday ordinary Capampangan words with similarities to Tagalog words. But I had to work hard figuring out the meaning of the old almost obsolete words by working in the context of the situations and actions in the storyline.

The story starts with Cosme going home followed by the crowd who have voted him hermano mayor for the barrio fiesta. Kukulyo and magbiba

are the action of the crowd so I translated the two words as "shouting" and "clapping." With the crowd walking together tinakiki I had to see as "joining them."

Capampangan grammar like the traditional Tagalog grammar I learned in high school is very different from English grammar. An important difference is the absence of the perfect tense. Also, the present tense serves as the progressive. So in my English version I had to choose between the past tense and the historical present.

I used the part tense in my first draft since most of the 700 short stories I wrote in English were in the part tense but I decided to use the historical present in my final draft for two reasons. First, with many quotations as dialogue the story is like a play that is being presented on a stage before the reader. Second, the present tense keeps the action flowing smoothly especially in the festivities.

The most difficult problem in the translation was classifying the short story as simply exposé or satire. I had to do a lot of spade work in the technical and cultural aspects. Without the cruel; surprise ending Ing Hermano Mayul is a humorous exposé on the excesses of the fiesta mentality of small-town Capampangans which could be true of many Filipinos too.

But in holding up the human folly or shortcoming of Cosme to ridicule it is satire in its intention to warn others against such excesses. But it is not satire in the absence of a clear moral norm or standard because the action of Cosme is set against his role as a good father. As such he is not the object of attack by the community but he could be the object of admiration.

With my inability to arrive at a clear classification to be able to work out the tone and attitude in the story, I traced the ambiguities in the characterization of the I-point of view. Without knowing his age I did not see him as central intelligence or naïve consciousness but merely as observer-commentator.

As a relative he feels close to the main characters. As a resident of the barrio he has an ambivalent patronizing sympathetic and sometimes critical attitude towards his barrio mates. He gave me the impression of being

an outsider-insider to the festivities and eventually to the tragedy of his relatives.

As a translator I decided to try to keep the ambiguity of the writer's tone and attitude by not clearly delineating his first person narrator. This could be in keeping with prevailing attitude to the fiesta that could attest to the complexity of the Filipino culture. The characters in the story like most Filipinos condone and even encourage this fiesta mentality but condemn such excesses in the same breath.

The black humour in the ending is not foreshadowed but is modified by touches of ironic cultural humour in the story itself. I tried to approximate the figurative and connotative appeal of both situations and words. The crowd that joined Cosme on his way home is made fun of by including the cross-eyed, the hare-lipped and the deaf as a allusion to a folksong. This crowd, balamu talangka lang mekiyalkas-alkas "swarm like the small crabs" because as a young girl I saw small crabs clambering up the riverbank.

The writer also used touches of local folk humour that somehow were not carried over by the English translation. The poets invited to crown the reigning beauties as "they pluck all the shining stars, moon and constellation" so the sky grows dark. The naming of the poets as Jose Ganado for Jose Gallardo, Florentino Tulala for Florentino Turla, etc., could only be appreciated by a Capampangan in touch with the literature of the region.

The nephew describes his uncle as "pebola-bola ryamu agad nanang kakana," I translated the comment as "if flattered he would bite" expressing how the uncle could easily be fooled but it did not have the rolling impression of pebola-bola and the finality and ease of kakana in the onomatopoeic sound of the Capampangan language.

For the ending I had to choose the right English words for two concepts. Ing masipar ming hermano mayul could be translated as "our industrious hermano mayor" or " our hard-working hermano mayor." I used the latter because "industriuous" sounded like an economic jargon word while "hard-working" would be in keep with the tragic ending.

Migpakamate could be "committed suicide" or "killed himself." I used the latter which would be in keeping with the proud character of Cosme

while "committed suicide" sounded too technical like a police report. So, in rendering the situations or translating the words with cultural connotations I could only approximate in my version of the story.

What helped me immensely in the translation so I did not have to research on Capampangan life and culture, visit a small-town barrio, delve into the psychology of the patriarchal-matriarchal relationship within the Capampangan family was my personal experience. When I made the translation I was familiar with the place and events in their cultural context.

I grew up in Batasan, a Macabebe barrio attending the same festivals year in and year out. My father as a small-town politician gave lavish expensive parties with innumerable guests coming and going. I lived with the proud authoritative father and the submissive wife who favoured her sons as a typical Capampangan mother.

So even before translating this Capampangan short story I have done the spade work in my personal life. I spoke and wrote in Capampangan and the language of neighbouring regions. I lived the life of the characters in the story. Writing in English has been my fulltime commitment and work. These shortcuts made the translating both fast and enjoyable.

First, I read the Capampangan text over and over. I immersed my whole awareness and consciousness in the life of the characters with understanding and empathy. Then, I just try to render the experience in English. Because I made a deep and wide enough immersion the words flowed so I played by manipulating the words in the writing.

So, if I were to translate or write even just a love story set in the pre-colonial tribe in the island of Masbate, I would have to read history, anthropology and economics books or even visit the place. For this reason I have had to stay in practise as a translator in my comfort zone, the creative narrative and lyric poetry of Luzon in the Philippines;.

In the narrative, whether factual or fictional, I can relive the experience; in the poetic I can duplicate the intense emotion. In my personal life I have live in the Tagalog, Capampangan, Ilocano and Bicol regions. I have memories of life in the Pre-war years, the Japanese Occupation, the Republic, Martial Law Era and years after the EDSA I Revolution.

As I continue translating I have to admit I am only an occasional amateur translator, not a scholarly professional one. I do not have the academic background in linguistics and semantics. Neither have I ever attended a class on translation.

Without the acquired trained skills I have to rely on my natural abilities as a what I call an intuitive translator with the following qualifications.

I have a facility with words after years of teaching English and Filipino in college. I feel emotions deeply and intensely as a practicing prize-winning poet. I portray characters well while writing hundreds of stories. I handle action in narratives well and understand people and society after living a long life.

An intuitive translator writes by using her conscious, subconscious and unconscious instincts to live the experience of others and render this experience in another language. She translates not only the words in their literal meaning but mainly the lived lives that resonate in his own consciousness to flow out into her own words.

Notes on the Author

Braulio D. Sibug is a prolific contemporary Capampangan poet. He was a consistent winner in the Don Gonzalo Memorial Awards for Pampango Literature. He is a humorist who likes to poke fun on the foibles of his contemporaries. His story In Hermano Mayhul was a winner in the Pampango Annual Literary Contest, 1980-1981 sponsored by the Pampanga Provincial Governor Estelito Mendoza.

About the Authors

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ical musicological methods of paleography, textual criticism and music analysis. Currently, she is an Associate Professor of the UST Conservatory of Music where she served as Chair of the Music Literature Department from 2002-2007. She played a key role in organizing the Musicological Society of the Philippines established in 2002.

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