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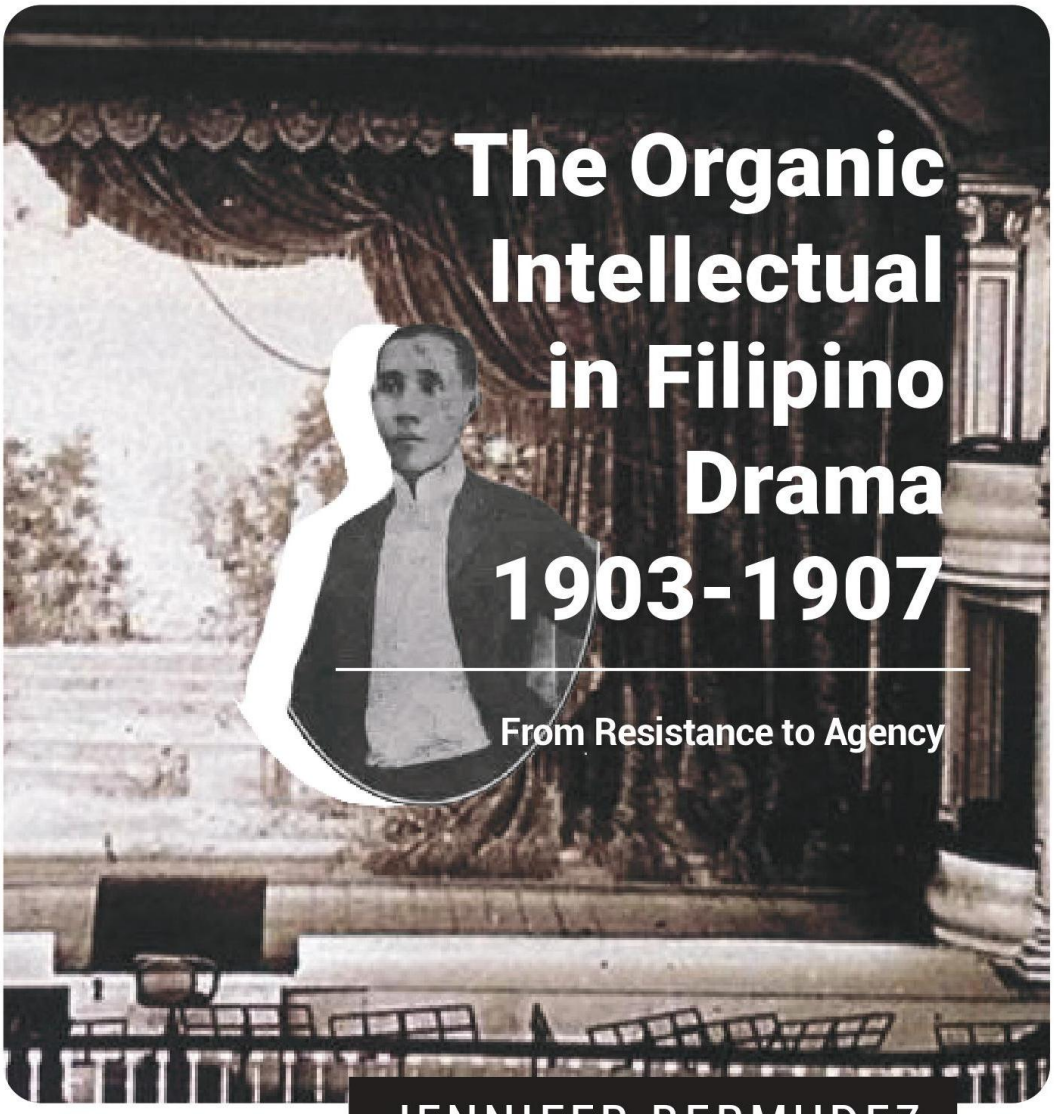

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About the Book Cover
The interior of Teatro Zorilla. Photo was taken from the website, *All About Juan*. ("The Teatro Zorilla." *All About Juan*, 29 Sept. 2014, http://all-about-juan.info/2014/09/teatro-zorrilla/)

Photo of Aurelio Tolentino. Taken from Noel Barcelona's blog *Dreams and Other Musings.* (Barcelona, Noel. Photo of Aurelio Tolentino."Aurelio Tolentino and His Play Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas," *Dreams and Other Musings*, 16 May 2009, http://pagguguniguni.blogspot.com/2009/05/aurelio-tolentino-and-his-play-kahapon.html)

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Abstract

This study analyzes the protagonists of three dramatic pieces, written and performed in the early 1900s, and their archetypal qualities and struggle tactics. It provides a detailed sketch of the fictional character as a worker-intellectual, recognizing in his artistic efforts a creative strategy for establishing national unity. The selections are scrutinized according to a perspective developed by Antonio Gramsci: the character's *organic intellectual nature*. The literary pieces' relevance continues as a source of learning dramatic techniques and as inspiration, even criterion, to create a flagship theater. The study's desired result is the genesis, growth, formation, and alliance of workers, thinkers, and leaders who would become contemporary agents of positive transformation in the Philippines.

Keywords

Organic intellectual, drama, hegemony, worker-intellectual, agent of change

Introduction

Few literary forms seem more remote than the Filipino subversive drama, which clustered between 1900 and 1919. Nearer and more familiar to our age are the many local versions of Broadway and West End musicals that feature home-grown performers but use foreign scripts and songs. Italian social philosopher and culture critic Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) made this same observation about theater in Italy, which parallels the current state of theatrical productions in the Philippines:

> The theatre, as a practical organization of people and tools of trade, has not escaped from the coils of the capitalist maelstrom . . . . Theatre owners have formed a consortium along commercial and industrial lines to protect only their own interests . . . . And since commercial and artistic values rarely coincide, the consortium favors the former to the detriment of the latter (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 65-68).

In the face of this phenomenon, how can Filipino drama sustain a national-popular trademark and rouse a new emergence of local performance productions so that our playwrights and their protagonists continue to

provoke nationalistic sentiments? How can Filipino drama broadcast patriotic persuasions among the Filipino people who become increasingly prone to the prevailing market and profit mentality? How can Filipino drama continue to be a tool of agency for a deepened national consciousness sorely needed today for charting the development of our nation progressively?

This study analyzes the distinctiveness of the Filipino intellectual characters found in three select dramatic works by looking into their genesis, archetypal qualities, societal functions, and tactics of struggle. These constitute the overall plot and performances as modes of resistance to Western colonialism and as unifying, propagandist tools for effecting change and conscientization among the popular masses. In particular, this study seeks to provide a culturally responsive analysis of the portrayals of the Filipino as a worker-intellectual in the wake of the resistance against American colonialism during the first decade of the 1900s.

Two young and educated playwrights of grassroots origins, Juan Matapang Cruz and Aurelio Tolentino, wrote the so-called "seditious" plays in their efforts to campaign for conscientization and countercultural mobilization (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonifacio 24). This recognizes that theatrical performance was a potent tool for challenging Western condescension and overturning the prevailing hegemony. Three remarkably artistic, though not sufficiently renowned dramatic pieces are selected for this study to scrutinize the fictional worker's identity and functions cum intellectual protagonists. These are *Hindi Aco Patay*, *Bagong Cristo*, and *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas.*

Drawing a detailed sketch of the Filipino from these plays helps to buttress the advocacy for the creation and advancement of more native intellectuals. It extends their liberatory purpose that was previously suppressed. The pioneer change agents in this country were, after all, ordinary citizens who dealt resolutely with the challenges and issues of leadership that we similarly confront in the 21st century Philippines. This study does not include an extensive discussion of the resistance movements that took place in Philippine history. Instead, it focuses on describing the elements of dramatic literature and, particularly, the function and role of the protagonist worker-intellectual, recognizing in their fictional efforts the artistic tactics

of resistance and creative tools of change coinciding with the unfolding of actual historical events. These pieces were creative expressions of popular wish-fulfillment and sophisticated structures designed to affect the audience' subconscious terrain and mold its external behavior; they were intended to support the call for liberation as an independent nation-state. The ideology that legitimizes the native intellectuals' community mobilization and massive transformation in these plays is recognizing equal dignity and right to self-governance, which took off in the Philippine history, thanks to the "seditious" nature of these performances.

Because the so-called "seditious" plays were misaligned from the dominant culture's official trend, most of these remained unpopular, represented only fragmentally if not excluded totally from current anthologies of Philippine literature. Thus, these outstanding dramatic texts, which I argue are artistically illustrative and truly emblematic of the Filipino's functionary intellectual stance and revolutionary psyche, are unappreciated because unknown, except to a few. Such is the case of the works of Tolentino and Matapang Cruz, whose dark and infamous records in history have been marginalized if not omitted entirely from contemporary literary narratives.

Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) by Aurelio Tolentino (1867-1915) was the most controversial of the "seditious" plays. His protagonist is a true-blooded worker possessed of a war-like valor whose name *Tagailog* (played by Tolentino himself) means "he-who-lives-by-the-river" or river-dweller. He stands for the archetypal hardworking Filipino engaged in fishing and farming—typical occupations and sources of livelihood of the common *tao.* The play's premier night was highly kinesthetic and studded with exhortative speeches. But it was also marred by Americans who climbed up the stage and smashed the set in fury as the principal actress, Miss Felisa Roxas, delivered her tirade to the effect that the day was fast approaching when only her flag would wave mightily free over all the land. The natives cheered and triumphed and was followed by the wrath of the foreigners. This incident landed on two major newspapers' headlines on May 15, 1903 (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonifacio 52). Tolentino was charged with conspiracy and pronounced guilty, fined the maximum penalty of $2,000 in

gold, plus the bill of the cost of trial, and suffered imprisonment at the Bilibid. While on parole, he continued writing on the condition that his works be submitted to the police monthly. In a belated recognition of Tolentino's talents and integrity, he was pardoned by Governor General William Forbes in 1911 and died four years later. The absolution from a crime he did not commit testifies the formidable and edifying character of the playwright.

The Bravest Chapter of Philippine Theater

Lapeña-Bonifacio describes the first decade of 1900s as the

> Bravest chapter of Philippine theatre, when the triad of playwright-actor-audience risked their combined talents, personal fortunes and lives to come together to a meeting-ground roofed only by a bamboo theatre, to express for us the noblest of human aspirations: liberty for the individual and the country (vi).

The historian Reynaldo C. Ileto noted that:

> After the fall of the Philippine Republic at the end of the century, resistance to American rule was led and initiated largely by individuals of low social status and minimal education, for it was largely this segment of society that regarded the Katipunan as a way of life constituting the essence of being a true son of Mother Country (175-176).

It is no small wonder that fearless, yet simple folks undertook the pioneering efforts for liberty. The hole or missing link in most historical accounts and cultural narratives is that no cause or credit is given to dramatic performances—veritable "living newspapers" (Lapeña-Bonifacio 30)—as part of the natives' tool and apparatus through which national consciousness was imbibed and the collective was solidified. Through these dramatic performances, the valor's seed was sown in and nurtured from among ordinary men and women. Theater troupes publicized their cause through play performances for the rightful assertion of the Filipinos' claims for justice. Their bids were geared at promoting equality, respect for the dignity of the

natives, self-governance, the general welfare, and common good—struggles that typify what Gramsci had characterized as elements of authentic drama:

> Drama, if it is to be truly such and not a pointless iridescence of words, must have a moral content. It must depict a necessary collision between two inner worlds, two conceptions, and two moral lives. If the collision is necessary, the drama immediately takes hold of the minds of the spectators. They relive it in all its wholeness, in its most elementary as well as its more specifically historical motivations. By reliving the inner worlds of the drama, they also relive its art, the artistic form that has given concrete life to the world, that has made that worlds solid in a living and sure portrayal of humans who suffer, rejoice, and struggle incessantly to go beyond themselves, to better the moral fiber of their historical personalities, immersed in present life of the world. (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 70)

There is a need to unravel the power of potencies these performances possessed; to fill in the discrepant episodes in history by pointing to these protest plays as most possibly an explanatory cause and factor for the phenomenon of liberation that had steadily taken place since then. In these dramatic works, what kinds of roles in the quest for national consciousness did the ordinary Filipino assume? How did he or she modify the meaning of performance from being a religious ritual exercise, or a mere leisurely amusement and distraction, into a result-producing and community-organizing platform mechanism as to bring out heightened national consciousness and effect positive changes?

Lapeña-Bonifacio, in her Introduction sums up the unremitting relevance of these plays:

> We have seen the rotation turn full circle. As far as the Philippine theatre is concerned, it is back to the groove of socio-political consciousness. What makes this full-circle turn unique is that while the situation may not be exactly the same, some of the sentiments being expressed have a familiar ring to them. It may take another fellow researcher studying this phenomenon to advise us. Whatever may come of his study, we can point to these phases of so-called 'seditious' drama as our bravest chapter of Philippine theatre (vi).

The "full circle" referred to was 1972, just five months shy of the declaration of Martial Law. New milestones have been achieved in the last forty years, but the outlawed plays in question—after enjoying a brief resurrection albeit in a highly-specialized group of academic scholars—continue to be overshadowed by more marketable musicals in our midst.

This study is primarily analytic, descriptive, and constructive. It focuses on the role in the plays of the Filipino as a worker endowed with practical intelligence in confronting his time's social issues. It looks into the effectiveness of dramatic performance as a means of provoking an uprising beneficial to the common good and, on the whole, presents the prospect of optimizing the use of the dramatic selections as a powerful medium for the formation of national consciousness and as a viable tool of dialogue toward the achievement of sustainable social transformation. The perspective upon which the works are scrutinized is the concept of the "organic intellectual," the crucial element that made for the cutting performances and merited the early Filipinos the promise of independence and self-governance. Treatment of drama as a socially and politically transformative medium is juxtaposed with the probings of Epifanio San Juan, Jr.—the "transformative intellectual" who capitalized on Gramsci's oeuvres in the analysis of the Philippine-nation-in-the-making.

Within its scope is drama as text and as performance. The play's treatment in this study favors the literary text over its stage production, considering the remoteness of the decade during which these plays were produced and the prohibition of their subsequent performances soon after the premiere. However, the resulting national consciousness was to prove the value of their performance for bringing about social change; the concrete political steps toward self-government conceded little by little by the American Insular Government under William Howard Taft are outlined highlight the plays' compelling efficacy.

The analysis does not duplicate the circumstances leading to the playwrights' arrests, for these are chronicled in newspapers of the period and which Lapeña-Bonifacio had collated in sequential cohesion. Rather, the focal point are the inner workings, tensions, and triumphs of the dramatis

personae and the resulting politically-charged performances, which coincidentally though not surprisingly ricocheted off the lives of the ill-fated but still fortunate dramatists. Therefore, while dramatic literature is the primary object of this study, the lives of the playwrights are themselves derivative objects of the study and in no small measure, because their revolutionary aspirations are echoed and summed up in their protagonists' struggles.

The notion of the nation-people grew out of the revolutionary struggles during and after the Filipino-American War (1899-1913); it was a struggle which had been rendered wide latitude through the performance of political dramas, and whose pivotal catalytic effects may be attributed to the protagonist's *organic intellectual* nature, a concept developed by Antonio Gramsci.

The plays are examined from their textual surface and from their politico-social context to the extent that running throughout the dramatic pieces' reflections is the invisible thread of an ideology or hegemony-at-hand. As Gramsci states, "Every civilization has always expressed itself in the life of the state. Indeed, its literary expression has been the means with which it has created the intellectual and moral conditions for its expression in the legislature and the state" (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 117). The agencies defining culture, and how manual workers and proletariat philosophers turn the tide of events to their political favor through popular drama are probed into.

Gramsci, San Juan Jr., and Williams's works were read as bases for the study's theoretical framework. Their ideas on "hegemony," "national popular," "collective will," culture as "ordinary," culture as "way of life," and the necessary grassroots genesis of the "organic intellectual" were extracted and synthesized. The resulting approach has affinities with Gramscian designs: to seek to relate literary production to the historical process which produced it and to which it contributes:

> The critical examination may involve: evaluating the starting point; discovering if the premises are contaminated, contradictory, or historically incompatible . . . demonstrating that as an individual, someone is a hopeless nonentity; that the cultural group to which he belongs is irrelevant [or not] . . . . (135)

This is the first section. The second section outlines the theoretical structure and gives a definition of terms. The third section describes the historical and cultural milieu of 1903-1907; in particular, the Filipino's occupation, conditions, and positions as revealed in their daily employment, social engagements, and forms of leisure; in short, the hegemony that prevailed at the time when "seditious" drama was born: who was the nascent Filipino, under what circumstances did he prove promising, what constituted his strokes and speeches, how far-reaching were his visions and actions? The fourth section discusses the first and perhaps the most artistic of the three dramatic texts under scrutiny—*Hindi Aco Patay* by Matapang Cruz. It will look closely at its transition-combination technique as a romantic-allegoric; the protagonist's typification and characterization; and the emergence of the "organic intellectual" from being an unsuspecting lover to a clever defender of his beloved. It examines the symbolic role of the organic intellectual as a smart advocate who comes from the people's ranks and common relations and cunningly champions his fellowmen's interests through the trick of "a play within a play," a stratagem used by the playwright for his protagonist. The desirability of *Bagong Cristo* as a sequel is proposed. An intensely social drama that fuses with elements of faith in Christianity, it typifies a kind of literature that embraces faith as an expression of optimistic realism in the wake of depressing socio-economic realities. The analysis is based on the peasants' aspirations for better working conditions, as depicted in their rich and lengthy dialogues and the religious images expressive of justice and peace. The assassination of "Bagong Cristo" will be taken not only as allegorical but real, inasmuch as the organic intellectual's emergence in the newly-independent Philippines was lost due to the excessive surveillance of the time. The fifth section analyzes Tolentino's *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas.* It focuses on the exploits of the characters, their practical-cum-intellectual qualities, and their roles in awakening the audience a collective consciousness of their colonized status and subsequent preparation for self-governance. The organic intellectual's role is highlighted as indispensable to this end, and a close scrutiny of the imagery and kinesthetic movements help reveal the secret of the play's success.

The Specter of Gramsci

The Italian social philosopher Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), a self-made reformer of humble background, is well known for his ideas of hegemony, his interests in the persistence of folkloric wisdom and traditions - an indispensable agent of the people's conscientization. Although these ideas are interrelated and recur frequently in the course of writing, this study capitalizes on three of Gramsci's important contributions to cultural studies: the concepts of organic intellectual, hegemony, and good sense/common sense philosophy or folkloric wisdom of the committed intellectual.

Gramsci was a culture critic and the form of aesthetic production to which he devoted most attention was dramatic literature. He made substantial observations on "commercial culture" and "mass communications" just as the Welsh academic and critical studies guru Raymond Williams did almost fifty years after Gramsci's death. The analyses of both theorists are spread over an eclectic range of writings. Gramsci was the theater columnist of the Italian newspaper, *Avanti!,* while Williams was the television critic of *The Listener,* an influential magazine published by the British Broadcasting

Corporation. Both men realized that capitalist control over culture, leisure, entertainment, education, and practically every aspect of the ordinary way of life is part of a massive hegemonic effort, the calculated tactic of securing the masses' subliminally subconscious consent toward excessive mercantilism. Both Gramsci and Williams realized that a close scrutiny of such culturally calculated workings is necessary if hegemony was to be challenged effectively. They provide the framework with which to fulfill San Juan Jr.'s challenge to stamp a "radical aspiration" to the "radical tradition" of cultural studies by adhering to its origin as "an agent for emancipation, let alone revolutionary social transformation, of the light of the oppressed people" ("From Birmingham to Angkor Wat" 5).

Culture is the arena of transformation where interests are exposed, shared, and fought for. For Gramsci, resistance is innately passive and therefore, insufficient because it is merely a good sign of discontent rather than a conscious effort to promote social change. It must be transformed into agency, but how does mere resistance transform itself to power agency? His answer: the intellectual with a grassroots genesis ascending from the ranks of its people, an approach from *homo vulgaris* or the common *tao*, to the authentic *homo sapiens*, a wise or rational thinking man which San Juan Jr. himself prescribes in his seminal essay, *The National Democratic Revolution: A Gramscian Perspective*:

> On the way of building a counter-hegemonic bloc is the cultivation of organic intellectuals that can help shape a genuinely democratic national unity based on a unified struggle with the popular forces i.e., peasantry and middle elements. Organic intellectuals are needed to organize and inculcate discipline in thinking and action to build an alliance or historic bloc of subaltern masses under the leadership of the working class's leadership.

Gramsci dedicated himself to an intense intellectual life until the years he suffered in prison, which lasted eleven years. Of his voluminous writings, it was in a "special notebook" that Gramsci had written the title, "Notes and Jottings for a group of Essays on the History of the Intellectuals" (*Notebooks* 12). Despite its brevity, this particular work occupies a privileged place in Gramscian corpus because of its exceptional treatment of the core questions

of the *intellectuals*, a quality he predicates of all persons regardless of rank, role, or race:

> When one distinguishes between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, one is referring only to the immediate social functions of the professional category of intellectuals . . . Non- intellectuals do not exist. Each man outside of his professional job carries on some form of intellectual activity: he is a philosopher, an artist, a man of taste, participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world—or to modify it. (*Selections from the Prison Notebooks* 9)

The intellectual is "organic" to his milieu only if he sprung from and was fully immersed in ordinary culture and day-to-day life. Gramsci possessed an interdependent understanding between theory and praxis, and urged intellectuals to develop a relational knowledge of and with the masses for them to become self-reflective and self-disciplined. The authentic intellectual, to his mind, has a meaningful sense of selfhood and mission:

> To know oneself means to be oneself, to be master of oneself, to distinguish oneself, to get out of chaos, to be an element of order and of one's own discipline in pursuit of an ideal. One cannot achieve this without knowing others, their history, and the succession of efforts they made to be what they are (Gramsci 13).

Organic intellectuals, therefore, live intellectual life praxiologically:

> See how we can mobilize certain modes of analysis illustrated first in Gramsci's historical studies. I would locate Gramsci's usefulness today in applying precisely the speculative tools he devised earlier in his vocation as a radical activist. The key concept is the national-popular. The centrality of organic intellectuals and the pedagogical strategy mobilizing the masses are immediately relevant (San Juan, "The National Democratic Revolution").

Indeed, both Gramsci's and San Juan Jr.'s approaches constitute the same ruse and stratagem.

Gramsci was fond of the popular theater when plays were drawing large audiences in his country's urban centers. He did not utilize the emerging

forms of mass information such as radio and cinema. However, he recognized them as potent tools for ideological diffusion that possessed rapid and emotional immediacy. He also observed the hegemonic effect of commercial commodification of culture when cinema begun to overshadow the theater, but wryly observed how the former was fast becoming commodified. He recognized that leisure entertainment was "a powerful factor in the formation of mentality and morality of the people," (Gramsci *Cultural Writings* 54-55) and posited the challenge to extend research on this matter which "represents the major part of the problem of a new literature as the expression of moral and intellectual renewal" (Gramsci *Cultural Writings* 102). Hence, Gramscian thought is philosophically parallel and praxiologically appropriate to analyzing the selected pieces. It affirms E. San Juan Jr.'s conviction that "[r]evolutionary change comes about only through critical reflection and enlargement of one's awareness via solidarity or collective mobilization of the people constituted as national" ("The National Democratic Revolution").

Juan de la Cruz in the Early 1900s: Emblematic and Enigmatic

To develop a comprehensive understanding of Juan de la Cruz as an "organic intellectual," the milieu in which he lives in must be described. His role in the struggle for Philippine sovereignty, projected figuratively in "seditious" dramas, can only be appreciated when the forces that boost or limit his potentialities are known. Thus, the characters begin with a rough sketch of the years circa 1903. The historian Samuel Tan concisely describes what transpired in the preceding years of the Filipino-American War and gives the political backdrop of the selected places:

> The end of the Spanish colonial rule in 1898, under the Treaty of Paris, did not mean for the Filipinos the end of their independence struggle. The transfer of sovereignty from one power to another was a unilateral action to which the duly constituted Filipino government was not a party. What followed American political and military entry into the archipelago was the establishment of a system that was imperialist in nature . . . a subtle method of continuing the colony in all aspects of development (*A History of the Philippines* 72).

Ordinary Occupations and the Struggle for Sovereignty

True grit is the hallmark of the revolutionary Filipino. Unlike the caricature of the indolent native ("Juan Tamad"), the Filipinos have been known to be sturdy and rugged warrior-farmers, their wives strong-willed and dedicated. Their facility and capacity for hard work are seen as they engage in the types of occupations typical in this period (see table 1):

TABLE 1. The trends and directions of Philippine labor in various years

YEAR 1903 TYPE OF WORK	NUMBER OF FILIPINO WORKERS
agriculture	1,254,063
weaving and manufacturing	959,670
domestic	571,955
trade, transportation	226,555
professional services	25,637

Source: Cortes, et al. 306.

From the onset of the invasion, the Americans were met with the local inhabitants' resistance. During the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902, the Philippine revolutionary army's field officers—remnants of the Propaganda Movement—together with their troops and the masses of hardy peasantry, laborers, and fishermen bore the brunt of the struggle for the country's independence.

The colonizers employed ruthless measures against the native rebels, such as forced starvation, demolition of their homes, and the captured physical tortures. But perhaps the worst action exercised on them was the Sedition Act, which formed the basis of patriotic plays being branded as "seditious." History researchers Cortes, Boncan, and Jose describe the controversial act as follows:

> On 4 November 1901, the commission passed Act No. 292, the harshest law yet passed against all forms of resistance against American colonial rule. Section 1 provided that "every person resident in the Philippine Islands who levies war against [United States] or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort . . . is guilty of treason and, upon conviction, shall suffer

death or, at the discretion of the court shall be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than five years and fines not less the $10,000." Section 8 stipulated that "every person who shall utter seditious words or speeches, write, published or circulate libels against the government of the United States or the Insular Government of the Philippine Island or which tend to disturb or obstruct any law officer in executing his office, or which suggest or incite rebellion, conspiracies or riots, or which tend to stir up the people . . . or disturb the peace of the community, the law and order of the government, or who shall knowingly conceal such evil practices, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $2,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding two (2) years, or both." These provisions defined in no uncertain terms the crimes of treason and imposed heavy penalties (263).

Undaunted, the rebels coalesced themselves more solidly and systematically. Political parties with nationalist sentiments began to appear the year after the act was promulgated: Paterno's *Liberal Party,* Poblete's *Partido Nationalista,* and Leon Ma. Guerrero's *Partido Democrata* – all founded, ironically, in 1902. Newspapers imbued the patriotic fervor proliferated, among them *La Patria, El Filipino Libre, El Grito del Pueblo, El Liberal, El Renacimneto, La Fraternidad, El Nuevo Dia* (Cortes 267-269). And still, despite the Sedition Act, zeal for freedom and independence found creative expressions in the theater, such as *Hindi Aco Patay* and *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas.* Therefore, it would seem that the more Americans kept the Filipinos shut from expressing their aspirations for sovereignty, the more fiery and fiercer the latter became in their fight for freedom. Their unremitting acts of resistance eventually paid off: the Americans, who in the beginning formed the majority, became more and more detached from government service during the second and third decades of colonialism while more and more Filipinos involved themselves in direct governance and assumed public office. The steady increase of Filipinos getting employed in public service reveals the promise of their potentials and capability for autonomy and self-determination (see table 2):

TABLE 2. Employment of Filipinos

OFFICERS & EMPLOYEES		
Year	**Americans**	**Filipinos**
1903	2, 777	2, 697
1904	3, 228	3, 377
1905	3, 307	5, 023
1906	no data available	
1907	2, 617	3,902

Source: Cortes et al. 324

In the long term, what did the organic intellectual hope to achieve? His avowed mission was the continued liberty of their fledgling country. Despite the constrictions laid down at the Malolos Republic and the Declaration of Independence at Kawit, which based on Abaya and Karganilla's research, premised the seeming omnipresence and unending assistance of the North Americans in the still maiden *Las Islas Filipinas* (123).

Unlike typical epic heroes, the suffering and heroic Filipino did not choose their fate to a certain extent: extremity descended upon them, no thanks to the unfair trade practices that had begun to unfold even before the Galleon trade. But they were possessed of indomitable power agency that needed to be tapped and activated. Working like pawns, the would-be organic intellectuals were plunged into a corrupt and colonized society. Yet, they demonstrated a capacity to endure and to keep the vestiges of their inner-active agent power intact. The aspect of hidden humanity in their struggles for rights, for recognition of personal dignity, and the claim to national sovereignty against all odds is what makes the "seditious" dramas thought-provoking and action-stirring.

Workers and Warriors: Quintessential Survivors

Despite the Sedition Act, peace was far in sight and the Fil-Am War, far from being over. The insurrection did not end in 1903 or 1904 despite the American assertion that peace had reigned at least. In fact, in 1905, the American insular government admitted that there were more rebels than

ever (Corpuz 503). There was a series of seemingly never-ending battles to be waged and Juan De La Cruz' mettle would prove to be very hard to contend with. As the American regime noted in a document dated 1903, war leaders "seem always to have existed to some extent among Filipinos" (qtd. in Corpuz 502). Who were these war-resistant Filipinos, the organic worker-intellectuals of the budding-yet-thwarted nation? In *The Roots of the Filipino Nation,* O.D. Corpuz admirably draws a detailed sketch of these mysterious men; they were obstinate, enigmatic, and one hundred percent emblematic of a Filipino:

> They were the irreconcilables. They were . . . committed to the ideals of revolution, even though each year the goal of independence went farther and farther away . . . Whatever their social origins, they showed in their actions the discipline of patriotism and of the public well-being. They gave moral support and worked in secret, and so we know only that they were there; their individual identities remain unknown (487).

O.D. Corpuz posits that their background is shrouded in obscurity for being ordinary; as to their origin, some of them were uprooted from the dense jungle or rural areas to the more populated, hegemonized *pueblos*:

> The persona of the lower ranks who figure in our story is less clear . . . Some almost surely did not make the difficult adjustment from life in the field to the life in an occupied *pueblo.* Others are said to have become outlaws, but the [American] regime indiscriminately denigrated every Filipino leader, every resistance leader a bandit or robber or brigand. But these guerrilla leaders in fact enjoyed popular homage and the aura of the folk hero (487).

They were honest-to-goodness "children of native folk belief . . . religiosity and social upheaval . . . men who were sincere . . . with adherent; [occasionally] regarded askance by society and who reciprocated at times with provoked and unprovoked violence" (Corpuz 488). They had backers and supporters from the surrounding towns and provinces. They come from all walks of life and possessed what Gramsci calls "common/good sense" and "folkloric wisdom." Put simply, they were "patriots" (490):

> . . . various kinds of men, produced by the complexity of the troublous times. Many of them could honestly say that their actions in 1902 and in the years that followed were those of soldiers. To the regime, however, [they were] criminals, marauders, and bandits. It did not matter that these were patriots (Corpuz 488).

In the Westerners' schema, these Filipino patriots were "the Other," though inhabiting their native soil. Note the paradoxical sarcasm of an American governor's report describing the Filipino rebels in 1903:

> They were essentially robber bands, thieves, murdered and kidnappers for ransom, willing to sacrifice any of number of Filipinos to the enjoyment of an outlaw life. They masquerade as *revolucionarios* but they are nothing but *ladrones* and should be punished only as violators of law (qtd. in Corpuz 489).

A certain Mrs. Campbell Dauncey, wife of an American general, focused on the external looks of these so-called *ladrones* which caught her attention and published her tale in the *Manila Times.* Her report was not without a hint of ridicule, painting a picture of the Filipino rebels as nothing more than jesters in town:

> Owing to the patriotism and enterprise of certain jolly fellows . . . going about with big curved *bolos,* and old Spanish flint-locks, and anything they can catch hold of. These persons are really patriots of a most irreconcilable type, but it suits the [US] Government to label them *ladrones,* robbers, and to refer to their hard fights with them as "cleaning up the province." On the strength of this nickname, the Americans cut down these patriots freely (when the Filipinos do not do the cutting first); and if they catch them alive the poor devils are hanged like common criminals (qtd. in Corpuz 504).

More sympathetic and realistic observers, such as William Howard Taft's wife, referred to these warrior-leaders as "irreconcilable persons of responsibility." Mrs. Taft was later to write a book about this era, acknowledging that the "irreconcilables" were men "posing in everyday life as loyal citizens" (qtd in Corpuz 490). They continue to work for the cause of the independence as before, and they were acerbic of the Americans' declaration of peace and

so could not be reconciled to the hegemonic regime (Corpuz 490). Another observation in their favor was one made by no less than a court judge, James F. Blount, who tried the "lawless elements" from May to September 1903 and then countered Taft's claims that those men were outlaws. He wrote that, "[t]hey were by no means unmitigated cut-throats. I have often wondered how they managed to be so respectable. Their avowed purpose was to subvert the existing government" (qtd. in Corpuz 492). How did the "irreconcilables" survive? One strategy they adopted was to organize themselves into a coalition or union, just as Gramsci had prescribed for workers, peasants, and intellectuals. Thus *Partido Nacionalista* was established "to inculcate in the Filipino people a love of instruction, a desire to work, the necessity of economy, and the spirit of association" (Corpuz 490). Isabelo de los Reyes founded the *Union Obrera Democratica,* and would later be given the honorable dismissal by the Americans as "a crack-brained insurrecto agitator." When the surveillance on political parties intensified, the time had come for them to turn into the world of theater. Intellectuals as they were, they explored creative ways of expressing nationalistic sentiments. Thus, ordinary folks flocked the theater for solace in the midst of their sorrow over stolen independence for leisurely distraction—and for collective mobilization in their continuing fight for liberty.

The Aesthetics and Allegory of Filipino Theater

In the 1700s, the Philippines had no permanent theater devoted exclusively to drama. Instead, performances were held outdoors, in some vacant field or lot where a provisional stage made of nipa and bamboo was set up. Soon afterwards, the flourishing urban centers witnessed the construction of permanent theatre house, with ventilation and acoustic requirements being adequately met. Among the earlies theatre halls were *Teatro Comico* (1790), the short-lived *Teatro Arroceros* (1834)*; Teatro Lirico de Tondo* (1841), *Teatro Castellano* (1846) which became popularly known as *Teatro de Binondo; Teatro del Principe Alfonso* (1862), and *Circo Teatro de Bilibid* (c. 1870). Quiapo and Pandacan were home to several teatro halls, among them the *Teatro Lirico de Quiapo* (c. 1860), *Teatro de Variedades* (c. 1880), *Teatro Filipino* which was

erected in Echague Street in 1881, *Teatro Zorilla* (1893) at Azcarraga (see fig. 1), and the highly popular Manila Grand Opera House (1899) which was converted into the National Theatre in 1900 (Bañas 210-215):

FIG. 1. The Teatro Zorrilla, inaugurated in 1893, was the venue for foreign and local performances of opera, *sarswela,* and drama (Dioquino 129). (Zorrilla Theater, Manila, 1917).

Beginning in 1892, the theme of many Filipino zarzuelas shifted from religiosity to patriotism, which expressed the people's desire for freedom and hatred for their oppressors (Bañas 199). However, patriotic plays were suppressed through rigid censorship brought about by the Sedition Act. In 1903 and after that, drama underwent a marked redefinition process as a springboard for argumentations and planning for revolts, as a platform and rehearsal stage for actual revolutions. Based on the Marcelo P. Garcia collection at the University of the Philippines Library, plays listed from 1903 to 1908 have revolutionary themes; none was recorded after that until 1912

due to their suppression. A remarkable shift to romantic themes, otherwise known as "domestic drama, " is taken as a safer writing mode beginning 1913.

Through dramatic performances, playwrights Matapang Cruz and Tolentino aimed to make their fellow Filipino audiences reflect on their colonized status and rise in social and political awareness by seeing through and beyond colonialism's reality. They sought, too, to make these audiences recognize their rational acumen, reinforced by their close familiarity with the daily grind of manual work and their endurance in the face of hardships.

Undaunted by foreign suppression, these Filipino playwrights unabashedly used the stage performance as a vehicle to speak of national consciousness. Transcending leisurely amusements or the commonly held religious motivation in mystery plays that was the trend a priori, these two dramatists have brought the notion of performance to higher ground, making it a vehicle for conveying the meaning of *Katipunan* ("nation") and a medium for social mobilization—not without success, for their performance helped to solidify the people's struggle for independence and bring about political policies to their favor, among others, the exercise of co-equal legislative powers and the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly on October 16, 1907 (Salamanca 53).

It is significant that since the time the Filipinos had had the habit of producing plays and patronizing theatrical productions to catch the local pulse and be likewise entertained. These almost simultaneously evolved as venues not only for *comedias*, *zarzuelas,* musical concerts, circus troupes and "seditious" dramas, but also for socio-political gatherings as well. Thus, the theater was transformed into a veritable tool of apparatus for gatherings as well. At the onset of the American regime, silent movies and vaudeville threatened to drown locally-produced plays. *Teatro Zorilla,* being one of the largest in Manila, was hired by Acme Films for its Hollywood movie shows (214). Bañas writes:

> The year 1903 saw some . . . [changes] in the local cinema houses . . . Pilipino film-makers began to appear on the scene. Pioneering on the venture of film-making, Jose Nepomuceno produced *The Black Butterfly* a Malayan

> Movie release. Though deficient in many ways, the movie was nevertheless seen by a good number of people at the Lux Theatre (208).

Thus, what used to be the privileged sites of live dramatic plays evolved into a cocoon for Western-inspired motion pictures. Further, the Old Manila Grand Opera House on Rizal Avenue was re-converted into a National Cycle Track in 1899. In 1907, it became the privileged site of the opening ceremony of the First Philippine Assembly (215). Of the 80 representatives, a considerable number belonged to the *Partido Nacionalista,* of whom Tolentino and Matapang Cruz were members. Dominador Gomez was the party speaker and suspected mastermind behind the "seditious" dramas being treated in this study.

What stylistic techniques did they employ in dramatic spectacles? To cite an example, Tolentino's stage direction in Act III Scene 6 of *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* read like this:

> *Biglang lilitaw sa harap ni Bagongsibol ang maraming libingan. Lulubog si Inangbayan. Babangon sa mga libingan ang maraming kaluluwa.* [In front of Newborn will suddenly emerge many tombstones. Inangbayan will sink into the ground. From the tombstones will rise many spirits.] *Lulubog ang mga libingan sampu pa ng mga kaluluwa.* [All the tombstones will sink away from sight, together with all the spirits.] *Sisisklab sa gitna at lilitaw ang Haring Kamatayan.* [The center of the stage will burst into flames and from there will appear King Death.] (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonifacio 37).

Reminiscent of this scene is the opening background of the play, a contrasting panorama of gamblers on a graveyard. Tombs appear in every act of the play; Tolentino's proclivity on the use of tombs and of death as visual allegory appears in the analysis of Acts Two and Three of *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas.*

As much as Tolentino provides the visual metaphor, so is the auditory metaphor created by Matapang Cruz, whose artistic rhyme verse, sometimes set in music, enhances *Hindi Aco Patay's* romantic allegory of the political situation. True to its title, vows of undying love occur more than a dozen times; in fact, it is expressed in almost every dialogue uttered or sung by Tangulan, the protagonist, whose zeal is transmitted first to his beloved Karangalan

and then to the rest of the people, represented by Kauri and Kakulay. The result is that all the characters have a vocal quality or approach very similar to that of the central character; a rich melodic unity is thus achieved.

Another example of auditorial allegory is found in the *Bukas* segment where Tolentino shows Inangbayan frequently using verbs of reproduction when referring to her descendants from whose shoots will spurt the country's future heroes.

On the symbolic use of the sun, Lapeña-Bonifacio writes:

> A roseate sun rises to fill the stage with rosy hues . . . a huge eagle which threatened to eat the people is caught and its neck is wring by an irate character in the play. Sabbatini and his theatrical machinery? No, Filipino "seditious" theatre, circa 1900-1905. The roseate is the Katipunan sun; the eagle is made of nipa, the irate player is a Filipino and the villain . . . depens upon the presence or absence of American playgoers and American detective agents in the audience (37).

The sun's use as a symbol of freedom's dawn is a theatrical metaphor utilized by both Matapang Cruz and Tolentino. However, their utilization is not confined to the simplistic representation of a sunrise, but creatively pursued through the use of a mob of actors and actresses donned in rosy hues, coming together to form the core and sunbeam of the Katipunan flag. Riggs wrote:

> In *Hindi Aco Patay* and its companion piece *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas,* the costumes of the players were so designed that at a preconcerted signal they gathered in apparent confusion in the centre of the stage, and as quickly drifted into separate groups, the insurgent or Filipino flag, for an instant, was distinctly formed from their dress, the stripes and the triangle being clearly defined. The native would cheer itself hoarse, while the foreigners present were unable to see the significance, and wondered what the excitement was all about (285).

Clearly, the audience understood the message of the colorful kinetics, which was to the effect that if Filipinos bonded together as one, they shall regain the independence they had won and lost.

Another dramatic technique used by Matapang Cruz and Tolentino that traces its origin to classical drama: the prominence of certain stock figures.

For instance, the *confidant* is the conventional character who epitomizes sympathy, wisdom, and understanding of the protagonist's dilemma (fulfilled by Katuiran, Andoy, and Inangbayan). The same confidant sometimes acts as the *raisonneur*, whose purpose is to expound the playwright's purpose of the play, acting like the writers' mouthpiece as it were. Combined with the conventional characters of hero and heroine (Tangulan and Karangalan; Tagailog and Inangbayan); the villains (Macamcam, Haringbata, Halimaw, Bagongsibol, Malaynatin); the comic, dumb or nitwit (Ualanghinayan, Asalhayop, Dahumpalay); plus a handful of well-meaning neighbors (Kauri and Kakulan, the women in *Bagong Cristo*, the maidens of Inangbayan), each "seditious" performance propitiously becoming a *piece á these*, a challenging spectacle, a problem play (Dickenson 45). In the days of Filipino-American War, the problem of stolen independence was posed to the audience and suggested a solution in terms of national unity under a brave, compassionate, and wise warrior-leader.

Truly, many events of historical importance were held in the theater so that the stage not only bore witness to but became the breeding ground of innovative nationalism sown by freedom-loving Filipino playwrights who wielded their pen satirically and artistically. Suppressed and hemmed in on all sides, these patriots turned to the stage to give a living portrayal of their organically intellectual psyche of whom the playwrights themselves—like their protagonists—were inherent possessors.

21st Century Counterparts of the *Irreconcilables*

Who are today's organic intellectuals, and from where shall they emerge in this day and age? This study argues that, just as the seditious drama's organic intellectual protagonists were ordinary Filipino folks *and* patriots, their contemporary parallels are to be found in the large majority of people from the middle class in Philippine society and possibly those from even the lower rungs, that is, those with yet untapped potentials into becoming a culture-generating group, constituting a sizeable part of the population. While a handful may be found in university library halls, future organic intellectuals may also be encountered among the stream of technical-vo-

cational students, blue collar workers, semi-skilled laborers, contractual or day-wage earners, prison inmates, the wise and learned peasants as well as the landless farmers and fishermen; in short, Filipinos from practically all walks of life. The poor have one thing in common, that is, their inability to verbalize fully, let alone rationalize their predicament, because their education has been limited to the practical, mechanical, technical, for the utility of the State. Yet they are the children of the revolution—to echo Tolentino in Act III of *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas*—children who stand in need of securing some form of cultural literacy if they are to effectively form part of the national popular and emancipate as change agent in order to overturn the massive waves of Western hegemony.

Of the intellectuals who comprise the Filipino workforce, those belonging to society's common segment are the rising majority. By nature of their training for a means of sustainable livelihood—and in contrast to their highly sophisticated upper-class counterparts—these ordinary men and women commonly engage themselves in the acquisition, development, and manufacture of production materials. By the nature of their work, they engage with culture's materiality not in illusory terms but as something real and tangible. Authentic organic intellectuals must always foster the need to feel equal with the working class, and vice versa, to be able to analyze the progressive struggle for ascendancy.

Curiously, the internet does not yield a definition of the Filipino "low middle class" or "lower working class" so that they are almost always understood only in relation to "middle class" and "upper class" of which the internet has ample characterization and description. The economist Bernardo Villegas defines "middle class" as—

> . . . almost synonymous with the new exciting phrase in development economics, that is, "emerging markets." Following Engel's Law, as consumers' incomes rise from levels at which they can only afford the barest necessities, their consumption pattern shift to more sophisticated consumer goods and services such as higher quality education, health services, processed food products and beverage, consumer durables, cars, and entertainment, among others . . . . The middle class has significantly more progressive views on competition, political activism and technology. They

> demand greater accountability and transparency from the public sector. As emerging markets see their middle class expand in the next twenty years, there must be serious efforts of the government, business and civil society to make sure that their populations avoid the excesses of consumerism of the West that have let do unsustainable development ("Middle Class").

To reduce ordinary men and women of today into objects of examination would be to mythicize them, "to remove them from the unique density of fact and contingency which is the life of the individual in history" (Des Pres 3). They are those at the forefront of the factory line that is the field of contestations. It is precisely from this unique and combative position that today's organic intellectuals could harness their identity as transformative agents. They are the counterparts of yesterday's "irreconcilables" and give legitimacy to the summons of "seditious" plays. Theater may prove to be the best medium for the promotion of cultural and political literacy.

The "Seditious" Patriotic Drama of Juan Matapang Cruz Plucked from the Shadows of Death: *Hindi Aco Patay* (*I am Not Dead*), 1903

Background

On July 4, 1917, Gramsci said,

> The theatre has a great social importance. We are concerned by the degeneration which threatens it at the hands of the industrialists and we would like to react against it as best we can. There is a large public that wants to go to the theatre. The industry is slowly conditioning it to prefer the inferior, indecorous show from one which represents a positive need of the spirit. (*Selections from Cultural Writing* 60).

These words are prophetic and at present, partly correct in the Philippine context. We witness in the 21st century a rising number of Filipino citizens patronizing if not proactively engaging themselves in dramatic productions, perhaps as a means of venting pent-up frustrations and disgruntled dreams for the eutopic and the beautiful in the face of the unabashed proliferation of pork-barrel pocketing by pseudo-public servants. However, if current theatrical trend continues to move forward with profit becoming its focal point and foreign scripts its stash of resources, it will not be long before the

inferior and indecorous gain foothold even in dramatic writing and literary practice—with the distressing result that the needs of the Filipino spirit remain languishing and impoverished by run-of-the-mill play scripts. Just as our playwright predecessor Juan Matapang Cruz had shown in 1903, the revolution may well begin from the grassroots, and from the grassroots of Philippine drama.

First staged at Teatro Libertad in Singalong, Manila and then at Teatro Nueva Luna in Malabon, *Hindi Aco Patay* provoked the American colonial authorities' ire during its time. It was banned in mid-performance, never to be staged publicly again until 1981 at Puerto Real Gardens, Intramuros. In court, Cruz testified that he organized the Karangalan Dramatic Theatrical Company to present this patriotic play with clandestine performances under different titles. The Tagalog version that is now in use was translated by Bonifacio Ilagan based on the script that was preserved by American drama enthusiast Arthur Stanley Riggs.

Hindi Aco Patay gained ill-repute after it was banned on May 10, 1903, following the issue in determining its real author who was wanted by the civil authorities for igniting sentiments of discontent with American rule. Juan Matapang Cruz initially did not own up to its authorship; and his wife, who bowed before the audience after the performance, took the playwright's honor and subsequently, the blame. The front page of a newspaper reported, "On the stand Cruz swore that he wrote it, but . . . when calls were made for the author at the theatre, his wife came out" (Lapeña-Bonifacio 26). In *The Filipino Drama,* Riggs observed:

> Juan Matapang Cruz, the alleged author of the piece, presents a strange and startling contrast to the very considerable work that bears his name, for in person he is extremely insignificant, in mind a blank, and by an education an ignoramus who with difficulty scrawls his almost indecipherable signature. Conspicuously lacking in any talent of any kind, it is an acknowledged impossibility . . . that he could have either designed the plot or carried out the details of striking a drama as *Hindi Aco Patay* (226).

Incredulous that a Filipino could craft a moving dramatic masterpiece, Riggs suggested that Dominador Gomez of Partido Nacionalista wrote the

play. That Matapang Cruz purportedly came from the ranks of the illiterate masses but who nevertheless succeeded in stirring patriotic sentiments by writing a romantic yet politically provocative zarzuela proves that *Hindi Aco Patay,* Cruz' only known surviving work, is worthy of our attention as far as tracing the grassroots genesis of the Filipino practical intellectuality is concerned. The protagonist, Tangulan, is a devoted son and defender of his beloved Karangalan's continence, representing dignity and allegorically, the country's natural resources. Dutiful and seemingly resigned by temperament, Tangulan outwits his rival's malice to win the hand of his beloved and save her from a loveless alliance. The allusion to the Philippines and America did not pass unnoticed by the perceptive foreigners who witnessed the premier. Matapang Cruz' wife was imprisoned with the theater troupe, and the author was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and fined the maximum penalty of $2,000 gold (Lapeña-Bonifacio 27).

Praised even by the prejudiced Riggs as "straightforward, overtly flamboyant . . . [but] by far the greatest and the best," (225), *Hindi Aco Patay* marks a deliberate shift from the then prevailing mystery plays to patriotic, "seditious" plays. A summary and analysis follow.

Act One

The Ordinary Pedigree of Tangulan

The opening scene contrasts a richly-furnished room in Washington, D.C. with a pretty nipa hut with a neat row of flower pots in rural Philippines. Macamcam (Ambitious, representing the American Insular Government) is prodded by his father Maimbot (Avaricious, representing the Government of the United States) to get a wife for himself. Macamcam agrees and confesses that he has set his heart on Karangalan (Dignity, representing the Philippines' natural resources). The father shows satisfaction at his son's choice, gives him his blessings, and then sends him off with enticement provisions.

The lateral view shows how grief-stricken mother, Pinagsakitan (Pains of Sorrow, representing the Philippines) is still mourning for her husband, a former community leader who just died. She is beset with domestic woes: the grains remain unsown, the rice unthreshed, and her son Ualang Hinayan

(Ruthless, Ungrateful) disappears in wanton abandon of the family. She is consoled by her daughter, Karangalan, who vows her unwavering loyalty to stand by her mother's side. As Karangalan sings her song of sorrow and nostalgia for her dead father, Kakulay (Of-the-Same-Race, representing the Filipino compatriots) appears on a side street, lamenting the loss of their protector, Pinagsakitan's husband; and the consequent sadness of the battered farmers. Kauri (Of-the-Same-Lineage, representing the Filipino citizens) agrees, but Tangulan (Defender, the Patriotic Filipino, the Organic Intellectual) is quick to assure them both by saying that nothing would ever befall his beloved Karangalan, her mother Pinagsakitan, and their community as long as he shall live. At this juncture Ualang Hinayan appears, and Tangulan confides to his friend his embarrassment for not having paid a visit to his mother and sister during the period of mourning, because he could not leave his own ailing mother. He clearly puts the case forward that both cared for their respective mothers, albeit each under different circumstances.

A debate between two friends ensues; and their disparity over liberatory tactics and moral standards surfaces: Tangulan nurtures debt of gratitude and readiness to sacrifice for the sake of his mother, representing his countrymen; Ualang Hinayan sees and seeks wealth as the solution to their family's misery and scorns blood ties. An egoist certainly, yet not ignobly so, seeking only his own advantage, for he argues that he aspires for wealth only for his mother and sister's welfare. His mind is set on flinging himself to Macamcam and will argue no more with his comrade Tangulan. The friends part ways. Ualang Hinayan makes a pact with Macamcam to turn over his sister for marriage in exchange for money. Tangulan goes off to Pinagsakitan who enumerates her woes over the neglected state of farming. Tangulan asks pardon for not having come sooner, and promises her his industry and protection.

From the beginning of the play, Tangulan is portrayed as an unlikely protagonist. He is introduced not through devices of impressive entrances or trumpet blasts but obliquely through his ostensible shortcomings particularly over his non-appearance in Karangalan's household at the time when the grieving family most needed him. Quick to confess and ask pardon for

his long absence, Tangulan does not resemble the chivalric greatness that usually accompanies that coming-out of a hero in Western epics. Tangulan quietly explains the reason for his absence: he was comforting his own ailing mother, a counsel he took to heart from his elderly uncle Katuiran. This alone should speak well of a man who is devoted to his kinsfolk and who acts upon his priorities, but there was nothing superlative or extraordinary in what has been so far exhibited that elicits the audience' adulation or sympathy for him: Tangulan is, if any, just like us, caught up in the normal intricacies of familial concerns. Is this the farmer-intellectual who will save the nation from oppression?

Yet, upon closer look, it is Tangulan's "ordinariness" and first-hand experience of personal inadequacy and familial duty—the common fate of everyman enmeshed in domestic anxieties occasionally conflicting with other obligations—that give a reader a vantage point from which to look at his archetypal personality. Tangulan's self-effacing organic roots is what makes him peculiarly emblematic of the Filipino intellectual, and which makes it potentially possible for the rest of us to identify with him.

The Simplicity and Significance of Native Speech

How plausible is the potential artistry of ordinary people? Juan Matapang Cruz leads the way: their power lies in exposing struggles from within; in doing so, there is neither fear nor insecurity but only the credibility to describe day-to-day toil with documentary precision. This power is revealed first in the quality of their oral speech, undoubtedly be carried over to the spoken quality of their narratives. The characters' language in the play is quasi-direct employing vocabulary, popular idioms, substandard, folkish, or purely conversational level, interspersed with useful information, and the absence of ornate and strictly literary forms of expression. The principal element that prevails in their narrative is day-to-day speech, the roots of which are based on the historical and dialectical layers of folk speech characteristic of ordinary conversations, with a tone belonging to a particular locale or group, or hacienda, cigar factory, labor camp. Various conversational colloquialisms deviate from the usual phrase constructions

and features of the folklore style present in descriptions; all these reflect the author-narrator's very breathing.

In summary, the semi-literate storyteller's vocal image such as Matapang Cruz reflects the hardships of an idyllic yet idealistic life. To put it simply, their political and artistic achievement lies in revealing what is ordinary—that which constitutes culture—from within their consciousness. No one who has been loyally following the pioneering spirit behind cultural studies from its heyday at Birmingham would underestimate the importance of the narrative-writing potentials of the common *tao*.

Their narratives' simplicity and sincerity found in their language's ordinariness highlight their significance, with a tonal directness that can charm the reader and find patronage among theatergoers. The triumph of literary and cultural studies in this country can be measured in its success in bridging the gap among the different cultural strata as far as ordinary men and women's discursive proficiency is concerned.

Their works' theme is often "existential" in that the worker-warrior-writer strongly affirms the simple man's persistent will to survive by making the best of and living for the present moment, regardless of the absurd living conditions. Writers like Matapang Cruz offer a deep level of thematic incongruity, in the sense that they are able to set up an ironic contrast between the "official" literary work for the state and the "real" significance of this work for the individual agent. The genuine quality and emancipatory power of writers like Matapang Cruz are derived from their carefully wrought use of point of view, voice, contrast, plot structure, understatement, irony, other satirical elements in pointing out and calling attention to the folly and vices of dictatorship. Their works bring promise of being unusual in their honesty and harrowing truth; of consistent treatment of the characters (for they are speaking of themselves); of credibility of the plot with occasional oblique references here and there against the oppressors; all spiced up with subtle satirical devices.

In a capsule, the worker-writer embodies a real microcosm of the bigger struggle in his literary product. As a work that stems from flesh and blood characters, a work such as *Hindi Aco Patay* aspires to epic proportions; it was

exceedingly subversive in its quiet but effective dismissal of despotism and corruption that plagued the country. A romantic drama of national proportions, it is the local voice of Matapang Cruz that gives loudness to the character of Tangulan as he fights for freedom of speeches in the subsequent scenes.

Ualang Hinayan reappears with Macamcam, introduces the Westerner to his family, and then without further ado, informs them of his personal decision as elder brother to marry off his sister to the ambitious foreigner. Karangalan refuses and appeals to his senses:

> "*Huwag mong kaligtaan ang huling habilin ng ating ama bago siya pumanaw: ang ating sambayana'y dapat magkaisa nang ang kalayaan ay ating makuha.*" ["Remember what our father told us before this death regarding the unity of our people to obtain liberty"] (Riggs 240).

Ualang Hinayan ignores her. Tangulan interferes, claiming his right to speak up as an ordinary person; but Ualang Hinayan asserts his superiority as Karangalan's brother as can be seen in this exchange in Act I:

> **UALANG HINAYAN.** *Teka muna, Tangulan, hindi ka dapat makialam sa usapan.* [Hey, Tangulan, you should not interfere…]
>
> **TANGULAN.** *Kinakailangan, pagkat ako'y isang mamamayan.* [I must, because I am a citizen.] (Riggs 240)

Later in the same Act, a similar scene occurs. Rebuked as meddling in domestic affairs, Tangulan re-asserts his right to speak and justifies his being born free: "*Dapat akong makialam, pagkat ako'y isang kababayan.*" ["I resent your actions, because I am your countryman."] (Riggs 244). In Act Two, Tangulan explains further his right to speech: "It is true Ualang-Hinayan, and whoever interferes in our love to carry off Karangalan, may be sure I shall defend her as long as I live" (Riggs 258). Fig. 2 below shows Juan De la Cruz asserting his right to speech before Uncle Sam, "An assertive but dimunitive Juan de la Cruz stands as a supplicant before the oversized Uncle Sam who sits in an authoritative pose. Assured by the seemingly benevolent

American of his rights to free speech, the Filipino nonetheless presses for a stronger commitment to democratic rights" (Paredes 3):

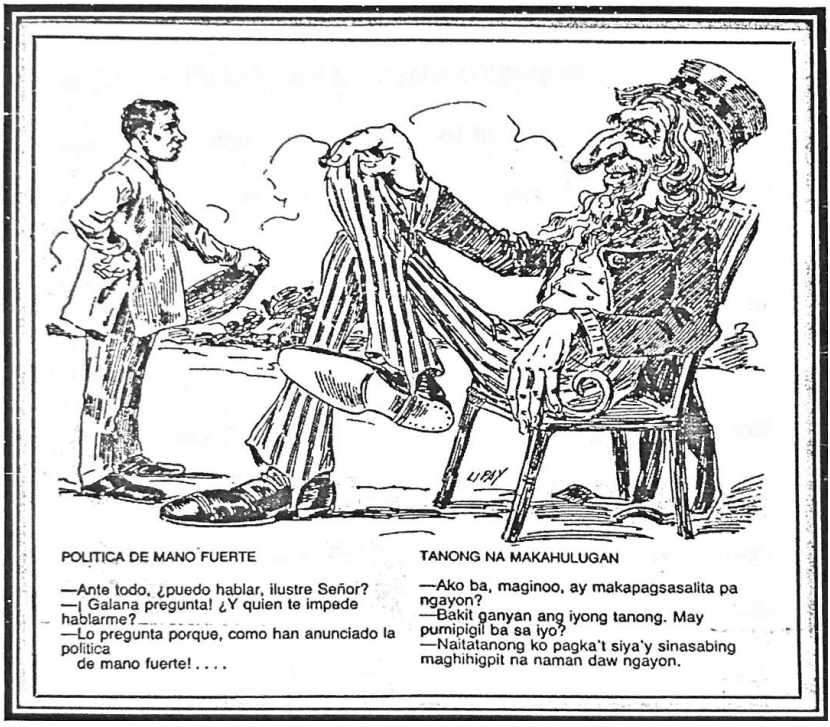

FIG. 2. Cartoon from *Lipag Kalabaw,* November 14, 1908 (Paredes 3).

Gramsci makes a distinction between *logos* as the expression of *alta cultura* and *logos* as the expression of *cultura populare,* emphasizing that the latter is crucial to the development of the state, or *polis.* Ualang Hinayan, blinded by Macamcam's saccharine words and promise of wealth, becomes "Americanized" and relinquishes what Gramsci calls his "folkloric wisdom," thereby effectively giving over his consent to Western domination. More firmly grounded than him is Tangulan, who understands that speech and language and his right to employ them are vehicles by which his compatriots should be educated and undergo conscientization.

Tangulan's assertion of his right to speak is admirable, for it shows the depth by which he understood the indispensability of *logos* to the protection of his *polis,* that is, of Pinagsakitan (Mother Country) and Karangalan (Dignity, Natural Resources).

Gramsci emphasizes the importance of feelings, passions, and practices of the people—that is, all the details that fall under the general category of *cultura popolare* such as family wisdom, folkloric sayings, and primal, even immature expressions of hunches, reasoning, and beliefs—which cannot be discounted in the quest for liberation and the formation of a common consciousness against the threatening hegemony. In effect, *logos* and *polis* are interdependent and mutually constructive, inasmuch as any speech would be ineffectual if not contextualized upon their envisioned social setting. This kind of consciousness emboldened Tangulan to intervene by way of speech and, claiming self-justification for assuming public persona, rightly declares himself a *mamamayan,* an ordinary civilian and member of the wider *polis*. Thus, we see the slow emergence of the unassuming Tangulan from being an ordinary person to becoming a public voice and advocate of the defenseless. He might have appeared weakened with domestic woes at the beginning, Tangulan clearly sees himself as one firmly grounded on a household just like any other—yet belonging to a wider patriotic web for whose good he was more than willing to speak up to become the voice of the voiceless and shield his fellow Filipinos from betrayal and the looming Western hegemony.

The overture of Tangulan as a rising organic intellectual seems almost complete when, almost at the end of Act One, he is asked once again by Karangalan if he could truly resist buckling down before Macamcam's bribery. The gentle Tangulan delivers a powerful discourse with feeling and passion:

> "*Yurakan ni Macamcam? A, Karangalan! Hindi ako magiging karapat-dapat sa pangalang Tangulan na iniluwal sa Perlas na Silangan—Kung sa pagkatao ng taga-Kanluran ay aking isuko maging panindigan ang nabubuhay sa ganoong kahihiyan ay nagkakanulo sa iwing kapakanan, at tiyan na susumpain ng mga ninuno na nahihimlay sa mga libingan.*" ["To be trampled on by Macamcam? O, Karangalan! I would be unworthy of the name Tangulan, born in this Pearl of the Orient if, trampled on by a native of occident, I yield by even

> my very own principles. He, who thus lives and betrays his own, is cursed by his ancestors from the graves"] (Riggs 242).

Paradoxically, it is perhaps his close understanding of his family situation and his witnessing the unhappiness of others' households (what Aristotle calls *despoteia)* that make it possible for him to go through a process of developing critical self-consciousness so highly esteemed by Gramsci as crucial for the formation of worker-intellectuals:

> Consciousness of self which is opposed to others, which is differentiated and, once having set itself a goal, can judge facts and events other than in themselves but also in so far as they tend to drive history forward or backward (*Selections from Political Writings* 13).

The lines of this play are among the finest among the so-called "seditious" dramas. The kind of formal education that Matapang Cruz had received is not known. Still, he might have gotten inspiration from Western "heroic verse" and consequently employed rhyme for this play since it is traditionally maintained that rhyme was apposite for the kind of drama that evoked greatness. It is also suggestive of Miguel Malvar's sentiment that his ties with the masses made him an effective general: "Not only those within the towns constitute the people; the lowest laborers are included, and they are the ones who act with greater honesty of intentions and are more sincere in their aspirations" (qtd. in Ileto 162-163). Thus Matapang Cruz' use of his native Tagalog was most fitting for this partly romantic, partly heroic, wholly patriotic and Filipino play.

Cultural studies as a discipline and as a practice is ardently engaged with people and their cause in their day-to-day existence; and in so doing, scholars and practitioners equip themselves with the necessary material for cultural analyses. In Williams's classic definition, culture is a way of life, the fragment and fiber of daily affairs. Are the studies that universities churn out every year due to restrictive intellectual disputations that neglect the very voice and material of subaltern groups they wish to represent? Do they renovate with the underlying ideologies that give form to the ordinariness of living day in and out or point out their menacing cultural repercussions

to the people's individual and collective consciousness as a whole? Matapang Cruz' play is one fine example of a literature that rose directly from the masses, prodding the foregoing questions toward profound reflections.

Apocalyptic Expressions of Mortal Immorality

The debate between Ualang Hinayan and Tangulan is over, and the former leaves. Left alone, Tangulan confesses his undying love for Karangalan:

> "*Matimya na Karangalan, pag-ibig ko'y lalagi hanggang sa libingan.*" ["Sweet Karangalan, my love will last unto the grave."] (Riggs 241). Karangalan plays coy and tests him, which makes Tangulan assert his love all over again, "*Ang pag-ibig ko'y walang hanggan, kahit ako'y panawan ng buhay.*" ["My love shall be immense even after I am dead"] (Riggs 241). The sincere avowal of his love wins him Karangalan's acceptance with words similar to his enduring devotion: "*Kung totoo ngang sa aki'y di ka magtataksil, sa puso ko'y itatangi ka at tuwina'y iibigan . . . hanggang kamatayan.*" ["If it is true that you will not be a traitor to me, you may be sure I will keep you in my heart . . . until death comes."] (Riggs 241).

The couple informs Pinagsakitan of their mutual love with the same tenor with which they vowed their unremitting devotion for each other: "*Totoo po, ginang, pag-ibig ko sa kanya'y hindi magmamaliw hanggang kamatayan,*" ["It is true, madam, my love for her will last until death."] (Riggs 243). Vows of undying love are interrupted by the arrival of Ualang Hinayan who throws open before his mother a small bag containing money. He persistently persuades her to accept the bribe and his mother is hurt deeply. Tangulan tries to interfere once more.

> **UALANG HINAYAN.** *Narito, Ina, ang kayamanang kaloob sa akin ni Macamcam dahil sa pag-asa niya na kay Karangalan makasal . . . Ikaw, Ina, kuarta'y tanggapin na . . . Heto nga't taglay ko, halina't kunin mo.* [Here, Mother, are the riches given to me by Macamcam, because he expects to marry Karangalan . . . You, mother, take the money . . . Here it is, take it.]
>
> **PINAGSAKITAN.** *Hindi, kami'y huwag mong ipagbili!* [No, don't sell us!]

> **TANGULAN.** *Ualang Hinayan, nakikita mo ba ang ibinunga ng iyong katampalasan? Nang dahil sa salapi'y minabuti mo pang walaing-halaga ang pag-ibig ng inang sa iyo'y nagluwal.* [Don't you see what you have done? For the sake of money, you cared not if you lose the love of the mother who bore you.] (Riggs 243).

When Karangalan adamantly refuses her brother's treachery, saying she will never marry a foreigner, Ualang Hinayan leaves them, and once again Tangulan swears his love, "*Kahit ang puso ko'y mawalan ng pantig.*" ["Even to the end of my heartbeat"] (Riggs 244). The motivation for the title is established; the fourth song is sung, and the curtain closes.

Gramsci argues that a democratic philosopher—the "organic intellectual"—utilizes uncomplicated expressions, and lauds "a precise philosophical language which is neither a superfluity nor an affection" (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 32). He further challenges:

> Is sincerity or spontaneity always a merit and a value? Only if disciplined. Sincerity and spontaneity means the maximum degree of individualism. An individual is historically original when he gives maximum prominence to social being. There is a romantic meaning attached to such works as originality, personality, and sincerity, and this meaning is historically justified if it springs from an attempt to counteract . . . and artificial and fictitious conformism created superficially for the interests of a small group or clique, and not for those of vanguard (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 124).

Tangulan's unending love reveals him to be a visionary in the romantic sense and a vanguard in the prophetic sense. Far from the pompously inflated and embellished speeches Western epic heroes are known for, Tangulan's words of sincere and solid immortal love for Karangalan are neither unidiomatic nor merely symbolic they shall prove to be consistent with his deeds and actions as the reader will later see in Act Three. But Tangulan has to hurdle many setbacks before escaping from the menacing shadows of death in Act Two.

Act Two

Distorted Self-Views as the Cause of Betrayal

On May 23, 1901, Emilio Aguinaldo was captured by the Americans and took the oath of allegiance to the United States. His confidante, Lt. Gen. Mariano Trias, followed what Aguinaldo did. He wrote a letter to Gen. Miguel Malvar who was doggedly persisting in leading his demoralized people, explaining that the revolutionary aim was simply impossible to attain. He tried to convince Malvar that "it was necessary to submit to the relentless force of opinion" that the Philippines was entering upon an "era of redemption" in the hands of the United States (qtd. in Ileto 162). If not betrayal, the surrender of a handful of fighting Filipino forces who on their own accord had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States is summarily depicted in the play.

At the heart of the plot lies the infamous betrayal of Ualang Hinayan to sell off his sister to the foreigner. Macamcam the egotistical stranger takes advantage of Ualang Hinayan, the opportunist native. Kauri, addressing Ualang Hinayan, recounts a summary of the conflict—a technique likewise employed in classic Chinese drama at the commencement of a new act. But in this case, it also serves the function of implying a brewing conspiracy as Ualang Hinayan attempts to involve Kauri and Kakulay in abducting Karangalan. Kauri retorts:

> *Hindi ka ba nahihiyang sabihin na nagkapera ka sa pagbebenta ng iyong kapatid? Ang kapal ng mukha mong sa ami'y magsaysay ng bagay na iyan; hindi ka ba naririmarim na lamunin ang salaping tangan ng iyong kamay? Salaping ang kapalit ay dangal at buhay ng sarili mong dugo?* [Are you not ashamed . . . that you have taken money for offering your sister? Are you not horrified to eat that money you hold in your hands, the outcome of the sale of the honor and life of her who is your own blood?] (Riggs 246).

The contrast between Kauri and Ualang Hinayan is clear. It foreshadows the new world order that Macamcam (and the American government) hopes to bring into completion: a society marked by market-driven politics, free-flowing finance, trade and capital; and the exploitation of natural resources

where short-term gains replace long-term visions. Indoctrinated by Macamcam, Ualang Hinayan has metamorphosed into an American Filipino with selfish interests.

Despite Kauri's appeals, however, Ualang Hinayan proceeds with his deceitful dealings with Macamcam, tempted by the latter's lure of money and promise of a position. Clearly, the seemingly powerful Macamcam's political grasp is limited to the immediate satisfaction of Ualang Hinayan's impulsive desire for wealth and office. He assumes a double guise of politician and friend. The exchange of dialogue is worth telling:

> **MACAMCAM.** Heto ang salapi. *(Iaabot.)* [Take this money.]
>
> **UALANG HHINAYAN.** Salamat, kaibigan. (Kukunin ang salapi at magwiwika sa sarili.) Magiging mayaman na ako . . . [Yes, friend . . . Now I will be rich.]
>
> **MACAMCAM.** Huwag kang matakot at ako ang bahala. Bukod sa salaping pabuya, bibigyan pa kita ng mataas na katungkulan kung magiging akin si Karangalan. [Don't worry, as I shall look out. Aside from the money I have given you, I will grant you a good position if Karangalan becomes mine.]
>
> **UALANG HINAYAN.** (*Sa sarili.)* Kay sarap ng pangako ni Macamcam, mataas na katungkulan, aba! Kailangang pagpilitan kong si Karangalay's mapasakanya. [Macamcam has made me a fine promise, and I shall have a good position! I must press my sister to be his] (Riggs 247).

But the two are deceiving each other. Macamcam clearly perceives Ualang Hinayan's failure to grasp abstract concepts, and for whom political and social status is in the realm of personal relationships in which he is naturally inept, yet whose illusory mind craves success and already carves it as if it were real. He experiences self-delusion and already plays an imaginary sterling status, perhaps in the American insular government. The following lines, set into a song, reveal the hidden estimations of each. Ualang Hinayan's eutopic hallucinations are mild at first; towards the end, the illusion is complete:

MACAMCAM. Sadya ngang totoo, mabibili ng salapi ang kahit ano. Sa sarili mang kapatid ay siya mismo ang dadakip. [How true, money acquires anything; her own brother will find the means.]

UALANG HINAYAN. (*Sa sarili.*) *Sa kasalukuyan kong kalagayan at sa swerteng tinataglay, sa aki'y wala nang makakapantay.* [It seems to me that with my present position and the good luck I have had, no one equals me.]

MACAMCAM. (*Sa sarili.) Wala nang hihigit pang sasama sa lalaking ito.* [No one is so wicked as this man.]

UALANG HINAYAN. (*Sa sarili.*) Ako'y tuwang-tuwa! [That is why I am so merry!]

MACAMCAM. (*Sa sarili.)* Sa sarili niyang kapatid ay itinaya. [He compromises his own sister.]

UALANG HINAYAN. (*Sa sarili,*) *Sa salapi'y sagana ako.* [I have an abundance of money.]

MACAMCAM. (*Sa sarili.) Wala nang kahihiyan ang taong ito.* [This is a shameless man.]

UALANG HINAYAN. (*Sa sarili.) Mayamang mayaman na ako.* [I am really rich.] (Riggs 247-48).

The dialogue song continues; the deceitful pair attempts to extend their bribery to Kauri and Kakulay, and in the process reveal their terms and conditions of "friendship." Such disloyalties and briberies have been common in the early times of insurgency. On May 6, 1902, a document called "War Order" was issued through "*Pamamayahag*" (Proclamation), perhaps by Andres Bonifacio or Macario Sakay, in which their comrades were warned of the temptation to sell off their noble cause for personal wealth:

Sa Paghihimagsik na ginawa dito sa Pilipinas ay napagmalas sa lahat ang kababayan ang di pagkakaisang loon, gawa ng paglingap sa pilak, sa yaman at sa karunungan; wala ang pagtatanggol sa kalahatan, at itinatangi ang sariling katauhan.

[During the war that was fought here in the Philippines, it became apparent to all our compatriots that unity of *loon* was absent, because all people cared

for were silver, wealth and education; thus there was no willingness to defend the whole, as concern for one's own body was paramount.] (qtd. in Ileto 176).

But Kauri and Kakulay remain firm in their loyalty, retorting in a delightful pun that "Karangalan" or honor is not bought, but earned:

MACAMCAM. (*Maghahagis ng sako na may lamang salapi.) Aginaldo lamang na sa inyo'y alay; wala akong mithi kundi ang kayo ay maging kaibigan o kapatid.* [That is a present I offer you; I desire very much to become your friend, to be like your brother.]

KAKULAY. *Hindi namin kailangan ng salapi. Ang pagkakaibigan ay aming tatanggapin, ngunit . . .* [We need no money. If you wish to become our friend, we accept, but . . .]

MACAMCAM. *Ang pagkakaibigang nais ko [ay] tuklasin ang paraan upang makasal sa akin si Karangalan.* [The friendship I want is [for] you to find the means for me to marry Karangalan . . .]

KAURI. Kami'y *hindi mo mapaglalalangan; hindi naming maipagbibili si Karangalan.* [You cannot deceive us; we cannot sell Karangalan.] (Riggs 248).

Macamcam does not elaborate the kind of "friendship" he alludes to, but merely uses his attraction to Karangalan as a cloak over his liberalist and capitalist agenda. He is what Gramsci describes as a character "portrayed externally more than through their inward recreation of moral being" (Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* 77).

The scene just described is also reminiscent of the Philippines' American acquisition through the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898 to the tune of $20,000,000 paid to Spain. Kakulay and Kauri's reactions above typified the incensed Filipinos whose homeland was "bought" and "sold" like a piece of real estate. Emilio Aguinaldo's manifesto on August 3, 1900 could well have formed a part of their dialogue:

Filipinas, my adored mother, your children do not forget that they bought you for 20 million dollars, as if you were simply a parcel of land and we, your

children, were acquired by sale only. The heart is wretched with bitterness and pain and the spirit, blind with indignation . . . . (qtd. in Cortes et al. 454)

Similar hegemonic dealings are happening in the twenty-first century, with large tracts of sea being lost to or controlled by foreign commercial capitalists and manufacturing outlets. This factual piece on how the Philippines continues to be treated can supply the play a parallel, present-day equivalent.

Hard Work as Concretization of Organic Intelligence

The next scene is full of allegorical premonitions of impending doom. A piece of salted beef (*tapa*) lies on a rock, exposed to the sun. A crow hovers from a branch of a nearby tree, peeping lustfully at the *tapa*; Karangalan readies her gun.

Matapang Cruz has created this metaphor which contains and incorporated the archetypal characters of the play. The protagonists themselves help the audience understand this metaphor pregnant with meaning: the beef is the fruit of the farmer's labor, now under threat by the crow, who represents Macamcam. Karangalan represents the native workers getting ready in their defense of their labor and resources. The *tapa* may also represent Karangalan herself, i.e., the country's natural resources, who, in entrusting herself to a man of her own race, Tangulan, (the sun, or justice), poses herself under threat of abuse by foreigners, represented by Macamcam or the American colonialists. The couple is unperturbed. So certain were they of their mutual commitment; and Tangulan makes concrete his spirited commitment to Karangalan, verbalized over and over again, but substantiating his undying love through the work of his hands: manual labor, personal industry, and collective agency:

TANGULAN. *Karangalan, iyong alamin na ang pag-ibig ni Tangulan sa iyo at sa inang sa ati'y nagluwal ay magpapatuloy hanggang kamatayan. Katunayan ngay'y kagagaling ko lang sa inyong bahay sininop ko ang lusong at pinulong ang mga tagapagbayo ng palay. Kinausap ko sina Kauri at Kakulay upang pamahalaan ang Gawain nang si Ina'y mapangalagaan; nailinis ko na ang araro pagkat ang lup ay nais kong bungkalin anang makapagtanim tayo.* [Karangalan, you must know that Tangulan's love for you and the mother who bore us

will last until death, and in a proof of it I now come from your home after arranging the mortar, and I wish to get laborers and ask Kauri and Kakulay to look after the pounding of rice to maintain our mother. I have cleaned the plow because I want to stir the earth of our plot to plant thereon.]

KARANGALAN. *Ang paglingap mo kay ina ay di mahihigitan ng anupamang yaman.* [The regard you show for my loving mother is superior to all riches.]

TANGULAN. *Walang yaman ang makapapantay sa pag-ibig na tunay.* [No riches can be compare with true love.]

KARANGALAN. *Walang kasawian ang maaring dumatal sa anak na sa ina'y marunong magmahal at tumupad sa mga pangaral. Ay, huwag mong kaligtaang di kita iiwan, maglaho man ang libong kaularan . . . .* [No misfortune will befall the son who cares for his mother and follows her advice . . . O! remember that Karangalan will not leave you even if our prosperity is lost by the thousands . . . .] (Riggs 250)

Tangulan's intelligent practicality and strategic conscientiousness—what Gramsci calls the "philosophy of praxis" (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 126) or "spontaneous philosophy" (*Selections from the Prison Notebooks* 322)—is in direct contrast to Ualang Hinayan's slothful and easy-going tactics. As a "committed intellectual" (Gramsci), Tangulan is interested not only in resisting a foreign form of domination, but in nipping at the bud any impeding weed of "idle and slothful uniformity" (Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings* 125). Tangulan's accomplishments at the farm express his vitality and substance. Through manual work, he enjoins Kauri and Kakulay and the rest of the citizens to be strongly united by a sense of accomplishment and by the pursuit of a common goal. His concept of work is inseparable from the love he professes to Karangalan and Pinagsakitan, that is, to his mother country; and work itself empowers him with the capacity to think with one's hands, as an exercise of cooperation and communion with his fellow citizens though the medium of matter. Timid but not servile, insulted but not weak, workers but not hirelings, truly the working class is composed of men and women who have been conditioned to preserve their primitive sense of idealism amidst often-harsh situations; and whose silence does not necessarily mean consent to Western hegemony. By nature of their

work, they engage their hands in the materiality of culture not in illusory terms, but as something real and tangible, possessing what Williams called the "actual living sense" of a community (see fig. 3).

FIG. 3. A tobacco package shows love for country side by side with farm tilling. (Pinoy Kollektor Blog).

Tangulan exemplifies what Gramsci described as disciplined sincerity: "Today people try to be original and to have personality on the cheap. Prisons and mental asylums are full of original men with strong personalities. What is really difficult is to put stress on discipline and still profess sincerity, spontaneity, originality and personality" (124). Tangulan epitomizes the abovementioned.

Comradeship Buttresses Intellectual Commitment

The roles and identities of wise old, Katuiran, and the wise and beautiful maiden, Karangalan, are indispensable to the maturing function of Tangulan as an organic intellectual. Both constitute what Gramsci calls the "collective intellectual" (165), radiating vibration from themselves as a source of energy over the working-class native-dwellers, represented by Kauri and Kakulay.

Meanwhile, the crow flies over the rock and devours the beef; Karangalan shoots but misses it. She breaks into an ode defending Tangulan from the greed of the crow, who symbolizes Macamcam:

> *Ikaw, uwak na ganid, nandaragit ng bunga ng aming mga pagsasakit!/ Walang habag!/ Wala kang layon kundi ang magnakaw ng ari-arian, pati na ang dangal;/ tila ba nilikha ka ng Diyos at nilubos sa sama upang mang-alipin at manlupig sa iyong kapwa./ Sa kasamaan, lupit at kabuktutan ay hayop kang walang kapantay;/ sa kasakiman ay iyong pinagnanakawan sinumang nagtataglay ng dignidad, ng karangaan./ Ikaw na hayop, masdan si Tangulan, naghihinagpis,/ pagkat tinangay mo ang bunga ng kanyang pagpapawis;/ sinaklot mo, masibang hayop!* [Voracious crow that eats the riches we had gathered and has no mercy, and only seeks to steal the property and honor of those who keep such things! It looks as if God has created you of so bad a character that you might enslave and debase your fellow beings. Your voracity is without equal, perverse and cruel animal. You rob him who keeps honor and dignity. You ambitious, gluttonous animal!] (Riggs 251).

Addressing her brother Ualang Hinayan, Karangalan appeals to his reason and his remembrance of farming days gone by. She now demands from him a rehabilitated sense of work ethic, adding that in former days, their communal manual work was the source of family pride and joy:

> Mag-isip ka nang mabuti:/ sinikap mong ipagbili ang sariling kapatid sa isang hindi natin kalipi;/ yaon ba'y di pa sapat upang mapag-alamang ika'y nagkamali?/ Huwag mong ipangalakal ang iyong Katawan; magtrabaho ka ng marangal . . . dahil ang lusong ay lugmok pa rin./ Di ba't doon tayo nagbabayo ng pagkain at katuwaa'y doon nanggagaling?/ Araro'y kinakalawang, kung ganap na masira'y ano pa ang ipambubukal sa lupa?/ Mag-isip ka, Ualang Hinayan./ Kapag ang lusong ay magambala at araro'y masira, sinuma'y maaring sumalakay sa lupa! [Now look . . . since you commences to act in this way, mother is grieved and prostrate with pain, because our

mortar, in which we pound our food, and derive our happiness, is fallen; also the plowshare is getting rusty, and if it is destroyed what will be left to stir our soil?] (Riggs 253).

This validates that the "beef" symbolizes their farming resources and implements, saying that if they are left to idleness and rustiness, soon a foreigner (the crow) will grab from them their means of livelihood and source of pride.

The wise old uncle Katuiran expounds on Macamcam's tactics: "Ang hayop na iyan ay nakapagkukunwang mabait at maamong higit pa sa iba, na sa kandungay' halos dumapo pa ngunit mag-ingat, mahirap alamin ang lihim na mithi niya; ang layon lamang ng kanyang paglapit ay maghasik ng gulo at kabuhaya'y maligalig." ["The animal has the quality of appearing to be tamer and meeker than any other, and almost flies to your lap, but you cannot guess his hidden purpose. Such an animal approaches you only with a wish to scatter your property."] (Riggs 255).

Tangulan's leadership influence begins to shine when he enjoins his comrades to resist "the foreigner," an appellative used more than thrice in this Act by Kauri, Katuiran, Karangalan, and even Macamcam who declared himself as the other, coming from the Occident. Tangulan's characteristic lines of immortality is caught first by Karangalan, and then now by Kauri and Kakulay. This is part of Tangulan's strategic alliance to resist the advent of hegemonic culture and to struggle against the appropriation of a subaltern identity in their native soil:

TANGULAN. . . . *Inaasahan kong inyong babantayan ang kaginhawaan ng matandang Pinagsakitang Ina ni Karangalan, at ina rin nating tunay; kayo amang ang kanyang inaasahan.* [I expect from you the happiness of old Pinagsakitan, Karangalan's mother, and also our own, who depends on your support.]

KAURI. . . . *Si Pinagsakitan ay hindi naming pababayan, at maging si Karangalan ay hindi hahayaang bumagsak sa kamay ni Macamcam na isang dayuhan.* [...We will not abandon Pinagsakitan or permit Karangalan to fall into the hands of Macamcam the foreigner.]

KAKULAY. *Iyan ay sumpa! . . . sukdang kami ay mamatay.* [This we swear . . . even if we have to die!] (Riggs 254).

Despite their ties of brotherhood, Ualang Hinayan is unrepentant, preferring to be marginalized among his own race. Pagsakitan tells him: "*Masdan mo ang bunga ng katampalasanan . . . nagaganap ang isang maigting na himagsikan.*" ["Look at what you have achieved through your misdeeds . . . See, a great revolution."] Karangalan affirms, "Ikaw ang sanhi ng malaking himagsikan." ["You are the cause of this great revolution."] (Riggs 259). A duel is fought between Macamcam and Tangulan; the latter is hit on the chest and falls into the arms of Katuiran, who cries out in lament:

> Ay, Ualang Hinayan! Ipinagbili mo ang ating dignidad. Bakit ka pa isinilang sa lupaing ito ng Silangan? Masdan ang naging wakas ng ating Tangulan, ngayo'y lugmok na siyang bunga ng iyong kataksilan! Minabuti mo pang magkamal ng salaping bigtag sa ikalulupig ng iyong kapatid at mga kaanak. Ikaw ang bagong-silang na Hudas! Mag-isip ka sa ginampanan mo, Ualang Hinayan. [O, Ualang Hinayan! You have sold our dignity; why were you born in this land of the orient? See what has been the end of our defender (Tangulan . . .) It has pleased you to hold . . . the money which is a trap to carry off your sister and relatives. You are the new Judas born to light. Think of what you have done, Ualang Hinayan.] (Riggs 261).

Katuiran, which in English means "reason" or "logic," is the vital referent for addressing the relationship between knowledge and action, change and stability, as the central characters wrestle with the unexpected advent of Americans who threaten to disturb their peace, shake off their identity, and lay claim on the land that they inhabited. Katuiran is unequivocal in defining betrayal by the same blood as the true tragedy that could ever happen amongst themselves. True to his name, Katuiran does not give up appealing to the intelligence of those who had come to seek his aid: "*Isipin mo ang iyong ginawa, Ualang Hinayan: Kung mga Amerikano ang maghahari, mamumulubi ang lahat ng kalipi*" ["Think of what you have done, Ualang-hinayan. If the Spaniards (Americans) reign, all here will be paupers" (Riggs 261). He provides the crucial lens through which hegemony can be analyzed, the community mobilized, and the ordinary culture beyond egoistic, narrow-centered interests. A true-blooded organic intellectual, old Katuiran, like old wine, has earned the reputation of being a worker-philosopher seasoned in time and aged to

maturity. His intuitive wisdom and organic experience are duly recognized as the summit point of reference by the younger members of the community.

Even as Tangulan lay dying in his arms, Katuiran expresses his hope for more men like him. He argues that blindness to reason shall lead only to apparent failure. Still, for as long as consciousness remains, there is always hope that more organic intellectuals would spring from native soil and defend this country from the rapacious avarice of the colonialists. Calmly defiant, Katuiran's tone is predictive: "*Gayunpamay' kahit kayo'y may sabwatan upang sikilin sa libingan si Katuiran, siya'y hindi mamamatay, pagkat aking tatawagan ang naglahong kalayaan upang muling mabuhay . . . puso niya'y may pintig pa ring nananatili.*" ["Although you all join in trying to suffocate Katuiran in the grave, he will not die, because I will call the lost independence to sprout up again… his heart still beats."] (Riggs 261). The pledge of undying resistance and the summons to pragmatic, enlightened reason—i.e., the call for more organic intellectuals—thus spoken, the curtain closes.

Act Three

Karangalan Casts Ordine Nuovo, a New Order of Reality

The onus of the blame is pinned down on a comrade and kin's disloyal maneuverings. Once again, Karangalan grieves over her brother's betrayal. She makes the connection of his treason and slothful ways with the lingering unproductiveness and idleness of the rice fields—"*Kapag ang lusong ay maligalig, saan kami hihilig? Kapag ang araro ay masira, ano ang gagamitin sa pagbubungkal ng lupa? . . . Lahat ay sinira ng taong sa sarili niyang bayan ay di nagdalawang awa.*" ["If the mortar is overturned, what will our position be? And if the plow breaks, what shall we depend on to till our plantations? Everything has been destroyed by one who had no mercy for his own people."] (Riggs 263). Pinagsakitan laments the death of Tangulan, the loss of all her hope: "*Anong mangyayari sa ating kabuhayan? Myla nang mamatay si Tangulan, batid kong ang lusong at araro ay tuloy-tuloy na rin sa kasiraan . . . Ano pa ang magtataguyod sa abang buhay?*" ["What will become of this property? Since the death of Tangulan, our mortar and plow are destroyed . . . What is left to sustain life?"] (Riggs 264).

Feeling abandoned and alone, Karangalan has no recourse but to raise her voice to heavens and pray for her brother's conversion and his descendants:

> *"O, Bathala! Ang kapatid ko'y nawa'y makaunawa na ang ipinagbili niya ay kalayaan ng bansa. Gayundin ang iba pang kababayan na may ganoon ring kaisipan. Magbago nawa ang kanilang damdamin nang sa gayon ay huwag naming manahin ng kanilang mga kaanak ang ganoong pagtataksil."* ["O Bathala! Grant that my brother may understand clearly that he is selling our liberty, also those of my countrymen . . . who are pleased with having money, the product of slavery. Grant that they may change their feeling, and that their descendants may not inherit the treason of their ancestors."] (Riggs 266).

Throughout the play, Karangalan stands firm in the moral correctness of remaining steadfast in spirit despite their brother's desertion, the ominous Western ascendancy, her approaching loveless alliance with a foreigner, and the protracted unproductivity of their native land. Matapang Cruz has given her, perhaps, the most exquisitely resonant yet delicately constructed lines that are to be found in this dramatic text. The well-principled Karangalan, true to her dignity proves herself as yet one more organic intellectual of the same caliber as Tangulan and Katuiran, and for this reason she provokes trepidation even to her own brother finding her well-reasoned obstinacy being hard to contend with. Gramsci's argument for the "good sense" or "folkloric wisdom" of organic intellectuals shines through in Karangalan.

At this juncture, Macamcam enters wearing a gold-colored suit, *"Ginto ang aking kasuotan, ayon sa aking bantog na yaman."* ["My suit . . . [is] of gold, in accordance with my wealth."] (Riggs 263). A discourse between him and Karangalan follows, in which their ideological difference becomes clear. The dialogue, a clash of wills and reason between an organic intellectual (Karangalan) and a bourgeoisie (Macamcam), is worth re-telling because it is the moment when the stage is set for the subtle emergence of the Katipunan emblem over the horizon. Her ode cut off, she turns from the lyric medium of prayer to cutting spoken verse, the vehicle of reasoned statement:

MACAMCAM. *Ibigin man niya ako hindi, siya'y magiging akin, walang pasubali.* [Whether she loves or not, my wish is that she be mine.]

KARANGALAN. *Maling pag-uugali.* [Improper conduct.]

MACAMCAM. *Hindi, Karangalan.* [No, Karangalan.]

KARANGALAN. *Iyana ng siyang tunay.* [That is the truth.]

MACAMCAM. *Alin?* [What?]

KARANGALAN. *Ang palalong ambisyon . . . Mali ang iyong mga aral.* [Vile ambition… you are wrong in your reasoning.]

MACAMCAM. *Sinuman sa akin ay humadlang . . . ay magdurusa ng labis at labis pa.* [Whoever tries to oppose me will suffer a terrible penalty.]

KARANGALAN. *Mali ka sa iyong pangangatwiran . . . Kung magtagumpay ka sa pagpatay, at sa isang babae na sa iyo ay hindi nagmamahal, ano pa ang gagawin mong pangangatwiran?* [You are wrong in your reasoning. If you succeed in killing a rival but the lady still does not love you, what other deceits will you employ?]

MACAMCAM. *Ang kapatid mong si Ualang Hinayan ang bahala . . . . Bilang katunayan, pinagkalooban ko na siya ng salapi at katungkulan.* [Your brother will look after that; in proof of my regard I have given him money and employment.]

KARANGALAN. (*Sa sarili.*) *Ito ang bunga ng masamang ugali ng aking kapatid. Nang dahil sa salapi ay nagawang ipagbili si Karangalan.* [This is the result of my brother's conduct who, for the sake of wealth, has sold Karangalan.] (Riggs 266-67).

The sun rises; marching music is heard; the Katipunan emblem becomes visible on the horizon—and the riot from the audience begins on the premier show in 1903. Riggs reports that two or three Americans storm the stage in rage:

> [The] notation referred to the call for the popular insurrecto composition, *Aguinaldo's March,* the production of which invariably produced disorder, and which had been interdicted by the government under pain and sever penalties. Other equally reliable witnesses denied this and declared that the

> [musical] composition was not played until the final curtain fell over the act. I incline to the belief that music was rendered at this point, and that the combination of the rising sun, the actions accompanying its appearance, and the hated music, were the joint cause of the frequent riots attendant upon the presentation of this drama. (267)

Macamcam interprets the rising of the sun as the cue for the arrival of his father, but Karangalan retorts:

> *Ang pagsikat ng araw . . . yaon ang sagisag ng kalayaang ninanasa ng bayang sinilangan, ng bayang sinisinta at tayo ay iniwan, isang katiyakan na tayo ang magiging alipin magpakailanman . . . hanggat ang araw ay sumisikat, ito ang tandaan, mamamayan ng aking bayan: kapag ang araw ng iyan ay nagkubli, isang katiyakan na tayo ay magiging alipin magpakailanpaman.* [The rising of the sun . . . is the sign of the independence of this country where we are born. As long as the sun shines in the Orient, this is what I say, men of my complexion: if this sun hides itself and deserts us, we may sure to be slaves forever.] (Riggs 268)

In its third performance, the scene precipitated a riot that caused the play's destruction with a drunken American soldier throwing a beer bottle through the roseate sun.

Despite the news that Tangulan was severely wounded—perhaps already dead and rotting in Katuiran's hut—Kauri and Kakulay continue to pledge their allegiance, "*Libong ulit mang mamatay si Tangulan.*" ["Even if he were to die a thousand times"] (Riggs 270). But it would seem that Matapang Cruz uses the "rumor" of Tangulan's death to keep the hope alive among the audience, to counter despair, and to express his confidence for organic intellectuals in the generations to come: "*Mayroon pa rin siyang mga anak na sa kanya'y magtatanggol.*" ["His descendants would defend her"] (Riggs 270). But the mob voice from the backstage confirms the news of death: "*Hayaang magluksa ang bayan pagkat patay na si Tangulan.*" ["Let the people mourn because Tangulan is dead"] (Riggs 271).

A Clash between Folkloric Wisdom and Foreign Folly

The wailing for the death of Tangulan was only momentary, for another set of intellectual discourse quickly ensues, with all fingers pointing at the treacherous Ualang Hinayan as being the root of their predicament. In these lines, Matapang Cruz seems to warn potential traitors lurking in the audience, and appeals to his fellow citizens to resist the hegemony and conformism that could paralyze the Filipinos in their fight for freedom,

> **PINAGSAKITAN.** Taksil na anak! Walang paglingan sa inang sa iyo ay nagsilang! Walang damdamin sa pagdurusa ng sarili mong bayan! [Traitor son, who does now know how to regard the mother who bore you, and does not feel the afflictions of your people!]
>
> **UALANG HINAYAN.** *Ika'y minamahal ko, ina, upang tayo ay magkamal ng limpak na yaman.* [I do esteem you, mother, that we may have money in abundance.]
>
> **PINAGSAKITAN.** *Hindi ganyan ang paraan upang lumingap sa ina . . . pagbebenta ng katawan niya.* [This is not the way to esteem her . . . to sell her body . . .] (Riggs 272).

Violence emerges. Kauri and Kakulay were tied up as prisoners; old Katuiran was shoved by Ualang Hinayan to kneel before Macamcam. Off stage, Karangalan is forced to wear a blazing red apparel; Pinagsakitan a glowing white. Captive Katuiran yells: "*Ualang Hinayan! Itaga sa bato ang aking sasabihin: bagaman si Kauri at Kakulay ay naaalipin at si Tangulan ay namatay; bagaman ako sa harap mo ay nakalupasay, kayo'y tiyak na magagapi bago lumubog ang araw.*" ["Ualang Hinayan! Remember what I am about to tell you: although Kauri and Kakulay are enslaved and Tangulan is dead, and although I am kneeling down, this sun will not set before we are above you"] (Riggs 273). True to his name, Katuiran declares that unless the dictates of reason are strictly obeyed, the household falls, i.e., the Philippines stands or falls on the rule of loyalty to reason—a grain of truth extracted from the organic intellectuality of old Katuiran. His adherence to reason is a delicate directive throughout the play's unfolding action.

Then Pinagsakitan, dressed in white, and Karangalan, dressed in red, appear. With complete naturalness they walk to the center of the stage and the Filipino insurgent flag is formed into a vivid tableau by the cast, with Macamcam in vulgar gold coming threateningly into sight at the border, acting as if to intimidate the popular flag rising resplendently tranquil at the theater's axis. At this point, the audience breaks into loud cheers in that first performance at Teatro Libertad in Singalong in 1903; the same reaction is produced in Teatro Nueva Luna in Malabon. Riggs writes:

> It was at this point that the artful byplay was made by which the various characters on the stage came together in the centre, their clothing forming the rebel or insurgent flag, with Macamcam's golding clothing acting as a sort of fringe from the outer edge. This bit of byplay was received with a perfect storm of applause, [but with] the house rising to its feet, to a man causing pandemonium . . . . (273)

Unknowingly, the Americans who stormed the stage became the necessary characters themselves, and their intrusion made the cause of conflict within (and outside) the play all the more vivid. Henry Sayre believes that "[t]he eruption of the outside into the work, and the transformative potential such an intrusion process, becomes particularly interesting in the light of the theatrical aspects of performance art" (qtd. in Lentricchia 96). The Americans were agitated because they had come to see the play as vehicle for investigating their own machinations. The *Philippine Cablenews* reported the theatrical technique in more objective terms as to imply that the American's rude intrusion to the stage, though perhaps proved by the playwright, was wholly unwarranted:

> In the third act, preparations are made for the marriage. The flag, made of three breadths of cloth forming a triangle, was brought upon the stage. The blue represented the prospective bridegroom, white, the mother; and red, the daughter, which color she declares will make her hate the drunken suitor forever. Each corner of the flag has a star instead of the three famous Ks of the Katipunan (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonifacio 41).

It is in scenes of vivid theatrical metaphors that Matapang-Cruz had succeeded in bringing the notion of performance to higher standing, making the stage a veritable "field situation," engaging the audience—whether Filipinos or Americans—into the problematics of the plot and involving them in the dilemmas of the play which extended to actualities of colonial life. The scenario thus created is, on a wider scale, the scenario of the Philippines embattled against the United States, and their impending, one-sided alliance: will the "marriage" push through, or not? Will independence be gained, or lost?

Indeed, the performance was caught up in the social and the political exigencies of the moment, and what would have appeared as innocent costumery had unmistakable political undertones. This scene evokes the time when Filipinos were forced to wave the American flag shortly after the latter's landing in the Philippines.

The wedding preparations begin. Macamcam's true colors and Maimbot's selfish intent become known. They project blunt verbalizations of their colonization and force the people into surrender of their property and submissive silence:

MACAMCAM. *Wala kayong magagawa kung kayo ay alipin na! Kaya mabuti pang tumahimik ka!* [In your slavery you can achieve nothing, so be quiet!]

MAIMBOT. *Ualang Hinayan, dalhin dito ang kasulatan ng inyong ari-arian.* [Bring the documents regarding your property.]

UALANG HINAYAN. *Narito, ginoo, ang lahat ng kasulatan ng aming ari-arian.* [Here, sir, is the statement of all the property we own.]

MACAMCAM. *Tandaan ninyo, mula ngayon, maging ikaw, Ualang Hinayan, ay hindi na maaaring makialam.* [You must remember that from now on, you must not interfere.] *Maaaring sukatin ang mga ari-arian upang malaman kung gaano ang saklaw.* [Measure the width and length of your property, that I may know the expanse.]

UALANG HINAYAN. *Ang haba ay labimpito, ang luwan ay labintatlo.* [Seventeen long and thirteen wide.]

MACAMCAM. *Gaano ang lupa sa ganoong sukat?* [How much land is there?]

UALANG HINAYAN. *Isandaang metro kuwadrado.* [On hundred square meters.]

MACAMCAM. *Tandaan mo, mula ngayon, kung sa bahay na iyan ay nais mong manirahan; at kung sa lupa ay nais mong manakahan, kailangang ang lahat ay iyong pagbayaran.* [Remember that from this day if you want to live in that house and take charge of it, including your lands, you will have to pay me.]

MACAMCAM. *Ang lahat ng inyong sinukat.* [For all that has been measured.] (Riggs 273).

The foregoing dialogue evokes several laws that the American government had enacted during the colonial regime—some ostensibly for the protection of laborers, others to their clear disadvantaged, such as Act No. 2129 which authorized the director for the Bureau of Labor to demand from the municipal secretary a statistical report of the actual movement of all registered laborers (qtd. in Cortes et al 307). It must be noted that the peasants who mostly belonged to the troops being drilled by Filipino insurgent leaders for the defense of their freedom were in the outlying areas. As such, intelligence on practically every move and association they make would work against the clandestine nationalist movement.

Macamcam, Maimbot, and the hegemonized Ualang Hinayan represent the opposite of Gramsci's concept of intellectuals, just as calculations and conformism are opposed to sincerity and spontaneity illustrated in Act One. The situation worsened when Ualang Hinayan accepted the colonialists' largesse, which in reality was his own property. Gramsci's protest that Italian literature was overwhelmed by foreign texts parallels Ualang Hinayan's consent and accommodation of the colonialists. On a broader basis, Gramsci's criticism also reflects that state of dramatic production in this country:

> What is the meaning of the fact that . . . people prefer to read foreign writers? It means that they undergo the moral and intellectual hegemony of foreign intellectuals, that they feel more closely related to foreign intellectuals than to "domestic" ones, that there is no national intellectual and moral bloc, either hierarchical or still less, egalitarian. The intellectuals do

> not come from the people, even if by accident some of them have origins among the people. They do not feel tied to them, they do not know and sense their needs, aspirations and feelings. In relation to the people, they are detached and without foundation, a caste and not an articulation with organic functions of the people themselves (Crehan 158).

Culture is conceived not only in terms of how social groups are shaped and structured, but also how those shapes are experienced, understood, and interpreted. Torn by Western materialism, mutilated by sectarianism, invaded more and more by power-hungry politicos, the ordinary men and women of today certainly have much to say in their struggle for ascendancy and the quest for meaningful contextual relationships. In a highly-structured paradigm, they suffer suppression of identity, earning their hard-earned money at the cost of life and limb for a measly hand-to-mouth existence. Their attention is tightly fixed on the *ordinary*, the daily, ongoing and never-ending quest for physical survival. By making the everyday Filipino the "hero," truly an active protagonist capable of defying false assumptions of superiority wrought about by hegemony—exemplified by the prototypes Tangulan and Karangalan—theater will be able to seize the essence of work and struggle, and to substantiate their problematic analyses with focal literature as groundwork and basis. The alliance between the theater of the past and Philippine life at present will breach the barrier in literary and cultural studies. It would help lay bare the crimes of the past and even of the present, warning the nation in the event of resurging forms of domination. Indeed this kind of theater can give birth to a new breed of leaders, that is, organic intellectuals.

Tangulan the Defender Mightier in Life than in Death

For all the colonialists' clever calculations, they make one fatal mistake in allowing Tangulan's funeral rites to take place in Pinagsakitan's household. Believing in rumors and innuendos over solid proof of Tangulan's death, they try to placate Karangalan for one last time before she weds Macamcam by letting her see her former fiancé's corpse. Tangulan's lifeless body is carried; it looks fresh and warm; but his comrades are completely downcast. After all,

a solo performance on the field of rebellion bereft of a leader can chill even the stoutest of hearts; what else could they do without their leader-defender? Indeed, the matter of being dead—forsaken by one's leader—can be quite galling. For the ordinary warrior, deprivation and exposure to enemy's fire can be endured as long as he fights side by side with his fellow fighters and under a stalwart leader such as Tangulan. But now, seeing him lying motionless on the mat, Pinagsakitan faints while Karangalan bravely looks on with wondering sorrow. The rest of the household is too busy with wedding preparations even to take notice. When Maimbot finally says, "*Alisin na ang patay na iyan at idadaos na ang kasalan,*" ["Bury the dead man and let the wedding take place], to everybody's shock, Tangulan got up and said, "*Sila'y hindi maikakasal pagkat hindi ako patay!*" ["They must not be married because I am not dead!"] (Riggs 275). Everyone is taken aback. Kauri and Kakulay wrestle and now hold the foreigners captive; Ualang Hinayan whines for pity. The crowd is aghast, and before their startling amazement, Tangulan delivers a speech addressed primarily to Ualang Hinayan: "*Nais mong ipapatay ang kabalat mong may ugaling mainam at may hangad na ipagtanggol ang bayang mahal. Isipin mo ang lahat, Ualang Hinayan! Tumindig ka, Karangalan at Inang Pinagsakitan pagkat si Tangulan ang nakapanagumpay.*" ["You wanted to kill your countryman of character who would willingly defend his beloved country. Ualang Hinayan, think of it! Arise, Karangalan and you, Mother Pinagsakitan, for your son Tangulan has conquered."] (Riggs 275).

In a broader scope, Tangulan, the organic intellectual in this play, has transformed the stage into a grassland of possibilities, posing the question to the audience as to whether the revolutionary spirit was still on fire. The words, "*Hindi aco patay!*" (Riggs 275), by which he got "resurrected," was not speaking in the simple idiom of protest for the audience. But it is speaking with the audience, making it a propagandistic discourse for the fierce revolutionary struggles that were brewing in 1903 and would reach their peak in a few years. Thus the climax of Tangulan's pretension and coming to life—like "a play-within-a-play"—served as the catalytic or transformative function that the audience needed to reaffirm their identities as freedom-loving

people, and to create a sense of collective consciousness in their fight for independence.

Dramatic action is understood as any sort of change, a major aspect of human experience. On its most immediately perceptible level, Tangulan's "rising from the dead" denotes a physical, tangible movement from one position in space and time to another, i.e., from the state of being wounded and near dead in Katuiran's hut, to being a corpse sprung to action and life in Pinagsakitan's household. On the intellectual and emotional levels, action is change from one idea or emotional condition (Tangulan the Defender is dead) to another idea or condition (Tangulan is still alive; he will fight). All probability of physical, emotional, and intellectual action ultimately takes the form in Tangulan's rising on the spot. Thus, Matapang Cruz winds up the play with the message that there may yet be organic intellectuals in this country who need some tapping and rousing from sleep before the likes of the traitor Ualang Hinayan takes over the collective consciousness.

Perhaps the surest way to evaluate the action from this play script is in terms of consistency. Tangulan's resurgence is consistent with his character (which defender would surrender?), viewpoint, and language. As noted in the beginning, his speech is spiced with expressions of immortality; and Matapang Cruz has skillfully pre-empted Tangulan's climactic revitalization with discourses of abiding, undying love for Karangalan ang Pinagsakitan.

Like the Greek chorus, Katuiran delivers the last lines and summons his audience to "resurrect" themselves the way Tangulan the organic intellectual did. He assures the audience that for as long as the likes of Tangulan live on, the sun of liberty shall never set: "*Dito nagwawakas ang kasaysayan ni Tangulan; sa pagtatanggol sa bayang sinilangan, Siya ay hindi namatay, bagkus nga ay nabuhay; at sa ganoong dahilan, sumilay sa kanya ang araw ng kalayaan*" ["Here ends Tangulan's story. In defense of the country here he came to light, he was not dead, but alive, and thus the sun of liberty and independence shone on him"] (Riggs 275).

In the Western canon, the most common tragic action pattern ends in the protagonist's misfortune and death—though his inspiration might live on. Usually, in part responsible for his downfall is some error of judgment or

weakness of character, defined by Aristotle as *hamartia.* Instead of focusing on ideas of greatness, subtle strength, and intellectual perception, canonical tragedies more often point to some fatal limitation. Not so with *Hindi Aco Patay*: although it may be argued that it does not fall into the category of tragic drama, it portrays an ideal of a hero. Tangulan is not like the tragic epic heroes whose death seals their message. This man-of-soil sprung truly from the earth, seemingly to evoke the ever-present promise and possibility of the rise of politico-philosophical peasantry in the Philippines. The distinction of this drama emphasizes the prominence of which an ordinarily extraordinary citizen is capable and summons the audience from slumber to activity and revolution long overdue. The emphasis is upon potentiality, not limitation. The total unfolding of the play's action is most philosophically compatible with the desire and function of this subversive drama. In resurrecting Tangulan (for he was never dead, only wounded but pretended to be dead), Matapang Cruz emphasizes potentiality for organic intellectuality, from resistance to agency, rather than upon downfall, limitation, or inaction.

The culmination of this play is the mark of its achievement in terms of dramatic unity. There is an impression of singleness of purpose flowing from the representative figures, their dialogue and discourse, the flow of action with each and every one of them contributing to the clarion call for defenders of nation. The aesthetic aspects of dramaturgy—and notably its "choreographic disarray" on the insurgent flag formation—provided dramatic focus and harmony of effects. So unmistakably clear was the clarion that the play had to be halted at some point—and no fourth performance was ever reported since Juan Matapang Cruz, his wife, and the theater troupe were arrested on grounds of sedition on 5th of July 1903 (Lapeña-Bonifacio 27).

Synthesis

One sure measure of this play's timelessness is the continuing relevance of the characters and the dilemmas they face. Their names are no mere sociological clichés but significant archetypes of the era that are most applicable to the present—Tangulan as the Patriotic Peasant, Pinagsakitan as Mother Country, Karangalan as Filipino Honor and Dignity, Katuiran as Reason

or Voice of Conscience, Ualang Hinayan as the Westernized Filipino, and Maimbot as "Uncle Sam" or America the Provider and Self-Appointed Protector. In this country, the political carnivalesque can easily provide parallels to this nineteenth century play and may even be rendered with more life and meaning than before. The prevalence of political dynasties and the aristocratic grip over agricultural lands, the confrontation among local politicians on the issue of graft and corruption, and the abolition of the "pork barrel" give the play a contemporary spin. These reflect the grim realities of socio-cultural life and the dire and urgent need for organic intellectuals who will have astuteness and power and the capacity to work with deep feeling and compassion for the poor, truly like the organic intellectuals that Gramsci had aspired for every nation.

"One can summarize the fifty years of direct US colonial rule as an illustration of hegemony won through military power and stabilized through the twin methods of coercion and cooptation" (E. San Juan, Jr., "The National Democratic Revolution"), following the works of Williams and Gramsci, cultural studies scholars acknowledge the prominent role of drama and theater as a site where identities, intellectualities and ideas are being continually shaped and reshaped, and power acted and enacted. Performance then becomes a sphere for imagining oppositional change, a dreamscape for utopian possibility, a dart for shaping individual consciousness, and a space for collective agency acquisition. As a site of production of organic intellectuals and a place of social interaction, culture is indeed an important terrain that is subject to negotiation and struggle. It opens the horizons for future proletarian philosophers, pragmatic thinkers, deeply-rooted political servants and prudent, judicious peasantry. Thus, *Hindi Aco Patay* has to be brought to the common ground of everyday life to make organic citizens rise to intellectuality, recalcitrance, and leadership.

The entertainment scene provides a perfect starting point. Many local versions of Broadway and West End musicals that feature home-grown performers are using the same old foreign scripts and songs. They thus do not develop the innovativeness of Filipino talents and resources. It is not that we lack our own musicians, playwrights, and scriptwriters—the coun-

try's top universities churn out a good number of degree holders every year—but that theatrical productions opt to choose the easy way out by adopting time-tested foreign musicals that promise to bring in more money—while not giving full equity and opportunity to our budding Filipino talents. In the face of such phenomenon, a "seditious" patriotic drama can amply build up the Filipino theater to make it emerge *from the popular to the popular* and play its own decisive role in building a sense of nationhood.

Gramsci states, "One can observe how in the overall production of each country there is an implicit nationalism, not rhetorically expressed, but skillfully insinuated in the story" (360). A romantic play at first sight, *Hindi Aco Patay* transcends sentimental idealism and rouses Filipinos from complacency, mediocrity, and unconscious or conscious conformism with hegemony. It is a transition play from the mystery plays to a revolutionary one. The central problem is the sustained emergence of organic intellectuals from the working class, ideologically prepared and organizationally capable of leading the oppressed masses' collective emancipation. It is a treasure trove of the Filipino ideals proclaimed and championed at the proclamation of Philippine independence in 1898, which the Americans had chosen to ignore completely (Ileto 240). Sociologist Randolph David says that the present time is ripe for revolution. These are dangerous times. It behooves us to wake up and begin to step forward collectively to stop the slide of servitude to the burgeoning market interests in this country, down into the abyss of a new kind of despotism. Indeed, there seems a no better time than the present to re-read and re-stage a dramatic literary text as fine as this one. Yet, considering the riot that broke out during its maiden performance and its subsequent suppression making it hidden for decades, Gramsci's lamentations in *Avanti!* on November 14, 1920 may well apply to *Hindi Aco Patay:*

> We confess that the bourgeois audience in the theatre was not the most suitable for watching and listening to [this] work of art. Its undiluted truth must, we fear, have seemed like a blow to their stomachs. Let us hope, then that this play finds better audience, less refined, more immediately sincere nearer to appraising and suffering the impetuous anguish of the [victorious] tragedy. We wish it a proletarian audience. (77)

The hegemonic tension caused by the looming American ascendancy in the early 1900s had produced a fairly sizable amount of "seditious" plays, remarkable in content, artistically mounted, and skillfully expressed, and which to this day could be decisive in our efforts to forge a stronger national identity. Those seeds planted by the Filipino dramatists now need cultivating particularly by younger Filipinos who are increasingly becoming active players in theatrical productions and local governance but stand far in need in recognizing themselves as organic intellectuals, and the potent tool of culture and arts in fomenting national consciousness. *Hindi Aco Patay* is one such drama, and the audience—the present Filipino community to whom this work continues to be addressed—will determine the work's relative worth by the kind of resurgence and renewal it will be afforded with, and its resulting transformation in social life and political culture.

Bagong Cristo, a Suitable Sequel to Hindi Aco Patay

Aurelio Tolentino's empathy for the poor conditions of the working class and his recognition of their innate logic and practical wisdom (sometimes called "good sense", "common sense", or "folkloric wisdom" by Gramsci) are unambiguously present in this dramatic literary piece. According to Zapanta-Manlapaz, it was the author's administration for the writings of Dr. Dominador Gomez, the crusader for workingmen's rights which inspired him to write this prose play (see fig.4).

Manlapaz comments in the Introduction:

> In a class all by itself is *Bagong Cristo,* a three-act prose drama without music that Tolentino referred to as a "drama socialista." Unlike the zarzuelas which dealt principally with the conventional theme of love, *Bagong Cristo* was a dramatized exposition of the plight of the Filipino laboring class (3).

Written in 1907, this serious drama resounds with Tangulan's positive prejudice for uplifting the plight of the peasantry. As such it may be fitted or adjusted as a sequel to *Hindi Aco Patay,* tempering the romantic tone of the former with the gravity of *Bagong Cristo,* a defender like Christ and a figure of Gramsci's organic intellectual. As if by coincidence, Tolentino makes

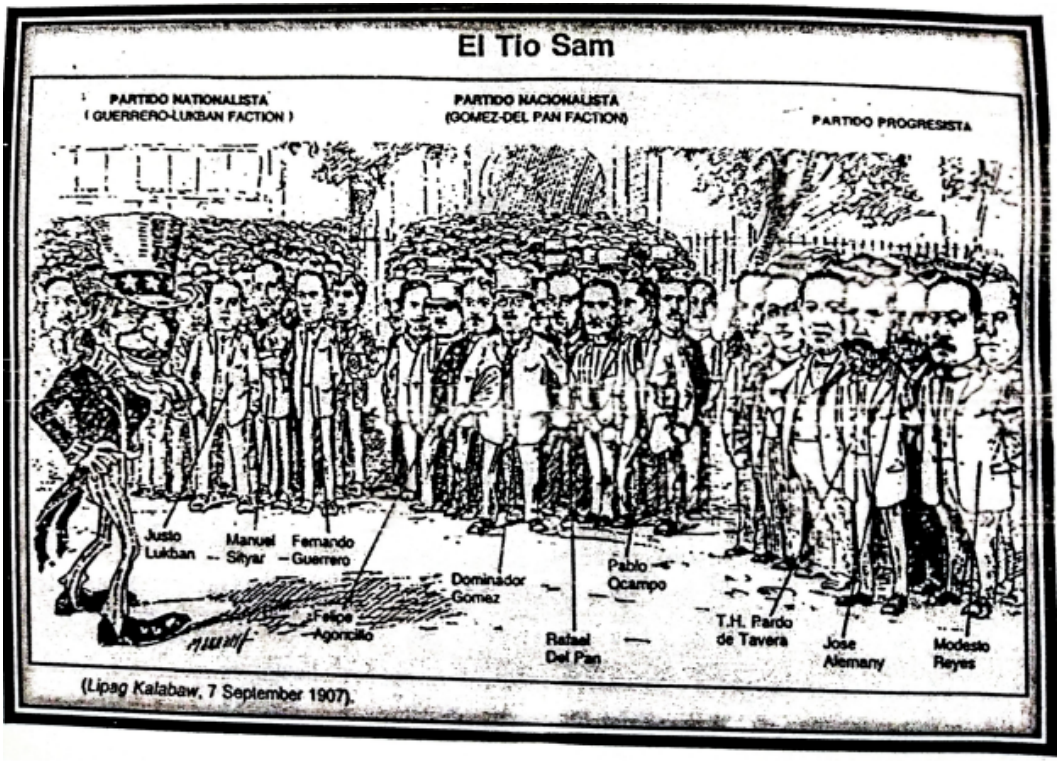

FIG. 4. An editorial cartoon; "El Tio Sam"; *Lipag Kalabaw*; 7 Sept. 1907 (Paredes 100).

liberal use of "katuiran" and "tangulan" in his script, though not as proper names but as abstract concepts. For example, in Act I, Scene 2, "*Mabuhay ang katuiran, mabuhay ang Bagong Cristo*!" (Tolentino 151), and in Act II, Scene 7:

Si Jesus Gatbiaya, tangulan ng bayan
Ang tinig niya ay binhi ng saganang buhay
Ang buhay niya'y siyang tanging paraluman
Uliran ng lahat, aralan ng bayan. (Tolentino 193)

It is not known whether the play has been staged or not; the dramatic text was found among Tolentino's private typescript papers consisting of eighty-six (86) paginated leaves (viii). The plot ends abruptly at a highly critical scene. Notwithstanding the doubts about the completeness of the text, the plot remains whole, vibrant, and intact; it rightfully deserves attention for the light it sheds on the triumphant yet thwarted efforts of a Filipino change agent, an "organic intellectual." Although the anticlimax may well be taken as Tolentino's preferred conclusion given the surveillance exercised on him while on parole, it is also possible that some leaves were destroyed, stolen, or simply missing. Whichever the case, the text's remains merits careful reading for the rich and insightful perspective it offers on the Filipino's comprehension of what constitutes justice and nationhood.

Justice as Right Reason Tempered with Mercy

The novelty of Tolentino's characterization of the organic intellectual in *Bagong Cristo* is his stress not only on reason or learning but on the distributive nature of justice with which to counteract greed and avarice. The organic intellectual in this play, Jesus Gatbiaya, is endowed not only with practical intelligence; he knows how to love with deeds of justice and mercy and has compassion for the poor (katuiran, awa, pagmamahalan, at pamamalasakitan) (See Act III, Scene 3 in Tolentino 208-211). He illustrates the organic intellectual with a treatment similar to that of Matapang Cruz with Tangulan in terms of industry and clemency. Thus the notion of justice is tempered with mercy for all while letting loose a scathing remark on idleness and sloth in Act II, Scene 7: "*Ang lahat ng tamad ay dadatnan ng pisak ng gabi sa pagkalupaypay, paghihingalo at pagkamatay*" (Tolentino 193). His distinction between right and duty is co-dependent; he is particularly conscientious in emphasizing the fulfillment of the duty of work and mercy which he categorizes along clear lines in Act III, Scene 3:

> *Ang lahat ng tao sa balat ng lupa ay may sariling karapatan at katungkulan . . . Ang puno, ang ugat ng mga katungkulang dapat ganapin ng tao ay dalawang bagay: ang katwiran at ang awa. Katwiran: huwag nating gawin sa iba ang anumang bagay na hindi natin ibig mangyari sa atin. Ang awa ay ang paggawa sa kapwa*

> *ng mga bagay na ibig nating gawin sa atin ng iba. Samakatwid, ang katwiran ay huag umapi upang tayo'y huag apihin; ang awa ay ang tayo'y gumawa ng magaling upang tayo'y gawan din ng magaling* (Tolentino 209).

The natural participation of organic intellectuals in the quotidian struggles is capital investment for the cause they fight for; by natural consequence, they possess a deeper level of awareness, a more pressing sense of urgency and heightened consciousness, "by means of which one succeeds in understanding one's own historical value, one's own function in life, one's own rights and duties" (Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings* 11).

It is to be legitimately deduced that, given the demanding nature of farm work, meager resources and austere living conditions, the average Filipinos are prone to becoming more concerned with competition than compassion, with rebellion than rationalizations. As such, Tolentino advocates the creation of labor unions and workers' organizations so that the needs of the common good prevail over personal or clannish interests. Therefore, a correct notion of community justice and common good must exist in the Filipino mindset and scale of values as an antidote to dishonest, corruptive practices. Since the common good is not necessarily for the greatest majority's benefit—a notion that outrightly discriminates against the subaltern groups—what exactly is the common good? Magsino defines it as—

> . . . the good of all in society that includes the good of each. The purpose of all law and of all structures and institutions is precisely to attain the common good. The common good is not at odds with the particular good of the individual person because the common good must include that particular good. And yet the common good is, in a way, a greater good than the particular good and can have primacy over the particular good provided that this latter good is not an inalienable one. This is a rather complex concept, yet very important. In some occasions I am tempted to think that we Filipinos might lack this concept of the common good. We have a very strong concept of the particular, personal good. And there are times we assert our particular good to the detriment for the common good (A14).

Certain Filipino words are used to express the concept of justice and other words related to it:

- *katarungan* (from *tarong*, a Visayan word that means upright, straight, correct)
- *karapatan* (from *dapat,* a Tagalog word that means right, duty, fitting or appropriate)
- *batas,* which in English is law, mandate, or command
- *kapangyarihan,* power or authority

But do we have a word for social justice and common good? Again, Magsino proposes one—

> What comes to mind is *bayanihan.* People usually associate this word with a whole *bayan* helping another person move his house, or many persons helping a person in need, or any collective cooperative effort. Perhaps, the word is there but the concept still has to develop in our minds and our culture. We all have to be aware of doing what is just to build our nation; and all of us can contribute our little share. This is working for the common good; this is our present-day *bayanihan* (A14).

The didactic drama of *Bagong Cristo* may be most effectively performed and its tenets applied to the workers' lives, not in illusory terms, but with realism and sympathy.

Justice as *Scuola Disinteressata,* Impartial Education

Gramsci observed, "Tomorrow, like today, the school will undoubtedly be a crucible where new spirits will be forged. Tomorrow the school will be immensely important than it is now" (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 42). *Bagong Cristo* emphasizes the role of education in the formation of youth; in fact, there are more than half a dozen discourses in the script on the duty to educate and be educated. In Act III, Scene 2, Jesus Gatbiaya rebukes those rulers who keep the young ignorant and untrained for fear that they would soon realize the injustices they suffer at the hands of the dominating class:

> *Sinasabi mong masama ang mag-aral, sapagkat ayaw mong dumunong ang tao upang manatili sa dilim ang lahat at huwag makita ang iyong mahalay na gawa, upang makubli sa habang panahon ang nag-aantak na sugat ng puso mong bulok* (Tolentino 202).

The above prescription has resounding relevance to the educational system today. We witness the alarming trends of overvaluing technology and undervaluing people, the displacement of face-to-face interaction by virtual connection; the recasting of citizenship and inner life as a commodified data profile; the tendency to turn to the market and patronizing the political to address social problems. There is also the tendency to refer to the poor and marginalized only regarding their labor capacity. One only has to peruse the content of locally published literature textbooks for young people in the private and public educational systems to realize that a percentage of their reading requirement are, for the most part, authored by a highly-select circle of academicians and literati. In technical-vocational schools, these readings are missing; their educational fare being limited to the functional, communicatively-competent and practical aspects, thereby positioning them already as mere subjects to institutional structures, passive instruments to ideologies. True, this country has and continues to produce formidable tome of literary works—some of them even prize-winning—but if these outcomes circulate only within a limited audience who are already well-versed with the language and representation of struggles, dominations, and resistance, it will not be long before another set of elitist canonists arise from our midst, with the distressing result that written history is really only the history of a sophisticated few (Joaquin 208).

In appropriating scholarly training among the working youths and marginalized groups, in the promotion of cultural literacy in the technical-filled curriculum of vocational students, today's academic intellectuals can help frame and foster the political significance of *Bagong Cristo* to the subaltern groups and make this play truly a vivid mechanism for political socialization. The promising organic intellectuals of the twenty-first century Philippines may be, after all, students not only of top universities, but of technical vocational institutions whose training are usually pragmatized. Indeed, the public educational system is now re-structured more as a feeder for catering to the needs of the new market economy with the increasing demands of multinational companies in the region, and less as a site of citizenship possibilities and the formation of intellectually-competitive workers

and public servants. The employability-oriented and market-driven curriculum could reduce the notion of citizenship into the act of buying and selling commodities (including political candidates), rather than broadening the scope of freedom and rights to expand the operations of the republic. If this trend continues minus the simultaneous emphasis on literary studies being argued in *Bagong Cristo,* the nation would run the risk of losing the correlation between cultural studies, academic scholarship, and citizenship, convinced that education is now just about job training, hand-hiring, and competitive market advantage, and less about developing a capacity for reflection, critique, and societal transformation.

If intellectuals are not quick to operate alongside the lower middle classes, they would risk losing them into the overriding consumerism and ideological despotism of the West. With an inadequate repertoire of stock responses mostly caught from foreign-produced voice tapes and videos, the people-nation would again run the risk of being always-already positioned, subjugating themselves mindlessly to the minority and dominant corporations who paradoxically are also composed of Filipinos, the elite ones. It was, perhaps, for this reason that Tolentino had advocated a *Samahang Manunulat* flanking the *Samahan ng mga Magsasakang Obrero.*

Radical advocates and subaltern groups do not always realize that several historical and literary narratives made available for public consumption have colonialist undertones. This often leads to a skewed interpretation of events being presented to policy makers. Re-staging *Bagong Cristo* could provide refreshing insights for the formulation and passage of bills that favor the workers. The task of analyzing the lengthy dialogues of the protagonist Jesus Gatbiaya at any crucial period of Philippine history may serve as a springboard for the re-emergence and re-definition of the ordinary Filipino as an intellectual working side by side with the people.

Workers: the Anonymous Intellectual and Backbone of the Nation

"Nation" in this play is understood above all as the composite of hard-working farmers, fishermen, and other laborers and their families for whose sustenance they work to the sweat of their brow all day long. They form the

backbone of the nation, whom Gramsci also calls the "anonymous intellectual practitioners" without whom the nation would collapse. From Act I, Scene 2:

> *Batid ninyo kung ano ang tinatawag na bayan? May mga taong halos hindi natutuyuan ng pawis sa pakikibaka sa lahat ng hirap sa pagsasaka, sa mga Gawain, sa mga pagdadagat, sa lahat ng bagay na ikinabubuhay at ikalulusok ng bagong katauhan . . .Samakatwid ang bayan ay kayong tunay, sapagkat kayo ang mga hindi natutuyuan ng pawis, sikatan at lubugan ng araw sa pakikibaka sa lahat ng hirap upang sumibol at lumusok ang buhay . . . Kapag Nawala ang bayan ay mawawalang lahat, sapagkat hindi magkakaroon ng buhay kung walang kasipagan* (Tolentino 148).

Tolentino tacitly states the quiet power exerted by the peasants; their daily work is not always a symbolic reinforcement of subjugation; their very survival is an act of refusal and resistance. They emerge as the epitome of the survivor, enriched with something worthwhile to share in the cause of the national popular in experiencing the injustice of feudalistic arrangements that sometimes test human endurance limits. They know only too well that work can be an instrument of enslavement that degrades man and virtually transforms him into a beast of burden. Still, they also know that such is not always the case and the experience of everybody. As survivors, they can affirm themselves in rapidly-changing structures; their small victories against the monoliths of destruction are forms of life-inspired stubbornness that constitute their day-to-day existence, their ordinary life; in a word, of their very "culture." Thus "nation" constitutes the force of hardworking people (*"Bayang Obrero")* who band together and demand justice from rulers. Noteworthy is Tolentino's inclusion of various workingmen's associations in Act III, Scene 5: *Samahan ng mga Manunulat, Samahan ng mga Magsasaka, Samahang Artes y Oficios, Samahang Comercio at Industria* (Tolentino 217). His insistence on agricultural work and farmers' right and dignity is reflective of a common sentiment in the 1900s.

Suppose workers form the backbone of the nation. In that case, it is but just that the so-called economic growth of any country trickle down effectively to the poorest families in a way that "growth without jobs" would

be inconceivable. An economy that produces wealth but remains barren of jobs that sustain countless families, is no more than a superficial growth. The message of *Bagong Cristo* evokes what Pope Francis says anew in his Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium:*

> Money must serve, not rule! I exhort you to generous solidarity and a return of economics and finance to an ethical approach which [favors] human beings… [The poor] have much to teach us. Not only do they share in the *sensus fidei,* but in their difficulties they know the sufferings of Christ. We need to let ourselves be evangelized by them. The new evangelization is an invitation to acknowledge the saving power at work in their lives and to put them at the [center] of the Church's pilgrim way. We are called to find Christ in them, to lend our vice to their causes…also to be their friends, to listen to them, to speak for them and to embrace the mysterious wisdom which God wishes to share with us through them.

Gramsci likewise says that only he who has compassion and works with and for the poor is an authentic intellectual. Thus, he advocates for the joint alliances of heterogenous oppositional forces consisting of such groups as the learned and scholars, the unemployed youth, blue collar workers, environmental enthusiasts, and community pressure groups, among others, for a new state formation that would constitute a truly promising alternative emergence of the nation-people. In a nutshell, this is the clarion call of *Bagong Cristo*: the collective union of the peoples for the advancement of their work, particularly of agriculture and other forms of manual work through which economy grows, families are sustained and education is attained.

Clearly, Jesus Gatbiaya as *Bagong Cristo* is derived from the true figure of Jesus Christ of the Gospel. Christ showed compassion for those who suffer material and spiritual poverty. He spent thirty years of obscurity devoted to carpentry's humble work, fed the hungry, healed the sick, forgave sinners. He formed an alliance composed mostly of what the world regard as lowly men then as now: fishermen. He mingled with tax collectors, discussed with the scribes, and proved he was wisest of them all for being meek, truthful, and merciful. Everything he did, from the hidden years in Nazareth to the culmination of his life in a crucifixion at Calvary, had for its ultimate objective

the redemption of the poor and the definitive triumph of justice. Similarly, Jesus Gatbiaya undergoes a farcical trial that ends in death. The clarion call is clear: is there another like him, who with Christ would co-redeem the poor, downtrodden, sinners?

The play's point is pertinent today: despite the prevailing capitalist ideology in which ordinary men and women find themselves, their sense of union is potentially redemptive. Their work regimen does not break down their power to become active social agents. Hardships and challenges could encourage egoism in some but stimulate altruism and compassion in others. Despite being caught in the middle of a grim and pressing environment, their vitality remains, for no technocracy could fail to eradicate fraternal aspirations. For example, in theatrical framework, one's sense of solidarity with the rest of the community is augmented. Interaction among varied social classes within a single troupe will give off a powerful contemporary rendition of *Bagong Cristo.*

The "Seditious" Patriotic Drama of Aurelio Tolentino: *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*), 1903

Background

A prose drama in three acts, *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* is a saga of partisan politics and victorious revolutions against a series of treacheries. It tells of the emerging intellectuals' conscientization and mobilization of mass peoples for nationhood; and their laborious maneuvers to uncover forms of treason from their fellow comrades which occurred at almost every turn of Philippine history—a phenomenon that implied that there was yet a lack of sense of shared purpose and nationhood in the 1900s. Note the fury in the protagonist Tagailog's cry: "Our country has fallen because traitors abound everywhere, and they abound through being pardoned!" (Act Two). Behind the intellectual workers' gargantuan quest to forge a united front is the unwavering inspiration of Inangbayan, or Motherland. Each act ends with triumph over a form of treachery and an expanding foreign hegemony, whose vestiges still find echoes in contemporary Philippines.

Clodualdo del Mundo, in the Introduction to the *Selected Writings* 1867-1915, gave Tolentino the distinction of being "a nationalist dramatist, first not

in order of chronology but of significance" (Tolentino 5). Notwithstanding the scholarly studies of notable academicians and researchers on drama such as Doreen Fernandez and Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, many of Tolentino's plays remain little-known by students of literature and culture. As pointed out by Fernandez and Lapeña-Bonifacio, Tolentino's dramatic works beg a serious re-consideration for their admirable artistry and for the light they throw on present-day socio-political and cultural life. The words of a news correspondent, referring to this play in particular, holds true:

> Though written and shown 106 years ago, Tolentino's *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* is still relevant to Philippine conditions. Our politics are still under the influence of Washington, D.C. The Philippine economy suffers from backwardness. The poor are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer because of anti-poor policies being crafted by politicians, many of whom are educated in foreign schools, particularly in the US. The basic freedoms of the people are still suppressed. In other words, the Philippines is still under colonization, albeit in new form . . . The voice of Juan de la Cruz retains its urgency. (Barcelona)

In his typification of ordinary Filipinos, the playwright Tolentino reveals some negative traits or tendencies that ironically helped bolster foreign hegemony. In signifying some noble and ignoble truths about Filipino psyche and politics, Tolentino weaves a dramatic masterpiece that even today's general public can relate to. A political chameleon, depicted as an Americanized Filipino or the Filipino elite, not infrequently appears in newspapers even after the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, as shown in a caricature (see fig. 5) that appeared in *The Independent* on August 23, 1919; it was a subtle way of educating the masses as to the authentic pulse of party politics and power play.

Rather than focusing alone on an organic leader's positive qualities, Tolentino reveals a variety of hegemonic tendencies that perpetuated the domination of the colonizers. How did organic intellectuals grapple with their kin's betrayals during the Spanish and the American colonizations; and what strategies of struggle did s/he undertake to alter the hegemonic course in the nascent Philippine Republic? How did s/he cope with treacheries and

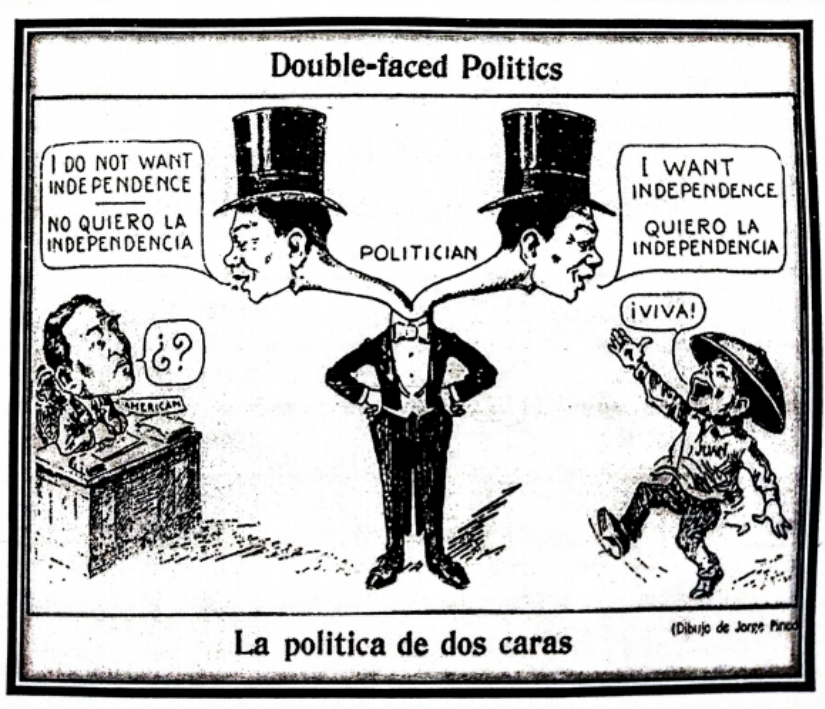

FIG. 5. Double-faced *nacionalistas* (Paredes 43).

occasional defeats? A multiplicity of characters assumes organic leadership in this play under the inspiration of Inangbayan, whose guidance prevails at the helm of revolutionary action from start to finish. A synopsis and scrutiny of this dramatic piece in the light of Gramscian organic intellectuality and the hegemony depicted in each Act follows.

Act One

To Mock the Dead: Filipino Optimism or Foolish Merriment?

The opening scene shows a drinking spree in a cemetery featuring Asalhayop (Beastly-mannered, representing a Treacherous Tagalog) and his company, among them Masunurin (Obedient, represented by a young

Filipina), and Walang-Tutol (Unspeaking, or One-Who-Does-Not-Object; represented by a Filipino). It was customary for the Tagalogs to mourn this day when the short-lived Philippine Independence was proclaimed in Malolos and Kawit, only to be repressed shortly after. It was indeed a day of mourning in remembrance of that time when the ideal of liberty dangled close by yet remained distant and unattained. On this day of memorial, Asalhayop incongruously feasts on top of the gravestones of his fallen countrymen. Inangbayan (Motherland or the Philippines) chides him by appealing to his sense of honor, sympathy, and reverence for the dead:

> **INANGBAYAN**. *Mga walang damdam, kayo'y masasaya habang naglu-luksa ang kawawang bayan. Mga walang puso, nasaan ang pangakong kayo ay dadamay sa mga pumanaw? Asalhayop! . . .* (Ingrates, men without feelings; ye rejoice though the people mourn. Men without heart, *what* has become of your promise to accompany those who have gone? Asalhayop!) . . .
>
> **ASALHAYOP.** *(Tatawa ng malakas at itituro si Inangbayan.) Humayo ka, huwag sabihin ang "patay."* (*Lalapitan si Inangbayan at tatampalin.)* (Look at Inangbayan, the witch of evil omen. Go away, Inangbayan, speak not of the dead.)
>
> **WALANG TUTOL.** *Mabuhay si Asalhayop!* (Long live Asalhayop!)
>
> **CORO.** *Mabuhay!* (Long may he live!)
>
> **INANGBAYAN.** *Mainit pa ang bangkay ng inyong ninuno at magulang. Hayo at mag-isip ng tinutunguhan . . . Panumbalikin ninyo ang inyong mga loob, pagsisihan ninyo ang paglapastangan sa akin . . . Kapag nilimot ninyo ang araw na ito, ay lilimutin din ninyo ang libingang luksa ng inyong magulan. Kayo'y nangabulag na lubos. Buksan ninyo ang inyong mga mata.* [The dead bodies of your grandfathers and your fathers are yet warm on their graves . . . Rectify your sentiments, repent of your offense to me and to the great day of the catastrophe of the people. If ye forget that day, ye will also forget the tombs of your ancestors. You have been completely blind. Open your eyes.] (Riggs 290-291)

A curtain opens to show a row of sepulchers, each headstone capped with the traditional headdress, a symbol of the deceased's diligence and respect-ability. The somber and dismal look of the gravestones, black hangings, and

wreaths; and Asalhayop and the drunken men and women's silly festivity and foolish merriment ("ye senseless ones," Inangbayan laments, "Your mirth is true contempt to the tombs of your noble race") provide a stark, contrasting scene (Riggs 291). Evidently, Asalhayop's pusillanimous inanity, worsened by the onlooking Masunurin and Walangtuto's head-nodding acquiescence, is an emerging hegemony within their own society that Inangbayan had to confront herself against. It is the first of the locally-fabricated hegemonic trends that plagued the people, making it difficult for Inangbayan to form a national popular front.

Filipinos have often been praised for their "optimism" and "resiliency" in the face of a dominant ideology. Even in the midst of the most distressing catastrophes, it is said that Filipinos manage to muster an ounce of their inner reservoir to show off a gutsy element and some sanguinity despite their privations and hardships. However, their apparent brightness and buoyancy before misfortunes are sometimes too conspicuously manifest that one would wonder if these were not a mask for personal and collective bias towards complacency, hidebound manners and easy-going-ways. With such a veneer, the ordinary Filipino could not go deep into the complexities of human condition, dismissing - with a shade of pride misplaced—the less agreeable aspects of everyday life as mere triviality ("*wala lang*"), as something distinctively "Pinoy" and that can happen "only in the Philippines."

Walangtutol's retort and Masunurin's silent smirk of consent could explain why the revolution had not picked up again as dynamically as it should have during this epoch of Philippine history. In contrast to organic intellectuals, these average, mediocre, next-door men and women who seemed to be plentiful in the Philippines were unable to energize themselves with their own point of view and temperament. Lacking individuality, the likes of Masunurin and Walangtutol had no personal involvement—much less commitment—to a cause higher than themselves; rather, they were bland, predictable, smiling, *boring*, merely going through Asalhayop's laid-back, hegemonic motions. These are the people whom Inangbayan hoped to be more like herself and Tagailog, even to the point of being idiosyncratic and peculiar, knowing how to express themselves forthrightly in the prob-

lematic issues of the day, unafraid to be themselves, and hence more sensitive and participatory to their cause of mourning: the Philippine Independence cut midstream.

To Asalhayop's "*baliw na kasayahan*" (foolish mirth), egged on by the consenting onlookers' irreverence and ridicule of the dead, Inangbayan (and Tolentino himself, whom the reader may safely assume as speaking through Inangbayan) impersonates Bonifactio and appeals for sympathy, honor, and fidelity to history. At this juncture, it would seem that Tolentino is showing his antipathy against his fellowmen's shortness of memory, the neglectful forgetfulness of the heroism of the past. The Philippines has long been plagued by the absence of positive role models and characterized by a fanatic search for a commercialized, Western type of idols, by waning idealism, and by cynicism with people elected in public office. These phenomena subconsciously contour the people's attitudes, hegemonically casting down their deep regard for culture and history. Inangbayan warns her countrymen against such mental languor and summons her countrymen to repentance before they fall steep into fits of forgetfulness of their ancestors' heroic fight for freedom, hitherto sedimented in folk memory.

A Critique against Armchair Intellectualism

Not to be outdone, Asalhayop makes a defensive discourse of his "beastly manners," an implied critique against intellectual revolutionaries whose efforts, to his mind, had been futile because they ended up rotting dead anyway, and thus can stand no more for their country:

> **ASALHAYOP.** *Mga mangmang! Ang mga taong ito ay walang pinag-aralan: mabuti pa ang aso, mabuti pa ang kalabaw, mabuti pa ang hayop kaysa kanila, sapagkat ang mga hayop ay nabubuhay, ngunit ang mga taong ito ay hindi. Nangatahimik ang aming mga magulang, at ano? Kung ipaghiganti ko baga sila, ay mabubuhay pa kayang muli? Babawiin daw ang kalayaan ng bayan—at bakit pa? Mabuti ang may salaping alipin kaysa mahirap na laya. Mga hangal!* [Ignoramuses! These people have not had education. The dog or the carabao is better than they, because animals live and know how to live, but these people do not. They are now enjoying tranquility . . . They say that our forefathers failed, and what of that? If I should avenge them, would they

return to life? They say they will reconquer the liberty of the people. Ha, ha, ha! And to what end? *It is better to be a rich slave than a poor freeman* (emphasis added). Ignoramuses!]

CORO. *Mabuti nga!* [Indeed!]

ASALHAYOP. *Hahanapin ko ang mga Insik, hahanapin ko si Haring-bata para sabihin lahat ng nangyari . . . Salapi na naman ito!* [I will look for the Chinamen, I will look for the child-king. I will tell him all that has occurred. Here is another opportunity to get money!] (Riggs 293)

In Act IV, Scene 4, Tolentino seems to call into question the role of noble-minded Filipinos in the revolution by employing a beastly character heap criticisms upon them. Is it profitable to be noble, but poor; or ignoble, but rich? Asalhayop's disparagement of these Filipinos is reminiscent of Cicero's *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* ("How sweet and honorable to die for one's country"), albeit satirically. Asalhayop regards the heroic in a polarized position against himself, posing them as rivals in the verbal conflict of molding and articulating common people's collective consciousness. He questions the rationale for grief over his ancestors who shed blood for their country and sees himself in a privileged position for remaining alive and with possibility for profit, over the dead heroes who fought valiantly and perished honorably.

Asalhayop, "the exemplar of the native traitor" (Riggs 285), is unable to continue a seamless logic for the dead men's heroism, so he redirects his memory to Haring-bata, the Chinamen after his harangue. His limited mind is capable only of scheming pecuniary conjectures insensitive to the needs of the nation, signifying that a sense of nationhood was still wanting. It is money and now knowledge, Asalhayop concludes, that would push the country forward; the Chinese would provide them with wealth. Upon closer examination, it seems that "it is not intelligence, but intellectualism" (Gramsci, *Selections from Political Writings* 11), the pretentious display of one's knowledge that Asalhayop was contemptuous of and not the wise, practical intelligence of the authentic organic intellectual whose unassuming and unaffected bearing make them affable to both the learned and unlearned. Asalhayop's

beastly manners are the cause of his downfall, his own lack of common sense confusing the antithetical duties of wisdom with wealth, intelligence with affluence, education with consumption. At this juncture Tolentino seems to criticize Pardo de Tavera's observation on the rising middle class who—

> . . . *gave proof of their intelligence* and of their aspirations by sending their children to Manila to be educated, *buying* furniture, mirrors, articles of luxury for their homes, and persons; *buying* pianos, carriages, objects imported from . . . Europe, *owing to foreign trade.* (qtd. in Legarda 213; emphasis added)

Thus, Tolentino establishes the first of the foreign hegemony to impose on the motherland: that of the unscrupulous Chinese tradesmen who tempted the natives to sell their honor for slavery to money and power over personal liberty and dignity. Shady trading practices resulted in concept-swapping dualities between culture and consumerism and the substitution of education with consumption. A tug-of-war between Chinese profit-making and Filipino patriotism begins. How did it all start?

Trading with the Chinese dates back to the ninth century and flourished in the thirteenth century. Manila was a principal port in Southeast Asia, and the Chinese were the intermediaries between the foreign western merchants and domestic suppliers and consumers. At the time that Tolentino wrote the play, "Practically all the retail and wholesale trade of the Philippines is in the hands of the Chinese . . . Commercially they form a connecting link between Europeans and Americans and the natives," writes Victor Clark (qtd. in Legarda 213).Another historian-observer of the decade remarks that "the Chinese are the middle-men between the producer and the exporter, as well as between the consumer and the importer. They control the lines of business that involve daily contact with the people whose wants they knew" (qtd. in Legarda 213). It is logical, therefore, that given the economic and trading practice at the time Tolentino had written *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas,* the Chinese hegemony should be his first object of attack, and the antagonist of Inangbayan's *Kahapon* segment.

Money as Object of Idolatry and Source of Treachery

Asalhayop runs off to Haringbata and divulges the uprising that Inangbayan is making plans for. Clued up, Haringbata sees in their brewing conspiracy an opportunity for prosperity; he pays Asalhayop in exchange for the valuable information:

> **HARINGBATA.** *Heto ang salapi mong bayad. (Bibigyan ng salapi.) Kung mahuhulog sila sa ilalim ng aking kapangyarihan, ay dadagdagan ko pa iyan, at bibigyan kita ng katungkulang mataas.... Heto ang tandang ilalahad mo sa taliba upang ikaw ay papasukin. (Bibigyan siya ng chapang tanso at aalis.)* [Here is the money thou hast earned. When they fall under my authority, I will give thee more, and a high position.]
>
> **ASALHAYOP.** *Asahan po ninyo. (Titingnan ang salapi.) Heto ang salapi ko; heto ang Ina ng tunay kong Bayan, ang tunay na Bathala . . . At madadagdagan pa; at mataas pa ang aking katungkulan. Ang palad!* [Trust me, sir. Here is my money, here is my true Mother Country, the true god. And it will be increased, and I shall be promoted. Good fortune!] (Riggs 294)

Tolentino's real crime was bringing to the audience's attention was the local natives' substitution of love for country with money and fame as newfound objects of idolatry. The fetishism for money was starting to entrench itself from the unrestrained expenditures of the natives—which is already implied in the beginning of Act One's drinking spree, a common practice at *fiestas*—into a system moved by unbridled competition for increased business profits, where the earnings of the minority but powerful Chinese businessmen grow exponentially vis-à-vis the majority of native workers. How this happens is aptly described in *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas 1800s:*

> Natives sell their lands just to be able to celebrate a *fiesta* with pomp . . . The more careless the native is in his expenditures, the more cautious the Chinese *mestizo* becomes. He spends in proportion to his means always thinking of how to amass more wealth, while the native spends more for such frivolities as a burial or birthday celebrations and other money-wasting affairs. If he has no funds, he borrows money from the Chinese *mestizo* who would not lend any money if the native does not give his land as a pledge in the contract of sale with the right to repurchase. The Chinese *mestizo* continues lending money until the amount borrowed reaches a

> staggering amount which the native could never hope to pay and thus the money lender becomes the permanent owner of the land . . . In this way, the Chinese gradually get hold of land in the Philippines . . . the lands of the country pass into the hands of the foreigners [and] prove injurious in the long run (Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, OSA 277).

During the Spanish colonial period, the Chinese established stores that operated as centers for bartering textiles and other goods. Currency was rarely used and by bartering, a large portion of the country's exports was diverted into Chinese hands and authorship. Chinese influence had not only been economic, but politico-cultural as well. It was reported, for example, that in 1800, a wealthy Chinese put in the highest monetary bid for a seat in the city council, and that while they interacted principally among themselves and followed their own customs, they were deliberate in wanting to gain political and social prominence and status (Legarda 231). Soon their purchasing power and controlled ownership of almost half of the country's bazaars were to be seen in their increasing manipulation of the naivete of natives, represented by Masunurin and Walangtutol.

Act One is Tolentino's "playful" call for reasoned restraint over excesses in drinking, gambling, and borrowing money—and for ethical norms in the area of economy and trade with Filipino-Chinese businessmen. Indeed, the *Kahapon* segment finds full resonance in today's society where mainland Chinese have become increasingly arrogant in laying claims over our legitimately-owned Philippine soils and seas.

Unbeknownst to the partners in crime and business, Inangbayan witnesses the transaction between Asalhayop and Haringbata. Later, she confronts Asalhayop in front of the Tagalogs and, after a body search, produces the money and tokens which Haringbata gave and Asalhayop carefully hid:

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Ang salaping iyan ay siyang pinagbilhan ng nilako niyang bayan kay Haringbata!* [This money is the price of the life of the people that this man offered in sale to the child-king.]
>
> **LAHAT.** *Oh!*

INANGBAYAN. *At ang tansong iyan ay siyang ilalahad sa kaaway upang siya'y papasukin at maisiwalat ang lahat ng ating lihim.* [And this copper is what he shall show to the enemy's sentinels, so that they will let him enter and communicate all our secrets.]

LAHAT. *Sumpa ng apo! Ngitngit ni Mandaragan*! [The curse of Apo! Wrath of Mandaragan!]

TAGAILOG. *Oh! Walang pusong kapatid! Walang dangal! Taksil na nagpagapos ng leeg ng ating kawawang Inangbayan! Bayang Tagalog, si Asalhayop ay nagtaksil: sunugin siyang buhay!* [O, brother without heart, without honor! In thy veins runs the dirty blood that traitor who ordered our poor Inangbayan tied by the neck! (pause) Tagalog people, Asalhayop was a traitor; let him be burned alive!]

CORO. *Patawad!* [Pardon!]

TAGAILOG. *Alin sa dalawa: o mabuhay ang kataksilan at ako ang mamatay, o mabuhay ako at mamatay ang kataksilan?* [One of the two: that treason lives and I die, or that I live and treason dies?] (Riggs 296-297)

Tagailog asserts himself with the cry that has been used to justify violence for all ages: liberty or tyranny; freedom or death. The Filipinos make their decisive choice: they would rather have Tagailog for their leader than the beastly Asalhayop, declaring their love for the country over greed for money ("Let Asalhayop be burned alive!") (Riggs 297). Thus, the crime is punished: Asalhayop is burned at stake. In a violent battle, Inangbayan is caught by the hand and dragged along by the Chinese; in retaliation, Tagailog stabs Haringbata with a dagger. In gratitude for his defence, Inangbayan delivers an ode to Tagailog whose "intelligence, strength and heroism deserve to be depicted at the world's stage." She expresses her unceasing hope for a new breed of organic heroes using the image of a leaf, as seen in Act I, Scene 10 quoted below: "*Pakaasahan, na itabon man ninyo ako sa pusali, ay magiging binhi ito, at tutubo, at yayabong, at mamumulaklak ng dangal, at magbubunga . . .*" ("Remember that though ye bury my mutilated body in the mire, it will be a seed and will germinate, it will burst into leaf, and will have honor for flowers and bear liberty eternal as fruit.") (Riggs 299). This metaphor will

recur in Acts II and III. Inangbayan provides the still emergent intellectuals like a Tagailog a voice, inspiration and encouragement:

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Tagailog, ikaw ang maligayang sagisag ng bayang Tagalog. Nakita ko ngayon ang tigas ng iyong loob sa pagtatanghal ng matatag na katuiran . . . lubhang bayani at matatag, kaya niyang itanghal sa daigdigan ang ating palad . . .* [Tagailog, thou art the bright symbol of the Tagalog people. I have today seen the firmness of thy character in proclaiming the truth . . . Worthy people, great and lofty sons, obey him! He is very heroic and upright, capable of sustaining our right before the world.] (Riggs 298).

> **TAGAILOG.** *Hukbong Tagalog, hari ng katapangan, mga anak sa digma: napaparam ang ulap ng sakim, sumisilay ang araw ng kalayaan: tatagan natin ang puso . . . Mabuhay!* [Tagalog people, valiant race, sons of battle hasten! The clouds of ambition are dissipating, and the dawn of liberty appears. Be brave . . . Long live our race in the shadow of liberty!]

> **CORO.** *Mabuhay! Mabuhay!* [The victory! Long may it live!] (Riggs 300).

Act Two

Government Carnivalesque

The Spaniards arrive, and everyone—except for Tagailog—bows before the others' pledges of goodwill and protection. Masunurin is the first to be fooled by the foreigners' flattery over the beauty of their Motherland; he leads the people in welcoming them ("Let us praise the great Matanglawin, the kind Halimaw"). Note the irony in Tolentino's choice of characters' names. Masunurin's sycophancy is caught on immediately by Dahumpalay ("Snake" or Treacherous Filipino), who calls the attention of Dilat-na-Bulag, Halimaw, and Matanglawin (all representing the Spanish government) to Tagailog—he alone remains nonchalant before everybody's obsequiousness:

> **DAHUMPALAY.** *Hindi ba ninyo napagmasdan na ang tanging hindi lumuluhod sa inyong harap ay si Tagailog? Ang tao pong iyan ay masama: lagi ko siyang nakikitang malumbay, at may mga malalaking bagay na inaakala . . . Si Tagailog po ay kailangang bilibiran ng tanikalang bakal...at huwag pawalan sa bilangguan hanggang mundo ay mundo.* [Did ye not notice that Tagailog is the only one who did not kneel before you? This man has bad inclinations; I have frequently seen him sad, and he has great projects . . . Tagailog should

be fastened with chains on the neck and hands and all his body, with iron fetters on his feet; do not give him liberty while the world is the world. I have discovered in him secret projects to incite rebellion against you.]

DILAT-NA-BULAG. *Halika't ipagsaysay sa akin ang lahat mong nalalaman.* [Come and explain to me what thou knowest.] (Riggs 305)

Dahumpalay plays upon the Spaniards' vanity and, like a venomous snake, poisons their minds to turn against Tagailog. Dahumpalay succeeds in convincing the new-arrivals that Tagailog is a dangerous man, and he bribes Dilat-na-Bulag to have him imprisoned and put to death. Tagailog is thrown into jail, and his earlier suspicion of Dahumpalay's envy and spitefulness is confirmed. Tagailog's lament, already expressed in Act One, continues: "When shall the race of traitors, who envenom the people, be exterminated completely from the earth?" (Riggs 298). Meanwhile, Inangbayan learns of her son's fate. She goes off to Matanglawin to appeal for Tagailog's release but:

MATANGLAWIN. *Hindi mangyayari . . . Kung ika'y may salapi, ay marahil pa . . . Kapag hindi kayo pumayag, ay ipabibitay ko si Tagailog.* [It is impossible, but if thou has money, we might free him . . . If not, I will order that Tagailog be hanged.]

INANGBAYAN. *Ang lahat kong pag-aari ay inaalya ko sa iyo, pawalan na lamang ang aking bunso. Heto po ang salapi kong lahat.* (*Titindig at ibibigay sa kanya ang dala niyang salapit.)* [My lord, I offer you all my property if thou wilt but free my beloved son. Here is all my money.]

MATANGLAWIN. *Kakaunti ito.* [This is little.]

INANGBAYAN. *Wala na akong ibang ari.* [I have no other property.]

MATANGLAWIN. *Tunay, ngunit ang mga anak mo ay mayroon pa, tawagin sila.* [It is true, but thy children have more. Call them.]

INANGBAYAN. *Halina, mga anak. Ysuhol na ninyo ang inyong kayamanan . . . Mumulubi man tayo ay hindi kailangang huwag mawalan ng isang maharlikang kapatid.* (*Ibibigay nila kay Matanglawin ang kanilang salapi.)* [Come, my children! Now give your wealth to bribe him. Although we reduce ourselves

to poverty, it does not matter, as long as we do not lose a noble brother.] (Riggs 305)

Inangbayan yields everything her children had, yet Matanglawin does not release Tagailog. Meanwhile, Dilat-na-bulag orders for the imprisoned Tagailog to be shot. Treacherously, Matanglawin demands Dahumpalay, in Act II, Scene 6, to find a way of setting Tagailog free so that he could have Tagailog re-captured for the appointed execution, in exchange for money. Dahumpalay agrees with the scheme, seeing in it another opportunity to win Matanglawin's favor. Left alone, Matanglawin laughs at Dahumpalay's naivete, at Inangbayan's trustfulness, and at the government's gullibility to his money-making machinations. "*Mga hangal! . . . Gayon lamang ang gobierno . . . ang gobierno ay isang malaking laruan, at ang mga ley ay pawing katatawanan lamang at biro sa lahat ng tao.*" ["Ignorant ones! That is all there is to the government. *The government is a great game, and the laws are no more than the derision and the scoffing of the whole world."*] (Riggs 306; emphasis added).

Thus, Tolentino establishes the next in a series of hegemonic trends dominating the colony: Spanish rulers' conflicting roles and the prevalence of personal interests over the common good. Matanglawin considers the Spanish government as no more than a plaything and their laws, a fabricated travesty that an official could fool around with. He tricks willing natives to be accomplices to his maneuverings. With a cavalcade of capricious colonizers, Filipinos are the hapless victims of these conflicting rules, with an occasional *muchacho* hopping in the caravan of a whimsical ruler. In the play text's English translation, Riggs comments that the Spanish government was in fact notorious for corruption (306). The confusion of rules and regulations between the *Alcalde Mayor* (local government) and *Real Audiencia* (central government) is well recorded in history:

> The *Alcades Mayores,* in whose hands absolute powers in local government rested, were themselves "*enconmenderos*" . . . Vested as they were with the right to engage in commerce, they naturally came to look upon the *alcaldeship* as a means of furthering their own material fortunes, an attitude and practice which led to the abandonment and neglect of local conditions. In these circumstances, it is easy to see why, on the one hand, there were upris-

> ings during the period and, on the other, why many *Alcaldes* were anathema to the *Real Audiencia* or to any official from the central government travelling in the interiors of the archipelago. Thus, as it developed, the real ruling powers were often the local governments rather than the one in Manila . . . Thus, notwithstanding the concentration of powers in the governor and Captain General, what appeared in legal theory as a highly centralized pattern of government in the Philippines prior to the 19th century in practice was more apparent than real (Robles 25-26).

Warlordism in feudal areas, where landlords exercised vast power over their subjects, made the ground fertile for dishonest dealings to be resorted to among farm slaves. In like manner, the Spanish centralism versus localism in the government led to partisanship among the Filipino revolutionaries. Hegemony is secured indirectly through internal acts of disloyalties. At the bottom of the insular government carnivalesque is the same venom identified in Act One: fetishism for money by those who were infected with the disease of greed. This realization marked the beginning of the insurgents' collective struggle against their own fellow Filipinos who were tainted by self-indulgence and tendency to treachery. Thus, the unceasing struggle against how man exploits man continues; the fetish for monetary profit and the craze for material possessions at the expense of a united front became an alienating form of hegemony among Filipinos.

Another interpretation of Matanglawin's line is posed by Lapeña-Bonifactio: speaking through this character, it is probable that Tolentino wanted the American audience to see him making a mockery of their (Americans) laws; in particular, the Law on Sedition or Act 292 of the Philippine Commission. Enacted on November 4, 1901, it prohibited Filipinos from uttering "seditious words or speeches . . . and incite rebellious conspiracies or riots." Tolentino might well have been openly challenging the authorities in reaction to a news editorial's branding of "theater as a sedition-breeder, [since] no agency is better adapted than the stage to reach those of a low order of intelligence and by this method [be] schooled in anti-Americanism" (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonificaion 48).

Although covetousness and divided loyalties were prime culprits for the disunited Filipino resistance, the spirit of revolt remained strong and

pulsating among many, and that was a valuable resource that Tagailog would capitalize on in the later scenes of Act Two; but Inangbayan first had to fall into frustration when it was known that their activist Tagailog was captured and thought to have faced death by hanging.

Inangbayan's Subservience Aggravates Hegemony

The Spaniards fail to pull their acts together and continue to let their personal ambitions dictate their actions. Meanwhile, an order of Tagailog's release is issued; it falls on the hands of Halimaw who is himself beset by selfish interests:

> **HALIMAW.** *Kailangang pakinabangan ko ang utos na ito. Ipatatawag ko si Inangbayan at sasabihin kong ako ang makapagpapalabas kay Tagailog . . . Heto na sila . . .* [It is necessary for me to secure profit from this order. I will send for Inangbayan and tell her that it is I who can secure Tagailog's liberty . . . Here they come . . .]
>
> **INANGBAYAN.** *Tulungan po ninyo kami! Pinangakuan kami ni Matanglawin na si Tagailog ay . . .* [Help us! Matanglawin has promised us that Tagailog . . .]
>
> **HALIMAW.** *Hindi makakawala kung hindi ko pahintulot. Heto ang utos sa aking kamay. Kung kayo ay may salapi, ay mabibili ninyo ang utos na ito.* [He cannot go free without my consent. It is impossible. I have the order here in my hand. If ye have money, you can buy this order.]
>
> **INANGBAYAN.** *Wala na po. Kinuha nang lahat ni Matanglawin.* [We have no more; Matanglawin has taken all.]
>
> **HALIMAW.** *Kayo ay may mga alahas pa sa katawan. Dalhin lahat ditto.* [Ye still have jewelry on your bodies. Give me those jewels.] (Riggs 308)

Once again Inangbayan gives up everything, including her children's ornaments and jewelry. When asked by Dilat-na-bulag if she knew of any impending uprising, she says nothing, to which Dilat-na-bulag replied, "*Ah, oo. Ang kahulugan ng hindi mo pag-imik ay maliwanag na pagtango sa aking tanong.*" [Ah, yes; thy silence is the answer . . .] (Riggs 313).

Another locally-bred hegemony is thus uncovered: impudent silence and subservience on the native's part—perhaps signifying the diminishing

idealism and the declining energy of the majority of the masses in the absence of their leader, Tagailog. The masses, left on their own, cannot single-handedly forestall the defeatism that was slowly engulfing their movement. But their silence and apparent loss of guts may have been some form of resistance to the dominating rule, with the result that the colonizers were at their wits' end, wondering what should happen next. Inangbayan's intended effect of scare and mysteriousness will manifest itself in the later scenes.

Suppose Tolentino portrays Inangbayan as the conscience of the wayward Filipinos in Act One. In that case, he also criticizes her keenly excessive subservience (specifically, the act of giving up her jewels) to the foreigners which served to perpetuate the colonizers' abusive malpractices, encouraging them further to extend their dominion. Whereas in Act One Inangbayan proves to be the inspiration of the revolutionaries, in Act Two she is seen succumbing helplessly to foreign concessions at the expense of her posterity. Inangbayan is too yielding and generous to a fault, her readiness to ransom Tagailog with all her possessions robbed her other children of their prosperity. Tolentino critically appraises this misplaced liberality, lending one's people as unwilling accomplices to the foreign rulers' supremacy. Thus, the Spanish rulers' weakening and divided leadership and the Filipinos' passivity and submissiveness made the Philippine setting even more propitious for Spanish hegemony.

E. San Juan Jr. writes: "Do we succumb to the challenge of perpetual subservience? Or do we rise up and seize the opportunity offering ourselves from the convulsive grip of a . . . beast, sustained ironically by our own blood and sweat?" ("Rizal for Our Time" 70*)*. It would take another's intellectual stamina to catalyze the popular revolution, redeem Inangbayan's pride, and raise the rebels' dampened spirits. Tagailog, the organic intellectual in this Act, rises to the occasion.

Tagailog is visited by the treacherous Dahumpalay who, pretending to be his savior, undoes his chains as instructed by Matanglawin so that he could later be "sold" to Dilat-na-bulag, who had ordered his execution. Tagailog, who is now well aware of Dahumpalay's duplicity, stabs him from behind; he burns his face, dons his clothes and puts his own clothes on Dahumpalay's

corpse to make it appear that it is he, Tagailog, who was murdered, and thus make good his escape. Leaving Dahumpalay's corpse, Tagailog sparks the impression that he died. He hurriedly flees from prison, uttering curses and prayers. "*Ah! Pinatay ko si Asalhayop at ngayon ay pinatay ko si Dahumpalay. Papatayin ko ang lahat ng mandaraya . . . Nagtatakipsilim. Madilim na at hindi ako makikilala. Paalam, Dahumpalay. Tanggapin nawa ng langit ang kaluluwa mong suwail!*" Even in English, Tagailog's zeal—almost to fanaticism—causes one to shiver:

> The traitor is dead. Ah, I killed Asalhayop, and now I have killed Dahumpalay. I will destroy every traitor that my urgent desire may find in its path; I will drown them in the wave of my indignation; I will burn them in the flames of my ardent patriotism; I will oppose your treachery with treachery . . . Night is falling, it is dark. The dead Tagailog is here who will pursue you day and night. They will not recognize me now. Farewell. May heaven receive thy traitor soul (Riggs 310-311).

News of Tagailog's death reaches Inangbayan and the insurgents. Everybody is downcast. But when Tagailog suddenly appears in one of their revolutionary meetings, he is thought to be a ghost. As the rebels are shocked and horrified, Tagailog seizes the moment and asserts their true radical weapons that will prove greater than guns and cannon: intelligence, long-suffering, purposeful persistence, dignity and self-respect, and unity of wills:

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Ang kaluluwa ni Tagailog!* [The soul of Tagailog! Spirit of my beloved son!]
>
> **TAGAILOG.** *Ang kaharap ninyo ay kaluluwa at katawan ni Tagailog. Pinatay ko si Dahumpalay, sinunog ko ang mukha, isinuot ko ang kanyang damit, lumabas ako sa bilangguan at ngayon narito ako sa inyong piling... Itayo natin ang katuiran! Ang banal na pagtitiis, ang walang-sawang layon, ang pag-ibig sa sariling dangal, at ang matalik na pagkakaisa ng puso ay masahol pang sandata kaysa lahat ng baril at kanyon sa daigdigan.* [He who is in your presence is the soul and body of Tagailog. I killed Dahumpalay, burned his face, put on his clothes, took his pass, left the jail and here I am at thy side . . . Let us uphold our rights! Let us recover our enslaved liberty! The virtue of forbearance, our enduring determination, the love of our honor and the sincere union

of our hearts, are more efficacious arms than all the guns and cannon in the world.] (Riggs 311).

Inangbayan, who moments earlier fell almost to despair, is brought back to her senses. She concurs with Tagailog, full of hope. When she speaks of the rise of the spirit of the dead heroes, she now pleads, as it were, for the resurgence of organic intellectuals who would rely on their intellectual powers more than on destructive weaponry for building the nation. At last she could say, "*Bumabangon sa libingan ang bangkay ng aming bayan.*" ["The destroyed liberty moves, it reanimates; the dead body of our people arises from the tomb"] (Riggs 312).

Nemesis Fell! Of Burials and the Rise of Organic Intellectuals

Because Filipinos are a superstitious and prayerful people who put great store in prodigies, omens, ghosts, and supernatural signs, Tolentino faithfully worked a number of these elements in the *Ngayon* and *Bukas* segments. In the last scenes of Act Two, Matanglawin and Dilat-na-bulag become afraid of rumors that Tagailog is still alive. Tagailog is now perceived as a conventional ghost whose spirit is condemned to roam the earth until its death is avenged. It was a hegemonic turnaround for the unimaginative Spaniards (and later the pragmatic Americans) as they begin to be fearful of rumors of phantasmal visions to which the Filipino psyche is accustomed:

MATANGLAWIN. *Tunay nga bang namumuno ang kaluluwa ni Tagailog?* [Is it true that their chief is the ghost of Tagailog?]

DILAT-NA-BULAG. *Kaluluwa ni Tagailog? Nakita ko ang kanyang bangkay; nakita kong inilibing . . .* [The ghost of Tagailog? It cannot be . . . I have seen his corpse, and saw it buried . . .]

MATANGLAWIN. *Ako man. Ngunit ang sabi ni Halimaw ay Nakita naman niyang sandatahan si Tagailog . . .* [I also, but Halimaw says that he has seen him armed and at the head of a great army against us.]

DILAT-NA-BULAG. *Iyan ay panaginip lamang . . . Ang namatay ay patay na.* [That is only a dream . . . he who is dead is dead.]

MATANGLAWIN. *Opo, ngunit ako ay kinakabahan at ewan ko kung bakit.* [Yes, but I am startled; I don't know why.] (Riggs 313).

Disturbed by dreams, they connect their fears with the real cause of their distress: a pending uprising by the Filipinos. They can confront Inangbayan, who stands almost speechless before their accusation of her plotting a revolution:

MATANGLAWIN. *Ano ito, Inangbayan, tunay ng aba ang mga bintang sa iyo?* [What is this? Are these accusations true?]

INANGBAYAN. *Kasalanan ko ba kung ako'y kanilang dahilanin?* [I do not induce my sons to rebel; is it a crime that they have me for a pretext?]

HALIMAW. Sinungaling!... Huwag kang sumagot. Ibaon si Inangbayan! [Liar! It is she who serves as pretext to the rebels!] (Riggs 314).

Inangbayan's earlier compliance is pushed to an extreme beyond belief: she is dragged to a pit and buried alive. This was perhaps one of the many scenes that made Riggs characterize the play as violent and bloody to extreme (278). A contemporary cartographic rendition by Jess Abrera evokes Tolentino's penchant for the use of tombs and graves as a powerful form of imagery for the claustrophobic hegemony in the Philippines (see fig. 6).

For the second time in his play, the visual metaphor of a tomb appears on the set. Inangbayan was grieving over her dead men's tombs in Act One; now she herself is thrown alive into a vault against her will. Her earlier show of subservience is pushed to the abusers' limit, and she helplessly yields to the slab that seals upon her. That she is forcibly buried makes her one with and identified with the fallen heroes of Act One. That she is still alive signals a ray of hope that the inspiration (that is, the beauty of Inangbayan, or Mother Country) behind the fallen heroes' quest for liberty is never to be quenched completely. Later in the play, Tolentino would use again the image of a tomb as an allusion to organic intellectuals who need rousing from stupor and sleep. Therefore, the act of burial may be interpreted as the falling and rising of organic intellectuals in Filipino history, spasmodically resurrecting after

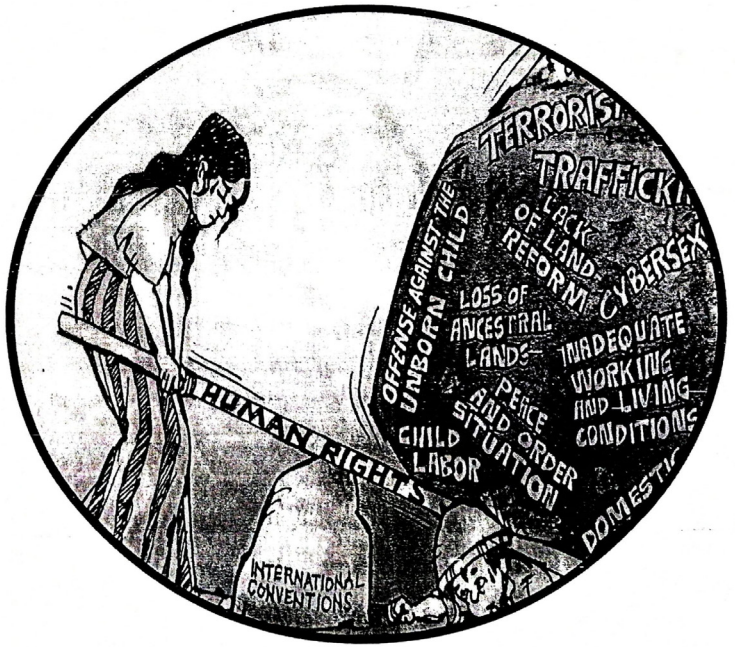

FIG. 6. Juan de la Cruz about to be entombed by a slab of stone—representing troubles besetting the country—with Inangbayan almost helpless and powerless to alleviate his plight (*Philippine Daily Inquirer,* 10 Dec. 2013, A12).

a lapse of false moves but ever defiant in their stand against those who wish to suppress them.

Meanwhile, preparations for the revolution intensify. Tagailog goes to Matanglawin and Halimaw and demands them to show his mother:

> **TAGAILOG.** *Nasaan si Inangbayan? Saan itinago?* [Where is Inangbayan? Where art thou keeping her?]
>
> **HALIMAW.** *Narito, panoorin mo ang buto ng iyong ina!* [Here. Look at the bones of thy mother!]
>
> **TAGAILOG.** *Taksil!* [Criminal!] (Riggs 316)

After much bustling, Tagailog succeeds in opening the slab that was used to bury Inangbayan. She barely escapes death. As soon as she stands up, the sun

appears from behind the mountains, that is, the Katipunan emblem which symbolizes the "light of freedom" (Riggs 316).

Inangbayan's last sighs provoke trepidation and hostility: for as long as she has one heroic defender, freedom and happiness will not be impossible to attain. The colonizers cannot help but mark her ominous words. They are seized with terror:

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Samantalang may isa akong anak na buhay, ang buhay ko ay mamumulaklak . . . ng walang dulong ligaya, at lubhang malugod na kalayaan . . . (Titigil at hihinga nang malalim.) Mga anak ko, ang Halimaw, si Matanglawin at Dilat-na-bulag ay ilibing ng buhay sa hukay na pinaglibingan nila sa akin!* [While I have a son alive, my life will bear flowers of glory and liberty . . . so long shall I produce flowers of glory without end and flowers of the most beautiful liberty. (A moment's pause) My sons, let Halimaw, Matanglawin, and Dilat-na-bulag be buried alive in the grave where they buried me!]
>
> **LAHAT.** *Ilibing!* [Let them be buried!] (Riggs 317)

Matanglawin and Dilat-na-bulag are pushed down the graves, and the victorious vengeance is over. The nemesis which asserts itself sternly in Act Two may be regarded as a reflection of irony in the earlier scenes where tombs were shown: first, when Asalhayop was foolishly feasting over the heroes' graves and second, when Inangbayan was buried alive against her will. Thus, Tolentino humors the colonizers' bent and leaves them to the inevitable round of hegemonic events: the same madness they had inflicted on the natives now descended upon them. As the crowd buries Matanglawin and Dilat-na-bulag, Tagailog utters a prayer for their eternal rest:

> *Kayo rin ang humukay sa inyong sariling libingan. Tumahimik nawa kayo. (Isasara ang hukay.) (Magpapatuloy ng panalangin ng pasasalamat.) Inangbayan, mga kapatid ko, halina't magpasalamat tayo kay Bathala . . . Maligayang sumisilay na walang bahid dungis ang ating masayang tagumpay at malugod na pagkakaisa ng ating mga wagas na puso.* [Ye have dug your own graves. Rest in peace. (They close the grave) Inangbayan! My brothers! Let us give thanks to God. They buried Inangbayan, and now she is with our loving company, happy and without care. They extinguished and bespattered with dirty mud the sun of our liberty, but look how joyfully it appears without

the slightest stain, lighting our happy triumph, and the beautiful union of our pure hearts.] (Riggs 317).

Suddenly, American flags are seen waving on the horizon; foreigners disembark on the Philippine shore. Inangbayan, Tagailog, and the townsfolk warmly welcome the new arrivals. Malaynatin (Who Knows, Unpredictable, or the American Government) and Bagong Sibol (Newborn, representing America) greet them with words of pride and praise:

MALAYNATIN. *Sa buong mundo'y kumikislap ang bituin naming sagisag. Alinmang bayan ang sumailalim sa aming bandila'y magluluningning . . .* [All over the world shine the stars of our flag; the shadow of our triumphant banner which gaily waves over all the earth reaches everybody!]

BAGONG SIBOL. *Inangbayan! Kasing giliw!* [Dear friend!]

INANGBAYAN. *Kung ibig mong kamtan ang tapat kong pagmamahal, di kailangang iyong gantihan ng saganang kayamanan. Bagonsibol, huwag na lamang alipinin kailan pa man, nais naming ay Kalayaan.* [If thou wishest to secure my sincere love, I do not need to be recompensed with great wealth; but that thou, Bagonsibol, will preserve safely our greatly desired liberty.]

BAGONG SIBOL. (*Biglang yayakapin si Inangbayan.) Ipagtatanggol kita.* [(I will defend thee.]

TAGAILOG. *Tingnan natin. Ang panahon ang siyang magsasabi.* [Let us see. Time will tell.]

LAHAT. *Tingnan natin.* [Let us see.]

(Mahuhulog ang tabing.) (Curtain.) (Riggs 318).

Bagongsibol's appellation to Inangbayan as "Kasinggiliw! Dear friend!" is based on history. In the Act of Benevolent Assimilation proclaimed on December 21, 1898, i.e., soon after the Americans' arrival, McKinley vouched that they came "not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends" (Cortes et al. 239). Inangbayan proves herself wiser and shrewd now than before: perhaps learning from her experience with Dilat-na-Bulag and Matanglawin, she does not fall easily to the newcomers' pledges of security and protection to

the tune of, "Wherever [we] rule, slavery is banished. Wherever our stars shine, liberty and abundance reach. Any people that takes refuge under our flag acquires splendor" (lines from this Act). Inangbayan remains unimpressed; her tone cautious with a hint of wariness that was caught on by Tagailog and the rest of the rebels.

Now Inangbayan is cool and inhospitable; in Act Three she is to be seen playing a different tactic with the foreigners; she does this to rouse her children from stupor, juggle their recollections to the valiant past, and stir them to resistance against their enemies who would rob them of their present freedom.

Act Three

Military Might versus United Moral Front

The Americans' patronizing presence in the Philippines does not prevent Inangbayan from making preparations for the ultimate, definitive national independence proclamation. Freedom has been fought for, won over, and settled; freedom is here to stay. Looking like sisters in resistance singing, "*Tahiin, tahiin, tahini natin ang matayog na bandila*" [Let us stitch, let us stitch, and stitch the brilliant banner of our people], the opening scene shows Inangbayan and her maidens sewing the flag that the men will unfurl at the rising of the new moon.

Meanwhile, Tagailog declares his country's freedom to the new arrivals. Malaynatin does not acknowledge it on the grounds that Filipinos need protection from further foreign assaults:

> **MALAYNATIN.** *Kaya ba ninyong tunay ang sariling pamumuhay at di na kailangan ang kayo pa'y abuluyan?* [Can thou now sustain independent life without necessity of aid?]
>
> **TAGAILOG.** *Kami ay may sadyang lakas . . . Nangakalat ang marurunong sa aming lipi; mayayabong ang bayan . . . Bukod dito'y iisa na ang aming kaluluwa . . . Sa minsang pagsigaw lamang ng irog na Inangbayan, bubugso ang bayan sa digma, yao'y asahan.* [We already have the necessary strength . . . we have a fearless heart . . . we have wise men of our race . . . Aside from this, our hearts are united in what we desire . . . At the first cry of the Mother Country, the people will go to war with the impetus of the waters of a flood; though mayest be sure of that.] (Riggs 320).

Tagailog cites strength, fearlessness, wisdom, and unity of wills as means for self-sufficiency. Under Inangbayan's guidance, he argues, his men and women have bonded from a common experience, learning through the years of struggle against Spain, equipping them with experience necessary for self-governance—clearly a termination of America's intervention is overdue. He boasts of the Filipinos' particular strengths: intelligence, oneness of purpose, and fearless heart. It is ostensibly a recipe for organic intelligence.

But Malaynatin is persistent with offering aid and more aid. He ridicules Tagailog and his people for their non-possession of military equipment. Tagailog is challenged, but remains cool on the surface as Malaynatin articulates his poor estimations of the Filipinos' radical activism sans military arms. Malaynatin belittles Tagailog's sources of strength, and instead offers him his deadly weaponry: "*Sa panahong niraranas, hindi sukat ang katapangan, ang lakas, ang dunong, ang yamang lahat at pagkakaisang wagas. Kailangan ninyong magkaroon . . . armas ni Bagongsibol, at sa inyo'y upang umabuloy.*" ["In these times, valor, strength, wisdom, and true union are not sufficient. It is also necessary to have . . . the arms of Bagongsibol, necessary to thee for thy protection."] (Riggs 320).

Here Tolentino establishes an important dilemma that will categorize the conceptualization of Philippine history for decades:: is it military fame and power that constitutes a brave leader, or moral intellectual leadership and unity with his peoples? It is a dilemma as old as 1896, when Emilio Jacinto, dubbed "Utak ng Katipunan" or the "Brain of Katipunan," wrote in *Liwanag at Dilim (Light and Darkness):*

> I firmly believe that the prosperity of the people lies with the people itself. A people that knows and esteems right and has a rule of conduct, kindness, and dignity in all its acts, will not place itself at the mercy of any tyrant, nor submit to force and fraud, nor become the accomplice of the exalted and abominable prevaricator who rules on the heights of power. Those make a great mistake who believe they can maintain their power by means of force and the gun; they are near-sighted and do not understand the lesson taught by terrible events recorded in history (qtd. in de Los Santos Cristobal 426).

The foregoing dialogue between Tagailog and and Malaynatin portrays one fundamental difference between the Filipinos and Americans at war that had been attested by history: the Filipino—

> from the leaders and down to the masses, viewed the war as an American aggression and would resist in defence of their country and their young republic's independence. On the other hand, there was no popular feeling of involvement in the war among the American people [but] purely McKinley's war and his imperialist party [whereas] the Filipino fighters, still being drilled into an army, were a popular force (Cortes et al. 214).

Tagailog assures Malaynatin that he and his people are in possession of military equipment. Malaynatin bursts out laughing; Tagailog leaves him. He oversees the preparations for the rebellion, and prays to God for freedom and deliverance, "*Oh poon naming Bathala, idulot mo sa amin nawa na ipayag nilang paglaya.*" ["Our Lord, grant that they will voluntarily agree to our desired liberty"] (Riggs 322). By his frequent prayers, Tagailog shows that military self-sufficiency alone would not make them succeed in battle. Supplications and invocations to the Supreme Being is a form of resistance that pair off with their audacity; weapons, both human and divine, would help them defend their freedom.

A Dog Chases Its Tail: Inversion of Hegemony

A political drama dealing with the clash between invading settlers and local inhabitants may seem a somewhat unpromising stage on which to utilize supernatural elements, yet in the final Act, Tolentino continues to mingle the uncanny into the conflicts and common life of the characters in an unproblematic and plot-enhancing way. It must be remembered that while Filipinos are deeply devout and pious—as emphasized in the repeated prayers of supplication by Inangbayan and Tagailog throughout the play—the Americans are more pragmatic than religious and therefore are less prone to divine imaginings. It is no wonder that the American Riggs described the play as "grisly and forbidding, tragic and horrible even in its lighter parts" (278).

Act III, Scene V shows Malaynatin extremely troubled with fear of impending danger. Tolentino paints a picture akin to the foreboding darkness enveloping Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth when the vileness of the murder she had committed was dawning on her. Unlike Lady Macbeth though, Malaynatin's terror is in the anticipation, not commission, of a terrible occurrence. Western hegemony is overturned when he yields to anxiety of the supernatural: the usually unsuspecting Malaynatin, as his name connotes, is now overcome with near madness of impending doom. "*Ito'y kakila-kilabot! Ang puso ko'y nangangatal, kaluluwa ko'y pumapanaw, kumikinig ang katawan. Dios ko! Ano't ako'y nalulugmok ngayon? Kakilakilabot!*" [Supreme God! This is horrible! My heart palpitates, my soul aches, my body trembles. My God! Why do ideas of death occur to me? O, Great God! Why am I now so weak? Horrible! My God! Horrible!] (Riggs 324)).

In such fearsome state, Malaynatin falls asleep. Scene VI shows him trapped in a nightmare: he dreams of Inangbayan shooting Bagongsibol's pet eagle; he threatens to attack her, but she fades from his sight, justifying her deed with an almost eerie whisper, "Only a little bullet, thrown softly . . . " (Riggs 325). Suddenly a graveyard emerges and a tumult of voices is heard, saying "Bagongsibol, farewell, farewell!" (Riggs 325). Tagailog comes into view with young boys and girls, pleading for mercy and freedom. Bagongsibol shoves them away, but then Death appears with ominous words: "*Kapag iyong ipinagkait ang Kalayaan, ay magsisisi kang pilit; ako'y siyang tutugis sa iyo hanggang ang buhay mo'y mapatid.*" ["If thou deniest it, thou will repent it. I myself will fight thee with every cruelty until thou diest"] (Riggs 325).

Malaynatin wakes up from his dream: "*Oh! Anong pagkabigat-bigay ng aking pangarap! . . . ang buhay ko'y lumulutang sa pangamba*" ["O! What oppressive dreams are mine! Woe to me, what a nightmare! My heart is oppressed. My life floats over dangers"] (Riggs 326). He rushes to tell Bagongsibol of his nighmare; but Bagongsibol pretended to be unperturbed: "*Malaynatin, ano't iyong isipin, pangarap na sinungaling?*" ["Don't be silly; it appears that thou has gone crazy. Why dost thou pay attention to lying dreams?"] (Riggs 326). He laughs out loud, and then leaves Malaynatin to suffer alone and in silence: "*Ang mabigat kong pangarap, sa puso ko ay nagalak ng pangambang masaklap*"

["My heavy dream has left bitter presentiments in my heart"] (Riggs 326). All by himself, Bagongsibol could not help but be afraid and agitated by Malaynatin's premonitions.

Here is an example of timely intervention of the supernatural to prevent the enemies from committing blunders that would prove disastrous. It was an outstretched hand from the unseen to save Bagongsibol from disgrace before the Filipinos in revolt. However, Tolentino shows that human nature cannot be deprived of free will, even when a temporary deprivation of personal freedom seems advantageous. As it is, Bagongsibol chooses to ignore the helpful warning of Malaynatin, scoffing at him with his stubbornness and blindness.

The most critical scene is set at twilight dusk. Tagailog has let the signals known to his comrades at new moon: if Malaynatin continues to deny them freedom, Tagailog will ignite a blue light that marks the raising of the flag that Inangbayan and the Filipinas had sewn, to be followed immediately by red light, which means that they should begin the attack with electrified bullets, bolos, and so forth. If however, the blue light is followed by a white light, Malaynatin would have consented to extending independence, and no red light will be ignited. In anticipation of bloodshed, Tolentino skillfully inserts a heartrending scene between mother Inangbayan and her son.

Devotion to Inangbayan a School for Organic Intelligence

The men are armed and ready; the women clutch the flag; the masses are stoutly marching behind them. Inangbayan spends the dusk in tearful prayer, imploring divine assistance. On the evening of the battle, an intimate conversation full of human pathos and tenderness between mother and son takes place at sunset. Tagailog approaches his mother: "*Inang, ano't bakit kayo umiiyak? Ano't nag-iisa dito sa laon na lungkot, sa gitna ng sindak? Inang, ang hapis mo'y hingalong masaklap sa amin. Ah, oo! Ang bawat patak ng luha mo, ina, ay walang hanggang hirap sa amin. Anong pagkaganda-ganda kang nilikha ng Diyos!*" ["Why does thou weep? Art thou perchance persecuted? Why art thou alone here, wandering in a sea of sorrows? Inangbayan, thy sorrow is bitter agony for us. Ah, yes! Thy terror alone is death to us, and each tear-

drop is an interminable pain. How beautiful god has created thee!"] (Riggs 327).

Tagailog's devotion to his mother is rewarded: Inangbayan croons an ode to history. The result is a poignant storytelling that journeys from the past to the present; a one-on-one conversation which in probability had been set to music when this play was staged for the first time in Teatro Libertad in May 1903, at nine in the evening. Freedom is symbolically spoken of as a budding, blossoming plant. Its supple green bloom could likewise be an image of organic intellectuals who are guardians of freedom. Inangbayan sings praises to fallen patriots, expressing joy at their triumph, sorrow over their subjection and defeat, and hope for more hardened men like them. She recounts the past when freedom was deliberated in the Pamitinan cave of Sierra Madre, fought fearlessly in Kawit, and then proclaimed triumphantly in Malolos. Freedom was then in sight and within reach—but one of their comrades betrayed their trust and handed them over to the enemies. Will the next generation grow like sturdy, vigorous plants, able to resist the ravages of their adversary? Inangbayan thus sings—

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Tinamnan ng binhi ang bundok Pamitinan, iningat na lihim, saka binakuran ng tabing ng dilim na kababalaghan, kaya't kumago, kumalat ang ugat . . . ngunit isang araw, ang lihim ay biglang nasiwalat . . . ang aming halama'y nagkawalat-walat. Tinangay ng bagyo tanang mga dahoon, dagtang dugong tao ang isinisibol, saka kinaladkad sa lahat ng nayon, sa lahat ng bayan, saan man lumingon. Natapos ang lahat, walang nakapansin ng bawat alabok ng halaman naming. Sa aming kaluluwa'y nag-ugat na muli na binakod ng dilim, kaya't natanglawan noong maluningning na araw ng bayan at tatlong bituin. Saka namulaklak ng lubhang mainanm, puti, pula't azul yaong naging kulay, sa bayang Malolos aming pinagyamanan . . . Oh! Bunso! Himala! Isang araw, humangin ang bagyo't di naming malaman kung saan at ano ang pinagbuhatan, nalanta ang bulaklak, saka nalamuray.* [Seed was sown at Mount Pamitinan; it was cared for secretly; it was covered with a dark mantle of mystery. All was secret, all was virtue, gliding to tiptoes, no cries . . . So it acquired frondescence, and the roots spread . . . But one day there was a traitor, the secret was divulged immediately. A horrible tempest followed . . . Our plant was destroyed, the tempest carried away all its leaves, the sap was human blood; later it was dragged through all the barrios and towns, wherever one could look, the blood flowed in abundance. Destiny of time! All was ended.

> Nobody noted that every atom of dust our plant, infiltrated vigorously in our souls, again threw out roots; it was born again. In the town of Kawit it was publicly cultivated anew without being covered with mystery, and was lighted by the brilliant sun of the people and by three stars. Later it produced beautiful flowers; white, red and blue. In the town of Malolos we enriched our plant; it was elevated and incense was burned in its honor . . . Oh, beloved son! A miracle! One day a storm broke and without our being able to explain the cause, the flowers withered and the petals fell . . .]
>
> **TAGAILOG.** *Ina, huwag mon ang isipin: magsaya ka't ang bulaklak natin ay mananariwa, at magluluningning na muli, asahan. Pagsapit ng dilim sa silong ng langit, ang atin ay atin.* [Mother, think no more of it. Rejoice for our flower will be born and shine again, believe me. When darkness arrives below the firmament, what is ours shall be ours.] (Riggs 328-329).

A true son, Tagailog is quick to give his mother assurance. Seemingly dejected, Inangbayan glances sorrowfully at the setting sun, bleakly seeing it as a symbol of their defeat. But Tagailog reassures her that the setting sun summons with haste the new moon's coming, signal of their revolution and a new beginning.

> **INANGBAYAN.** *Lubog na ang araw . . .* [The sun has set . . .]
>
> **TAGAILOG.** . . . *ang ating bagong buwan at mga bituin ngayo'y darating. Halika na Ina't ating salubungin.* [. . . the new moon and sun will appear without fail. Come, Inangbayan, let us go out to meet them.] (Riggs 329)

Inangbayan rejuvenates a new appreciation for the past revolutionaries, as she did when she appealed to Asalhayop's senses in the opening scene of the play. Speaking through Inangbayan, Tolentino argues that though visionary ideals are fundamental to the progressive enterprise and to the very fabric of the nation's culture, a remembrance of things past is likewise foundational (see fig. 7). This is a recurring theme in *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas:* to value the past, to go back to the roots. In tracing freedom's journey and the nation's evolution, Inangbayan laments that reverence for the heroic dead seemed to have eroded along the way with the likes of Asalhayop, Dahumpalay, and a handful of devious natives. Tagailog is quick to rescue the depressing panorama, countering that at the coming of the new moon,

they would have a unique opportunity to forge a new understanding of what it means to be a Filipino, one that would fortify the next generation as they prepare for the battle that lies ahead.

FIG. 7. A cigarette package in the 1900s shows that even during the American regime, the ideals of the Katipunan had not been completely obliterated among Filipinos. A child with his mother and Inangbayan was a common visual metaphor of the summons to keep the nationalistic flame alive (Pinoy Kollektor Blog).

Theater needs to take seriously the clamour for a profound Filipino personality and a dynamic cultural distinctiveness by nursing within her a lingering memory of the heroic past. Many circumstances motivate the pressing need to cherish history, to wit:

- the overhauling of the educational system with the adoption of a highly modified set of curriculum patterned from abroad
- the restless diasporas of lower-class Filipinos to find work abroad, bringing with them the risk of cultural amnesia, identity-forgetfulness, and rootlessness

- the pervasive consumerism and patronizing attitudes towards technology which tend to overshadow our cultural artifacts and sap our youth's energies, for whose well-being the need for more mature organic intellectuals become ever crucial

A simulacrum to an organic intellectual's integrality and wholeness is achieved in the mother-son duality; Inangbayan is the heart; Tagailog, the head and hands. Inangbayan provides the inspiration; Tagailog, the deed and the action. In an organic intellectual, mind and might fuse together. E. San Juan, Jr. posits: "Our individual response will mark us, our identity and destiny, if we Filipinos whose identification with the country of our birth or lineage is not just accidental or sentimental but fateful and integral" ("Rizal for Our Time" 70). Action and compassion blend splendidly where remembrance of historical past, reverence for the dead, and devotion to Inanbayan are heeded.

The Revolutionary, Praxiological, Committed Intellectual: A Filipino of the Best Kind

It is daybreak and hope for a new beginning is symbolized by children coming out in the scene. In Act III, Scenes IX and X, Tolentino adroitly interleaves oratorical pieces cut for the youth. The earlier dilemma between moral intelligence (herein symbolized by a book) and military defense (symbolized by a type of machine) is resolved in the children's declamations: the battle for freedom requires both learning and equipment, brains and skill, intellectual and manual aptitudes, the use of both head and hands—just as Gramsci had envisioned of organic intellectuals. Young and eager, the children get ready for the dawn of a new day by proclaiming their aspiration for an education fitted for liberty:

> **BOY.** *Halina mga kaibigan, at sumapit na ang araw. Ang libro'y di kaya sira? Ang makina'y buo kaya?* [Come, friends. At last the day has arrived. The book is not torn? The machine all right?]
>
> **LAHAT.** *Buo: heto.* [It is not torn. Here it is.] (Riggs 329)

The children articulate the kind of learning that they would need to safeguard their liberty: wisdom and civic virtues, such as that which Gramsci had prescribed. The following excerpt from their lengthy oratorical piece describes wisdom and learning ("langit ng karunungan" or "skies of science") and laboriousness and hard work ("hirap ng sugat na nag-aantak" in a "world of intense pain and wounds") as truly a school of training for organic intelligence:

> Let us prepare ourselves. We begin to work like one who flies on the wings of liberty, and let us soar without ceasing to the sky of science. Let us give force to thought through the light of schools . . . Let us study how to treat our fellow-creatures, and everything that may be necessary for the prosperity of our country, now exclusively ours. If we should happen to see the putrefaction of a wound, let us not be overcome. The world is especially stained with intensely painful wounds (Riggs 329).

The question of school has been foremost in Gramscian philosophy (1985). In the quoted passage, it would seem that Tolentino is refuting the kind of American mis-education being heaped on the Filipinos with the aim of subjugating them to become "good colonials" and passive subjects to the US policy of "benevolent assimilation." Right away the Filipino insurgents had read through those peppered phrases; General Etwell Otis realized with dismay that

> . . . certain words and expressions therein such as "sovereignty," "right of cession" and those which directed immediate occupation, though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalog war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives. The ignorant classes had been thought to believe that certain words as "sovereignty" and "protection" had a peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination, like that from which they had recently been freed (qtd. in Cortes et al. 240).

Indeed, many decades after the "benevolent assimilation," Filipino writers in English admitted that Saroyan, Hemingway, and Steinbeck had played prominently in shaping their style and sensibilities for the reason that they had been exposed to American writers early in life. American hege-

mony was secured largely through English teaching during the early occupation period, a phenomenon of assimilation manifested until now more than a century hence. It would require an overhauling of the curriculum to deconstruct this hegemonic discourse, an undertaking presently being claimed by the Department of Education with the massive inclusion of Filipino and regional literature into the national program of study.

Though Tolentino had the practice of re-working his literary output into different linguistic versions, he himself was an early advocate of the promotion of a national language, and had in fact established a school, called *El Parnaso Filipino,* to this end. He believed that Tagalog is accessible, and if accessible, eventually universally acceptable to a variety of audiences. In the essay, "Sneaking into the Philippine along the Rivers of Babylon: An Intervention into the Language Question," E. San Juan, Jr. affirms the significance of a national language as a basis for multilingual fluency and country-wide unity: "I would argue that the unity and collective pride attendant on the use of one national language provides the groundwork and fundamental requisite for the promotion of ethnic and regional languages within the national polity" (70-71). Only when a national linguistic self-understanding process attains national consciousness could Filipino drama make a mark in universal theater. As early as 1915, Filipino patriots had been critical of the hegemonic tactics for America's cultural imperialism.

The children's oratorical piece continues: "*Ang mundo'y ating ititigang gaya baga ni Rizal, walang kinakatakutan at walang nakagalitan ngunit may kinahabagan*" ["Let us look at the world face to face, as did Rizal, who feared no one, and bore no animosity, but who could feel pity"] (Riggs 329).

Why did Tolentino cite Rizal and not Bonifacio, though the Katipunan spirit clearly permeates the entire play? The reason could be both pragmatic and literary: before the play ends, Tolentino is naturally compelled to give a clear formulation to the problem he had posed earlier through the character of Asalhayop in Act One: Are noble deeds boon or bane? Is heroic death to be preferred than worldly living? Another unanswered dilemma is the challenge posed in Act Two by Malaynatin who claimed that military arms, not intelligence, would save the country. At the very core, the problematics that

Tolentino poses in the play is what constitutes genuine learning for liberty, what comprises the essence of culture and independence. It was Rizal who unequivocally sets education as part and parcel of the whole philosophy on freedom with the following blueprint:

> I have given proofs, more than anybody else, of desiring liberties for our country . . . But I place as a premise the education of the people so that by means of education and of labor they might have a personality of their own and make themselves worthy of liberties . . . I recommend the study of civic virtues, without which there is no redemption (qtd in San Juan, Jr., "Rizal for Our Time" 73).

In an essay called "Rizal for Our Time," San Juan, Jr. offers a profound reading of the text above and considers those words as "the itinerary of evolutionary progress . . . its staging ground and trajectory" (73). He points to a nuance in the text that could easily be overlooked by readers: that study is best paired off not with arms and violence but with hard work, labor, and civic virtues, of which the desired product is an intellectual of the best kind, a social mobilizer and agent of change—an *organic intellectual.* San Juan, Jr. gives Rizal's quote a deeply Gramscian interpretation:

> Note that juxtaposed with education and study (conceived as mental and spiritual refinement) are *labor* and *civic virtues* [San Juan's underscoring]. Both of these practices would contribute to the formation or the invention of personality for a whole people, a politicized race redeemed from seriality vis-à-vis the Western hegemonic power. Labor, civic virtues: these concepts fill the gap . . . Self-respect serves as a propelling force for self-development. Each individual is motivated by a will to self-actualization, a doubling of self realized in the recognition by the Other. The initiation into Symbolic Order where the native Indio confronts the Western colonizer on an equal plane marks the Filipino's capture of that essential virtue intrinsic to the affirmation of his humanity . . . Repression fires up the desire of the intellect—isn't this the experience of Bonifacio and Jacinto? Couldn't we conceive of the Liga as the figure of the prefigurative and transformative politics of Rizal which anticipated the *Katipunan* and staked the path for Mabini, Abad Santos, etc. later? (73-76).

The children continue: "*At bawasan ang salita at dagdagan ng gawa, ang hagdang papanhikan nga ay ang hagdang ihahanda ng ating pangangasiwa*" ["Fewer words and more works; and the stairs which we have to ascend shall be those which our achievements prepare"] (Riggs 329). Then, as now, San Juan, Jr. posits, the stress on academic scholarship overshadows the formation of civic virtues necessary for "transformation of the knowledge of reality into an instrument for changing the world" ("Rizal for Our Time" 74). He concludes: "We should celebrate Rizal and Bonifacto together, not pit one against the other, because for all their contradictions and disjunctions, the only way we can use them as symbolic models and examples would be to illuminate each of them by the shadow and radiance of the other" ("Rizal for Our Time" 71). Thus, it may be justly concluded that while Rizal theorized the kind of education fitted for liberty, Bonifacio lived and personified it; Rizal hypothesized, Bonifacio actualized. In sum, it is organic intelligence that Rizal advocated and which Bonifacio epitomized.

Tagailog embodies both teachings in body and spirit. Tolentino's frequent use of oratory and exhortation has a twinge of eulogy in it, articulating the collective sentiment and discourse of a growing national popular through his protagonist Tagailog.

Scene XI is perhaps the most dramatically symbolic of all. It shows Tolentino's triumphant ending, toned down in later versions to appease the Americans after his arrest. Inangbayan's folkloric wisdom has not escaped unnoticed; Bagong Sibol and Malaynatin are wary of her mysteriousness even as they wonder where the native rebels acquired their practical wisdom and acumen. Inangbayan, rightly called "Ilaw ng Tahanan" for being the repository of learning and history, exudes the Western psyche's opposite effect. Her demands were illuminatingly clear no matter how much Bagongsibol denied them:

> *Aking pakiramdam kanyang mga tinuruan, mandin may kahulugan, wari'y may kinukublihang malalaking bagay . . . (Lilingon sa loob.) Ano yaon? Ano? Anong ilaw ang nandoon? Ito kaya ang tadhana ng panahon sa ating mga lingatong?*" ["When I meditate on her truly significant words, it seems to me that they

hide great events. What is that, what is that? What light is that? Will this be the beginning of our troubles decreed by time?"] (Riggs 330).

Enlightening and instructive to the natives, Inangbayan is dark and ominous to "the Other" who are seized over by their own unwilling minds. Suspecting that territorial ownership and patronage is to be "taken away" from them, Malaynatin begins to feel sick; Bagongsibol shivers in jeopardy, hegemony boomerangs again, and its inversion—instead of invasion—takes place in their "colony."

Suddenly, Tagailog emerges on the horizon, supporting Inangbayan by the waist. He holds up a torch of blue flame and a sable on his right hand. Inangbayan feebly waves the Philippine flag. A band plays the National March on the sides of the stage. Malaynatin and Bagongsibol are brought to their senses, surprised and enraged at what they see. Then Inangbayan makes a long appeal for freedom for one last time: "*Isipin, huwag kalimutan, isipin ang pinuhunan naming hirap, dugo, buhay ng dahil sa Kalayaan. Kapag inyo pang pinigil, babaha ng dugo natin. Kayong tunay mananagot sa Maykapal sa ulilang maiiwan, sa kamay ng kamatayan*" ["Consider the past and do not forget the sorrow of our people; think of the work, blood and lives sacrificed for our liberty. Why do thou disturb us and interfere with our rights? If thou dost impede it, our blood will run in torrents and thou wilt have to respond before the Creator for the lives which are lost and for the orphans which will be at the mercy of death"] (Riggs 332). So, it is Inangbayan who fulfills the shadowy character of King Death in Malaynatin's nightmare.

This scene provoked fifteen to twenty Americans, infuriated by Inangbayan's cry for freedom and warning to the Americans, to storm the stage and disrupt the play in its maiden performance in 1903. "Highly incensed over the insults heaped on the American flag, they rapidly ran down the aisle, climbed over the orchestra and tore the flag from her hands . . . [They] also proceeded to demolish the stage setting and furniture . . . A wild stampede [occurred and] several people were thrown down and hurt" (qtd. in Lapeña-Bonifacio 42).

The last scene shows children at center stage. Two young leaders, a boy and a girl, hold together a big book. Everyone kneels before Bagong Sibol while the boy and the girl show him the book. On the pages are written the lives of Filipino ancestors, and they plead for Bagongsibol to gain knowledge from them. In a conciliatory tone they say:

> **BATANG LALAKI.** *Ito po ang kasulatan ng aming bayan.* [This is the record of our unhappy people.]
>
> **BATANG BABAE.** *Sa inyo po aming alay, upang inyong malaman, buhay ng aming magulang.* [We offer it to thee so that thou mayest be acquainted with the history of our fathers.] (Riggs 332)

Bagongsibol takes the book, and out came flying the Philippine Flag. Unable to contain himself any longer, Bagongsibol yields to the children's demand for freedom. He is forced by innocent children to recognize their hard-won liberty. The critic Riggs admits, "After all, the Americans have exposed themselves to these demonstrations of nationalistic sentiment because they have misled the Filipinos into thinking that they were not interested in territorial acquisition; as far as the natives were concerned, they were intruders . . ." (42). If Bagongsibol's words sound paternalistic, they worked at least in the children's favor:

> *Ah! Hiningi ni Inangbayan ang inyong Kalayaan, at hindi ko binigay. Ngunit ang humiling ngayon ng Kalayaan ay kayong halos sanggol. Ako'y hindi na tututol at inyo na ang Kalayaan ninyong layon . . . Mabuhay ang Filipinas. Dumakila habang araw.* [Oh! Inangbayan has asked for your liberty, and I did not give it. But now that ye, who are little more than infants, ask it, I cannot oppose you. Thine is the liberty which ye earnestly desire. May you preserve it eternally. Long live the Philippines!]. (Riggs 333)

If the original script showed Bagongsibol's stubborn refusal to give back their freedom, the play would have ended in one chaotic uprising. Under censorship, Tolentino was forced to soften the ending and mitigate its ill effects; what moved him to choose children as the characters that would change Bagongsibol's mind?

Children have not only the appeal of organic freshness; they also possess the decisive element of jointly interweaving the past and future and having in their hands all the promising potentials of the present moment: a recurring theme in *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas.*

In school, young boys and girls were trained to become "unselfish souls" and listened to "lectures on heroic acts of illustrious persons worthy of emulation for their civic virtues and patriotism" (Villamor 95-101).

At the end of the play, Tolentino wished to incite his viewers into constructive action. Seeing that an actual rebellion was commencing on stage extending to the audience and beyond, he might have thought that substituting the chaos with a scene of children begging for freedom could yield the intended results. After all, any discourse about the future may well begin with the issue of children and youth. More than any other member of society, they embody vestiges of the past and dreams and desires for the future, while still living in the present—the cycle of life being a recurring theme in this play. Children and youth not only register the country's claim to freedom and progress symbolically, they also affirm the importance of education in which adult responsibility was mediated through a willingness to fight for their begottens' rights. Freedom and progress are inextricably linked with children and youth.

Synthesis

Pronounced by Riggs after its maiden performance in 1903 as "superficially brilliant, fanatically interested in Philippine liberation from the power of the oppressor America, and bloodthirsty to the very last degree" (278), *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* as a patriotically "seditious" play could give impetus for the birth and configuration of new Rizals, Bonifacios, Jacintos, and Mabinis in our midst. The characters' exertion at speech and action, their highly-kinetic movements and the emotive penetrating effects into the subconscious of the subjugated audience incensed the American colonists but ignited among Filipinos a massive popular formation that collectively championed their aspiration for national independence. Riggs could not deny the fact that "[this] drama must be studied to appreciate the truth . . .

so bitter; and the more it is studied the clearer that truth becomes" (278). Aimed at the lower classes of the people (277), Zapanta-Manlapaz identifies this play as authentically rising from the conscious depths of national-popular willpower that sprung from the playwright's personal conscientization:

> Tolentino the patriot and Tolentino the playwright professed the same creed: to serve the people, the Filipino people . . . This singleness of intention makes him an example for young Filipino writers today.

Written in Tagalog, Tolentino's play deserves a renewed interpretation to a variety of audiences rather than simply for a group of specialized academicians so that through its performance, transformative change may take effect among forthcoming organic leaders of the country. The decision to rehabilitate its performance can itself be a challenge to the foreign entertainment industry.

Riggs adjudged *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* as a "curious drama of force… in the most striking cruelties and weird episodes that it may easily be denoted as by far the most striking of the Filipino plays, even though it be admitted that in finish and polish it is decidedly inferior to *Hindi Aco Patay,* and never attained the enormous popularity of that famous piece" (277). Today, a challenge would be to re-write the ending of this play in a manner Tolentino had originally conceived it, before the revision he was forced to make in prison during his arrest. To answer this challenge, a coalition between scriptwriters, actors, and producers may come into being: to give flesh and blood to the script's muted finish that has now been regarded definitive, handed down to succeeding generations as the "final" version. As drama critic Sayre puts it, "[t]he transformative potential of performance is one of the primary reasons that writers are intrigued by the dynamics of performance proper" (qtd. in Lentricchia 96). Encouraging audience participation gives a "structured interruption" to the play similar to what had happened in 1903 for, after all, contemporary spectators are not homogenous but possess a wide range of response-and-identity capabilities given their knowledge of the past, their concern for the future, and their potentialities as agents of change. In an essay called "Entertainment and Utopia," the culture critic Dyer noted:

> Because entertainment is produced by professional entertainers, it is also largely defined by them . . . Although entertainment is part of the coinage of everyday thought, nonetheless how it is defined, what it is assumed to be, is basically decided by those people responsible for providing it in concrete form. Professional entertainment is the dominant agency for defining what entertainment is. This does not mean, however, that it simply reproduces and expresses patriarchal capitalism. There is the usual struggle between the capital (the backers) and labour (the performers) over the control of the product . . . the workforce (the performers themselves) is in a better position to determine the form [or outcome] of its product . . . . (372)

Applying these words to *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas,* its production need not simplistically portray what seditious censorship had effected for the reason the main protagonists, being live performers, are relatively autonomous in handling and controlling the show's final outcome. Moreover, the audience possesses sensibility and background information for them to read through the non-representational codes of the play such that they define in their own right what their utopia would consist of, as in the case of the Katipunan flag that has been heavily used in the play. Hence, it may be contended that re-producing this play would not mechanically and unproblematically perpetuate patriarchal censorship and ideology; rather, structurally subordinate groups, including the audience who might patronize it, may have a hand in the re-writing of this play. *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* presents a timely theatrical opportunity that would test the talents of today's producers, writers, actors, and audience from among whom organic intellectuals would hopefully come into being.

A Hundred Years After: Another Elite in the Making?

The Perennial Relevance of "Seditious" Dramas

The "seditious" dramas have in them the immediate ring of today's newspaper headlines intersecting with the average Filipino's daily concerns. Their themes revolving around cultural hegemony, political corruption, and the need for organic intellectuals, agents of change, and community mobilization may demonstrate the likelihood that *Hindi Aco Patay*, *Bagong Cristo*, and *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* could successfully be adapted into contemporary settings. Betrayals, conspiracies, and struggles continue to be part of everyday living, and with a renewed and rehabilitated visual motifs—the substitution of "tapa" with "lechon" to symbolize the country's resources ("pork barrel") in *Hindi Aco Patay,* for example—can reach out to and capture the imagination of today's audiences. Lengthy orations, such as those in *Bagong Cristo,* may be substituted with terse dialogues without compromising its content; the pieces of jewelry in *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* may well be replaced with vouchers that symbolize the sky-rocketing taxes being paid for by citizens to the government, thus indirectly robbing children

of what otherwise could have immediately been spent by parents for their wards' education, just as Tolentino clearly foresaw in the *Ngayon* and *Bukas* segments. In lieu of the colonialists' pledges of protection, the demagogic ranting of accusing senators side by side with the accused's incomprehensible utterances could be perfect surrogates yielding the same effect. In short, rather than merely reviving the timeworn plot of colonialism, rehabilitated performances may be geared at arousing viewers' passions through a simulation of the chaos now overtaking Philippine politics. Whatever else was not within the average Filipino's experience—stealth, bribery, corruption, and so forth, is difficult to imagine so that today's dramatic translators and potential producers may more creatively refurbish the "seditious" spectacles and make them new sensations. After all, these works are endowed with a universality that rises above cultural and political demarcations. Gramsci provides a model:

> The premise of the new literature cannot but be historical, political and popular: it must work towards the elaboration of what already exists . . . What matters is that it sinks its roots in the humus of popular culture as it is, with its tastes and tendencies and with its moral and intellectual world, even if its is backward and conventional (*Selections from Cultural Writings* 102).

Old and "seditious" they may have been, these three plays possess smashing climaxes, uncontrollable violence and adequate sentimental appeal that make for a dramatic literature not of particular period, but of all time.

Rehabilitated versions of the "seditious" plays must show the same respect for the average Juan de la Cruz, just as Matapang Cruz and Tolentino had demonstrated. The average Juan was the forerunner of the present confidence in the ordinary, present-day worker. Onstage, the performers must vibrantly portray their proletarian sympathies to ignite with zeal those future revolutionary leaders. As performers, they must be ready to give themselves—as demonstrated by the playwright—even to suffer the violence of one unhappy patriot in a world now torn by strife between the extreme left and right. The old "seditious" plays were the cauldron of the

Philippine Republic under suppression and may serve as inspiration for future revolutions.

Understanding how the ordinary Filipino men and women perceived themselves and how their performances were perceived in society may help answer important questions on the roots of honor, class distinctions, human equality and dignity, and personal and collective traits that are part and parcel of a Filipino intellectual-in-the-making. This understanding will offer a higher estimation of the "ordinary extraordinariness" of Juan de la Cruz for people empowerment, thus moderating the animosities that might already exist in the now highly stratified Philippine society.

These plays are as timely as ever, given the current tide of creative theatrical outbursts, a burgeoning market economy, and perhaps above all, the rise of young politicos—"armchair intellectuals," to use Gramsci's words—devoid of training and exposure to citizenship in the public sphere. The declining interest in the formation of young and working intellectuals, the general cynicism about mainstream national politics and its decidedly negative impact on society back up the significance of re-reading and re-discovering these plays so that such entrenched positions might be reversed and new-fangled forms of colonized mentality be forestalled. This study was undertaken to reinforce the long forgotten link of these dramatic works to the Philippine literary history chain and contribute to the conscientization and on-going search for the Filipino intellectual, organic yet dynamic, in the nation's continuing quest for liberty.

A Strategy of Coalition: Intelligentsia & Workers

The insights provided by this study is also a springboard for interrogations: How can dramatic theater—though marvelously taking shape in the local cultural landscape—influence the motivations of average citizens who comprise the popular majority of today's population and from whence the rising organic intellectuals should move forward? In what manner and strategy can the still embryonic Filipino theater become "an agent for emancipation, let alone revolutionary social transformation, of the plight of the oppressed peoples around the world?"

Gramsci's strategy of collective alliances can be explored further as a response to the prevailing perception in the country that theater as a constructive form of pedagogy is fashionable still and only still in the hands of exclusive groups who can afford to pay for locally-sponsored foreign productions—thereby amplifying class distinctions and encouraging, perhaps unwillingly, a miseducation among the lower crusts of society. Nowhere is there a booming dramatic production that actively involves the lower class; few heed their voice; and still fewer are focused on undertaking to help them rise from cultural mediocrity. Already they are positioned as mere subjects and interpellated to become subjugates to the creative output of capitalists, backers, and upper-middle class. The result could be a burgeoning gap between the middle class and the lower masses that remain incapable of fully expressing themselves. The answer could be to bring the intelligentsia and workers together into the pulsating loop of dialogue taking place among dramatic practitioners:

> . . . . a good start in exploring the transformative potential of "multiculturalism" which, initiated in the West as a theme, genre, policy, and disciplinary orientation, can be re-contextualized in Asian setting and merged with the larger research projects of intellectuals, government officials, and other protagonist in the public sphere. (San Juan, "From Birmingham to Angkor Wat" 7).

The need for dramatic plays based on the organic intellectual worker's concreteness and materiality of habitual experiences is a concrete strategy that finds its roots in Gramsci's ideas. In a technopolis, the working class talents remain dormant; their energies spent and exhausted, as it were, for the efforts of physical survival. But they have a cutting edge in that they are possessors of firsthand experiences from the bureaucrats. Naïve and unreasoned though possessing folkloric wisdom (like Matapang Cruz' *Katuiran),* toughened up by abuses and suffering in extremis (like Tolentino's *Tagailog),* they stand in need of reawakening their personal and collective consciousness and innate agent power.

Wanted: A Theater for & by Organic Intellectuals

This last decade has witnessed a booming population consisting of a growing number of highly diversified militant groups. It is but just right to get them involved in the forging of culture and nation via the spectacle of drama. The dearth of qualified intellectual critics, the preference for commercialized campaign advertisements over the candidates' platform, election results based largely on name recall indicate how theater should become an increasingly relevant mode of pedagogy for positive activism, a fact that was reiterated in the World Theatre Day 2011. Drama has been regarded as a tool for advocating tradition and for advancing progressive causes; it could be threatening yet inclusive and, like music, has evolved to become a universal language by which subtle tactics and apparatuses of cultural domination may be overturned:

> Forms need to be historicized and intentionalities socialized, thus acknowledging the contributions of diverse voices and communities on earth to the collective enterprise of shaping a non-alienated global ecumene. In this way the ideal of a transformative knowledge in the services of social justice and popular freedom for practitioners of the humane sciences . . . becomes more accessible (San Juan, Jr. 35).

There is a need to take account of the marginalized and include them in the loop of cultural production-and-consumption. For no less than the poor are able to authenticate the relevance of the studies being undertaken by culture critics. If no substantiation from ordinary men and women occurs, analytical studies such as this one would run the risk of vanishing into empty rhetorical discourse with no deeply-felt and existential authenticity. Unless dramatic writing, production, and consumption become inclusive for all, Filipino theater shall fail to alter structures. It will have no real impact on the ordinary way of life of Filipinos. This is the study's recommendation as we explore further the Filipino pedigree and "culture-as-way-of-life": to facilitate the forthcoming organic intellectuals' entry into the performative current and revive the struggle for freedom. From the vantage point of the educated middle class, to allow the subjugated to gain entry into the

production loop of literature would be a way towards deeper rectitude and self-validation of artistic works. Theater in the Philippines may well envision a synchronization of thought and action; a vision which in turn may be translated into an upward struggle, a harmonized and collective movement.

Conclusion

The dynamic Filipino intellectual is represented in the protagonists of *Hindi Aco Patay*, *Kahapon Ngayon at Bukas*, and *Bagong Cristo* and their performances paved the way for the nation's renewal. The course of action suggested by this study is that of re-focusing ourselves into becoming dynamic agents of positive change and taking inspiration from the Filipino dramatic literature of 1903-1907. Revolutionary dramatic texts, because transformative, do not lose their critical edge; these foment a kind of cultural check and balance as a neo-hegemonic stratagem. Theater itself will be transformed into an innovative fertile soil for the formation of organic intellectuals necessary for the continuing quest for nationhood.

The three dramatic texts that were the objects of this study are true social and cultural documents with marks of artistic and literary excellence. They reflect the embryonic, yet aborted emergence of ordinary Filipinos from their proletarian identity to their upward process of becoming intuitive men and women imbued with sound judgment, a capacity for cohesive leadership, and acute intellectual foresight. By fostering the growth, via drama, of many organic intellectuals—recurrently rising, spasmodically surviving, periodically perishing but always promising—the Philippines would cease becoming prone to glitzy and subtly-styled forms of Western ascendancy. Therefore, the yield of this study could be constructive in re-evaluating leadership trends and vitally helpful to forming a renewed breed of leaders through a re-definition of Filipino theater. This study is a testament to Filipino ingenuity and the capacity for inner transformation, an expression of faith in the common men and women that they, too, possess the potentialities of becoming organic intellectuals in their own right.

Notes

1. According to Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio in her book, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation",* the editorial of May 16, 1903 of *The Manila Times* states that the plays were penned "primarily to incite the Filipino people against the United States", adding that "an organized conspiracy on the part of the playwrights produces this class of theatrical presentations." The label, "seditious", originates from the foreigners' charges of conspiracy against the Filipino playwrights, hence the use of quotation marks throughout the study, in keeping with the practice of the writer.
2. Paul D. Hutchcroft, an American professor and Director of the School of International, Political and Strategic Studies at the Australian National University, traced the origin of patronage politics in the Philippines to its institutional formation during the American colonial period. In his book, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines,* he said that politicians employ "pork-and-patronage" politics to gain control over the voting population and thus secure their re-election to the office. Components of patronage politics he deemed most common were vote buying, pork barrel, jobs for supporters after elections, and network in which patronage flows. See: *globalnation.inquirer.net/74991/_patronage-politics-not-an-offshoot-of-ph-culture-grew-during-us-colonial-period#ixzz2a6RZj39U*
3. Nationalistic activities are described by Bonifacio Salamanca in *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule 1901-1903* (New Day, 1968). See also *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines* by David Sturtevant (Cornell University, 1976) and Renato Constantino's *A Past Revisited* (1974).
4. For example, Bañas' *Pilipino Music and Theatre;* other anthologies yield minimal reference to the playwrights and their works.
5. The original source is "Fugitive Tolentino, the Dramatist, Again a Government Prisoner," *The Manila Times,* June 15, 1904.
6. Peter McLaren, Professor of Graduate Education at the University of California, Los Angeles, had christened, as it were, E. San Juan Jr. as "the transformative intellectual . . . arguably one of the most important intellectuals of our times . . . [who is] able to capture with such rigor and verve the historically heterogeneous and discontinuous relations of exploitation, domination and conflict constitutive of today's social existence in the global arena of neoliberal capitalism and the system of wage labor."
7. The "seditious" performances, in fact, had prompted the lawmakers to pass the "Sedition Law." See McCoy and Cortez.
8. A common appellation designated to a Filipino, the Filipino *Everyman.*

9. An external observer, Zuñiga gives several descriptions of the native to this effect, while also acknowledging the Filipinos' resourcefulness and creativity.
10. This will be described briefly in the discussion of Act One of *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas.*
11. Of the thirty (30) provinces where a census on population was conducted in 1903, eleven (11) showed a drastic drop in population caused by the high rate of casualties in the aftermath of the first phase of the fierce Filipino-American War of 1898-1902. Compare the 1903 census to the 1887 census in Corpuz, pp. 520-523.
12. Corpuz identifies one such organic leader, General Luciano San Miguel. Scant though highly reliable resources draw up an admirable sketch of his heroism. San Miguel's story is in Corpuz, Chapter 11.
13. Ileto believed that during the republican period, the term "Katipunan" was officially defined as "nation" but very little effort, if any, was made to build the nation along Katipunan lines, except by and among the masses themselves. (175)
14. According to Salamanca, the Philippine Assembly was established as an important forum for discussion and nation-building. It is considered as the single most important political forum introduced by the United States to the Philippines.
15. Bañas reports that the Opera House, formerly host to Rizal Day Programs, zarzuelas, and local dramatic productions, increasingly came to be a gathering hall of important American personages as well as Filipino elites. It was burned down in 1943 in a fire that started in the Bureau of Labor that stood beside it; demolished in 1945 after the Second World War; and then gave way to some commercial apartments. Until 1972, stage shows and Hollywood movies formed the major offerings of the iconic theater hall.
16. This is commented on in the analysis of the play's Act One, found under the section, *The "Seditious" Patriotic Drama of Juan Matapang Cruz Plucked from the Shadows of Death: Hindi Aco Patay (I am Not Dead), 1903*
17. Lapeña-Bonifacio's original source was "Seditious Playwright, Juan the Brave, Author of the Tagalog Drama Arrested, Puts the Blame on His Wife" in *The Manila Times*, July 6, 1903, p.1.
18. Organized in 1902, this party was a remnant of the Katipunan. Its founders included Dominador Gomez, Lope K. Santos, Macario Sakay, Jose Palma, and Aurelio Tolentino himself. Their platform was the "complete, absolute and immediate independence" of the Philippines. See Guerrero, p. 40.
19. The page number that appears in all citations of excerpted dialogues from Riggs points to the English translation provided by his book.
20. By virtue of Article 3, Spain ceded to the United States the Philippine Islands, including all the buildings, barracks, wharves, forts, structures, public highways, livestock and other property which, in conformity with the law, belonged to the

public domain, here understood as the Crown of Spain. A summative discussion on the content of the Treaty of Paris is found on Cortes et al., pp. 234-235.

21. For a modern adaptation of this play, "pork" as a symbol of resources and ill-gotten wealth may be better captured in meaning by the contemporary audience rather than "beef."
22. It has become habitual for Filipinos to greet the flag with general acclaim. Cortes et al. explains that the flag is waved after each victorious battle; it is recognized and understood by all (p. 177).
23. See Ileto, 185-197.
24. Award-winning blogger Alex Castro and *Bulatlat* Alternative News correspondent Noel Sales Barcelona receive numerous queries on where to find the dramatic texts in full or abridged version. This somehow demonstrates the inaccessibility, unpopularity, or omission of these works in published anthologies that are usually available for instructional purposes or classroom use.
25. The Filipinos "honored" the dead by feasting, singing, and drinking while the body lies in state. For a description of the games of amusement during belasiyon, see pp. 101 and 146 of Pedro A. Paterno's *La Antigua Civilization de Filipinas*, 1915.
26. An excellent description of the Philippines' birth as a nation by Cortes, et al. is found in Chapters 8 and 9 of *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change.* How the Americans repressed the republic is depicted in Chapter 10, "The Republic against American Imperialism, 1989-1902."
27. All English translations of excerpted dialogues from *Hindi Aco Patay* were done by the author herself.
28. "Is so-called Filipino resiliency a sign of fractured psyche?" See Jose Osias, Opinion Section of *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 19 January 2014, p. 4.
29. Common expressions among Filipinos are "wala lang," which may be translated as, "Oh, it's nothing" combined with indifference or the refusal to elaborate or delve deep into a problem, question, or issue and "only in the Philippines" which may be said with a tone of humor, mockery, or sarcasm before a ridiculous event that hints, among other things, at the country's inefficiency, ineptitude, or perceived lack of common sense.
30. Tolentino featured the Chinese in Kahapon because Philippine history is inextricably linked with their arrival before the Spaniards. See Legarda's Chapter I on Pre-Hispanic Trade.
31. The original source is "Labor Conditions in the Philippines" from the *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, vol. 58, US Department of Commerce and Labor, May 1905.
32. The original source is "Material Problems in the Philippine Islands" from *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, vol. 19, April 1899.
33. Then a customary form of punishment for a grievous crime. See Bankoff, Part One.

34. A Letter to the Editor in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* states that Filipinos' poverty is due not for their lack of resources as for poor governance.(Dr. Asterio Saquing Jr., Bambang, Nueva Vizcaya in *PDI*, 1 Jan. 2014, p. 12).
35. The original source is the Editorial of *The Manila Times*, 16 May 1903.
36. On the Filipinos' subservience as a general trait, see *Zuñiga, Status of the Philippines in the 1800s.*
37. Filipinos invoking the help of the supernatural even in their fight for freedom is the object of Marco's thesis, *Dios-dios and Other Forms of Resistance.*
38. In a pronunciation to the American Senate on 9 January 1900, the purpose was to use the Philippines as a base for military powers and gateway to the East. Read the longer text in Cortes et al. pp. 237-238.
39. A superb elaboration and interpretation of Jacinto's writings is produced in *Landas*, vol. 9 (1995) by John N. Schumacher, SJ.
40. In fact, the Filipino rebels were not only poorly armed but far outnumbered as well. The Filipinos had up to 24,000 rifles and cartridges but lacked the necessary clothing and emergency supplies. More details on military arms between the Filipino insurgents and American soldiers are provided by Cortes et al. in the subchapter, "The Combatant Forces Compared," pp. 213-215.
41. According to Riggs (322), at this point the audience applauded again and again, forcing Tagailog—played by Tolentino himself— to momentarily pause in acknowledgment of the applause.
42. This popular phrase is taken from McKinley's proclamation on 21 December 1898.
43. E. San Juan, Jr. expounds on this topic in "Reflections on US-Philippine Literary Relations," a lecture sponsored by the Philippine-American Educational Foundation at the Thomas Jefferson Cultural Center, 12 February 1988, Manila. First published in Ang Makatao, Asian Social Institute, Manila, Philippines January-June 1988. Re-printed in *Only by Struggle*, 2002.
44. First published in "Philippine News," 31 December-6 January 1987; reprinted in 2002.
45. On the challenges facing the theater in the Philippines, critic Nestor Torre writes: "The continuing challenge of colonial mentality . . . still needs to be acknowledge[d], addressed and resolves." See the Theater Section of the Philippine Daily Inquirer, 11 January 2014.
46. Johnson's famous adulation of Shakespeare's works.
47. See for example, "Elections and Legitimacy" by Benedict J. Kerkvliet and Resil B. Mojares (editors) in *From Marcos to Aquino: Local Perspectives on Political Transition in the Philippines* (Ateneo de Manila UP, 1991).
48. From page five of San Juan, Jr.'s seminal essay, "From Birmingham to Angkor Wat: Demarcations of Contemporary Cultural Studies" in *Kritika Kultura*, vol. 1, 2002, pp. 5-45

49. See for example, "Filipino Voters' Attitudes as of May 2010," by SWS President Mahar Mangahas, for the Post-Election Summit entitled "Learning Lessons, Consolidating Gains: The 2010 Elections," Ateneo School of Government, 18 June 2010, Makati. Conference Presentation.

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About the Author

JENNIFER BERMUDEZ has been teaching language, literature and philosophy for almost three decades. She is a graduate of BS Education from University of Santo Tomas and of Master of Arts in Literary and Cultural Studies from Ateneo de Manila University. She took a coursework on lingua latina and classical philosophy in Italy and does free tutoring and editing of English translations from Spanish texts. When not working at Philippine Science High School, she engages in the catechesis and mentoring of a women's organization dedicated to total well-being and learning.