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Naming the Artist, Composing the Philippines: Listening for the Nation in the National
Artist Award

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
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by

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Dedication

For my father,
Eldon Matherne
(1940-2008)

For my buddy,
José Claudio “Butch” Guerrero
(1975-2013)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Naming the Artist, Composing the Philippines: Listening for the Nation in the National Artist Award

by

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Dr. Deborah Wong, Chairperson

This work is a critical analysis of art, memory and prestige in the early twentieth- and late twenty-first-century Philippines. I am concerned with the creation of the Philippine nation by various acts of commemoration and recognition (awards, exhibits, and concerts) through which artists are valorized, immortalized and celebrated. I answer three broad questions: (1) how do patron-client and kinship systems determine the national recognition of artists in the post-colonial world? (2) how is music used in the nation-building project? and (3) how is national mythology created and contested through the commemoration of individual artists in the Philippines? I approach Philippine area studies through discussions of the past in ethnomusicology, borrowing theory from memory studies and methodology from historical anthropology while expanding both fields with a consideration of expressive culture. To describe this interaction between state and artist, I focus on the National Artist Award (NAA), the highest honor bestowed

upon an artist by the Philippine government. I begin by recounting an aberration of the nominating process: the 2009 National Artist Award controversy. Then-President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo deleted a name from the prestigious NAA nominee list and added artists with suspiciously close ties to her administration. Then, I analyze the 2010 re-performance of National Artist for Music José Maceda's *Ugnayan*, a multi spatial composition for 20 radio stations. This work was originally performed in 1974 with the explicit support of then-First Lady Imelda Marcos. Finally, I describe a 2012 exhibit featuring the materials of National Artist for Music Felipe De Leon Padilla Sr. I sort through clashing characterizations of De Leon of as "crisis composer" who served the Philippines at times of foreign and domestic peril. Reading against the grain of these public acts of commemoration and recognition, I provide an account from the "ground up" and consider how the public construction of national artists renders the Philippines into a unified conceptual whole.

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Introduction – Acts of Prestige and Commemoration by the Philippine State

In this work, I address the construction of national memory in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Philippines. I am concerned with the creation of the Philippine nation by various acts of prestige and commemoration (awards, exhibits, and concerts) through which artists are valorized, immortalized and celebrated. I approach Philippine areas studies through discussions of the past in ethnomusicology, using theory from memory studies and methodology from historical anthropology while expanding both fields with a consideration of expressive culture. In this manner, I answer three broad questions: (1) how do patron-client and kinship systems determine national recognition of artists in the postcolonial state? (2) how is music used in the nation-building project? and (3) how is national mythology created and contested through the commemoration of individual artists in the Philippines? I analyze interactions between the Philippine state and the artist, exploring how the artist recognizes the state (as a temporary solution to the problem of a particular nationalist agenda) and how the state recognizes the artist (by an official form of prestige to approve a particular vision of the nation).

I focus centrally on the National Artist Award (NAA), the highest national honor bestowed upon creative and performing artists in the Philippines.¹ I describe the performative moment when a Filipina/o artist becomes an official Artist of the Nation –

¹ Established April 27, 1972 by President Ferdinand Marcos via Proclamation No. 1001 (*Declaring Fernando Amorsolo National Artist*) as the National Artist Award (*Gawad Pambansang Alagad ng Singing*). On September 19, 2003, Executive Order No. 236 (*Establishing The Honors Code of the Philippines to Create An Order Of Precedence of Honors Conferred and for Other Purposes*) by President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo raised the NAA to a Cultural Order fourth in national precedence. It was renamed “The Order of National Artists” (*Orden ng mga Alagad sa Sining*). I use the two terms interchangeably.

more than an honorific, this title remains eternally attached to the recipient at every mention of her life and work. Philippine state democracy, whether “elite” or “cacique,” is characterized by a system of fractious elites vying for political power through ties of kinship, patron-client relationships, and regional loyalties (Anderson 1998a, Bello and Gershman 1990, Kerkvliet 1995). I describe a microcosm of this system in Philippine national arts recognition: the National Artist Award is governed by its own group of artistic elites whose reputations as gatekeepers of excellence in literature, art, music, theatre, dance and film are located in patron-client relationships and fictive kinship legacies that extend past the corporeal existence of the artist. I sort out the complexities of this relationship system that many consider to be both a necessary evil and a powerful self-correcting mechanism.

I frame the relationship between the Philippine state and National Artists by recounting an aberration in the nominating process: the 2009 National Artist Award controversy. Then-President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo deleted a name from the prestigious NAA nominee list and added artists with suspiciously close ties to her administration. This act of presidential prerogative exploded into the press as protests followed the deletion. The revelation of the 2009 National Artist Award controversy is one of many performative moments where the means and ends of state-sponsored prestige projects were questioned and criticized by those outside and inside the circle of national privilege.

To discuss the National Artist Award *in situ*, I focus on two artists commemorated in this manner: composers Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. (1912-1992) and José Maceda

(1917-2004). I focus closely on De Leon and Maceda's posthumous commemoration: how, through exhibits, concerts and personal collections, both composers become symbols of nation, privileged by awards and other performances of their memory (where the title "National Artist for Music" precedes the composer's name). De Leon and Maceda represent separate ends of a spectrum of Philippine composition in the twentieth century. Biographers and interpreters chronicle the careers of both composers in ways that ultimately justify their achieved national prestige.² De Leon was a classicist who saw the achievement of Western performance forms as the pinnacle of cosmopolitan acceptance on the world stage. Maceda was an avant-garde composer whose large-scale musical creations were populist projects for the Philippine masses. De Leon trained and concertized almost exclusively within the Philippines. Maceda was a national outsider trained in the West. He returned to the Philippines to proselytize "Filipino/a" "Southeast Asian" and "Asian" musical sensibilities. Within these stories of commemoration-worthy stories of achievement, the place of the state within both artists' careers occupies a curious place. De Leon composed music for controversial political regimes (Japanese occupiers in the 1940s and Ferdinand Marcos in the 1970s) while Maceda's involvement with state affairs is generally overlooked. Both composers were named National Artist in 1997 (De Leon, posthumously). I contend that De Leon and Maceda created the nation through music and both were recognized as National Artists at fraught moments in Philippine history, making it necessary for others to revise official narratives of their

² De Leon's career is described in Samson (1976), Osit (1984) and Cuyugan-Asensio (1998); However, in an interview on September 10, 2013 (UP Campus, Quezon City), Fides Cuyugan-Asensio denied that she authored the passage for the National Artist Award publication materials. Maceda's life and work are discussed in Kasilag (2009), Tenzer (2003), Santos (2001, 2005) and Trimillos (2005).

careers. Through discussions with their colleagues, inquiries into their professional networks, and ethnographic observation on how the maintenance of their lasting legacies, I complicate posthumous representations of both composers.³

I. Manila and National Memory

When I first visited the National Capital Region of the Philippines—i.e., Metro Manila—in 2009, I was struck by the complexity and variety of public commemorative acts: the competing narratives of colonial and postcolonial history on display in everyday life. The Spanish colonial period (1565-1898) is commemorated (first) in the name of the country, *Republika ng Pilipinas* (Republic of the Philippines, from Prince Philip II of Spain); the Spanish-derived words that litter the national language; the surnames (*apellidos* in Spanish or *mga apelyido* in Filipino) that dominate national politics (Marcos, Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, and Arroyo); and the architecture of sixteenth-century baroque-style churches.⁴ Reminders of the American colonial period (1901-1946) are also unavoidable – from the ubiquitous sound of English as a language of prestige in politics, education, and commerce to the names of streets in central areas of Manila, such as Taft Avenue (named for former governor-general of the Philippines, William Howard

³ In this manner, I add to the undertheorized area of ethnographic approaches to art music and musicians. See Borne (1995), Kingsbury (1988), and Yoshihara (2007).

⁴ For general references to the colonial and postcolonial history of the Philippine state, see Agoncillo and Guerrero (1974) and Abinales and Amoroso (2005). The archipelago was named *Felipinas* by a Spanish expedition in 1542, after which Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (with formal permission from Philip II to establish cities and towns) began expeditions from Mexico to the Philippines in 1565 (Abinales and Amoroso 2005: xvii). Many Catholic churches in the Philippines survived the Spanish era. Four sixteenth-century baroque-style churches (including St. Augustin in Intramuros, the only structure to survive the 1945 devastation of Manila at the end of the Japanese occupation) were named UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In *Surface Collection: Archaeological Travels in Southeast Asia* (2005), Byrne describes the mid-twentieth-century reconstruction of Manila. The Spanish architecture of modern Manila is only fifty years old.

Taft) and Roosevelt Avenue (named for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who created the Philippine Commonwealth).⁵ But you must know how to pronounce the name of the latter correctly if you travel there via taxi in Quezon City. It's "Rooz-belt Av" (not "Row-sa-velt Avenue").

Although the reminders of the past are ubiquitous, they are not limited only to a Philippine colonial past. The names of nineteenth-century revolutionaries, José Rizal and Andres Bonifacio, as well as twentieth-century Philippine presidents – Quezon City (for President Manuel Quezon) are everywhere. Roxas Boulevard is a main thoroughfare in Manila, named previously for Commodore George Dewey, the commanding U.S. naval during the Battle of Manila Bay (1898), and then changed to commemorate Manuel Roxas, the first president elected after the Japanese occupation of the Philippines (1942-1945). Noticeably absent in these spaces are reminders other foreign aspects of Philippine history and society – the period of the Japanese occupation, or the presence of the financially powerful Chinese, except for the Binondo Chinatown or the SM Mall-structures that can be found in every major or minor city in the Philippines.

I concentrate on the unavoidable reminders of the Marcos era in the early twenty-first century, most noticeably in the projects of the Marcos administration such as the Philippine Lung Center, the Light Rail Transit System, and the Cultural Center of the Philippines (similar to the Kennedy Center in the U.S.). The presidency and dictatorship

⁵ After the Philippine-American War ended in 1901, William Howard Taft was appointed the first governor-general of the Philippines by President William McKinley, beginning the formal period of U.S. imperialism. The Philippines became a commonwealth in 1935 with the election of President Manuel Quezon and Vice President Sergio Osmeña. After the defeat of Japanese occupiers in 1945, the U.S. granted Philippine independence in 1946.

of Ferdinand Marcos began in 1965 with his election as the tenth president of the Republic of the Philippines and continued with his declaration of martial law in 1972. Ferdinand Marcos's leadership ended in 1986 with the People Power Revolution and the election of President Corazon Aquino. The Marcos era was notable for both crimes of the administration committed against the Filipino people (mass imprisonments, torture, corruption and graft on an unparalleled scale) and the rapid modernization of the landscape, commerce, and government. This administration (as well other twentieth- and twenty-first-century postcolonial administrations) was made possible by the unbridled support of the U.S. The other constant reminder of this time period is the ubiquitous presence of former-First Lady Imelda Marcos, the glamorous face of Ferdinand's twenty-one years in office. She is still a politician, the representative of the Ilocos Norte region.

Reminders of the celebrated end of the Marcos era are also ubiquitous in the National Capital Region. You can't go anywhere in Manila without some reference to "EDSA" (Epifanio De Los Santos), the main thoroughfare and the site of the People Power Revolution that ended the Marcos era. This followed, first, the assassination of Marcos political rival Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino Jr. in 1983 (at the airport that was later named for him in 1987), and, finally, the rise to power of his widow, Corazon Aquino, who assumed the office of the President in 1986. In their sociological-historical account of the end of the Marcos presidency, Eva-Lotta Hedman and John T. Sidel noted that the People Power Revolution was part of a recurring pattern in the postcolonial Philippines in which, "...leading elements of the oligarchy, together with allies in the Catholic Church and the US government, succeeded in engineering a transformist (counter-) mobilization

which reaffirmed the Philippine democracy against extra-electoral threats from above and below” (2000: 14). After a failed assassination attempt on Ferdinand Marcos by the Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines Movement (RAM), the Catholic Church (led by Cardinal Jaime Sin) and U.S. interests sided with ex-Marcos administration leaders (such as later-President Fidel V. Ramos) and the masses to restore democracy.⁶ The idea of People Power as a mass movement of ordinary Filipinas and Filipinos changing an impenetrably corrupt government is so strong in popular memory that the name was coopted for other attempted mobilizations in 2001 along the same thoroughfare: EDSA 2 and EDSA 3.⁷ Despite a difficult presidential term, Corazon Aquino (the reluctant “ordinary housewife” called to political duty and the icon of People Power) is still remembered fondly by Filipinas/os as someone who tried to end the corrupt practices that marked her predecessors’ and successors’ terms in office.⁸

My research in 2009-2013 took place during a period of intense commemoration of Presidents Marcos and Aquino. When I began my research in 2009, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was at the twilight of a seven-year presidential term. Her length of

⁶ Hedman and Sidel (2000), McCoy (1999), and others noted that the restoration of democracy via the election of Corazon Aquino was one of many potential outcomes during this time. Other possibilities included a takeover by the New People’s Army (militant wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines) or a post-Marcos military junta. Thus, Rajaretnam (1986) refers to the choice of Aquino as the “third alternative” or the “middle ground.”

⁷ On January 16, 2001, EDSA 2 (EDSA *dos* or the 2001 EDSA Revolution) was a mass gathering of Filipinas/os united for the removal of President José “Erap” Estrada after charges of wide-scale corruption emerged in the media. EDSA 3 (EDSA *tres*, or Poor People’s Power) occurred on April 25, 2001 in reaction to the arrest of Estrada on perjury and graft charges. Estrada supporters, angered by the authorities’ mishandling of their now-deposed President, were the victims of violent military and police suppression ordered by Estrada successor, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

⁸ For the legitimation of the Corazon Aquino government, see Turner, ed. 1987. For challenges faced by Aquino as president, see Reid and Guerrero (1995) and McCoy (1999).

time (and corrupt practices) in office were compared by many of my respondents to President Marcos's.⁹ My research period straddled the end of her presidency and the scandals that followed the beginning of the six-year term of Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III, the son of the political martyr (Ninoy) and the former president (Cory), who was elected directly after the period of national mourning that followed the death of Cory the summer before.¹⁰ The election of another Aquino was more than a testament to the exemplary status of his parents: it was an act of commemorating two political reformers after the tumultuous Arroyo presidency.

In this work, I focus of patterns of national recognition and the commemoration of exemplary artists within the changing societal and governmental concerns of the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Philippines. Despite (or in some cases, because of) the radical changes in presidential power and the place of government in the everyday lives of ordinary Filipinas/os, the artists kept making art and the state regarded these artists through various means of recognition. Furthermore, I contend that although the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos ended in 1986, the Marcos era is still deeply embodied in the processes and products of national arts patronage. These patterns of recognition involve the continuous examination and re-examination of the artist's distance to the

⁹ Eclipsed only by Ferdinand Marcos's twenty-one year term, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo was the longest serving elected Philippine president in modern history, serving over nine years (2001-2010). Per the 1986 Constitution, Philippine presidents serve a single six year term with no contiguous reelection. Macapagal Arroyo was elected vice-president in 1998, and then led the deposition of President José "Erap" Estrada from 2000-2001. Arroyo finished Estrada's term and served another Presidential term beginning in 2004, after an election mired in voter fraud and questionable practices. The controversies regarding her term are outlined in Abinales (2008), Coronel (2007), and de Jesús (2011).

¹⁰ Edilberto de Jesús of the Asian Institute of Management provided an analysis of the 2010 Philippine presidential elections in de Jesús (2011).

Marcos regime as well as the place of cronyism and favoritism within the National Artist Award.

II. Research Activity and Methodology

I performed field research from 2009-2013 in Quezon City and Manila. I began with shorter trips (August to September 2009, January 2010, and January to March 2011). During those periods, I identified research subjects for further inquiry, conducted preliminary interviews and began to navigate the complex social and professional networks that dominate this research. I further explored this topic during a concentrated fieldwork year (October 2011 to September 2012), when I lived on the University of Philippines Diliman (UP) campus, observed commemorative events, and conducted more interviews.¹¹ After this, I made two subsequent trips (December 2012-March 2013; July-September 2013), when I conducted follow-up research with a wider extended network of informants.

During my time in Manila, I attended commemorative events for National Artists as well as any visual and performing arts celebrations where the nation was discussed: art openings, dance performances, plays, recognition ceremonies, and concerts that bore the imprimatur of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) or the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), co-sponsors of the National Artist Award. At many of these occasions, I was performing what anthropologist Sherry Ortner called “interface ethnography” (2010), observing the public presentation of closed institutions. I used these as both opportunities to observe the presentation of the artist commemorated by such an

¹¹ In this work, I use the phrase “UP” to refer to the University of the Philippines Diliman, the national university of the Philippines.

event and to network with potential interviewees and informants. When I later met informants for the first time, they recognized either my name (from hearing of a Westerner looking at the National Artist Award) or my face (as a visually marked White outsider at these events). In this work, I will describe two such events: a concert, the 2010 re-performance of José Maceda's *Ugnayan* (1974), and a memorial exhibit, *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon*, celebrating the composer's birth centennial in 2012.

Throughout this period I conducted formal interviews, creating a network of informants through research and extension. I focused on three areas: (1) anyone associated with the NCCA, the CCP or the National Artist Award; (2) anyone who shared a professional or personal relationship to José Maceda or the University of the Philippines Diliman (UP) Center for Ethnomusicology (Maceda's research institute for Philippine music); (3) anyone associated with Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. The majority of my interviewees qualified in any two of these three aforementioned categories. Because I am concerned with perspectives generational in nature, the age of my informants and interviewees is significant. The youngest interviewee, a recent graduate of the UP College of Music was twenty-five years old (born in 1990) with no firsthand knowledge of the Marcos presidency or the People Power Movement. The oldest was eighty-eight years old (born in 1924) with clear recollections of the American colonial period, the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, and the tumultuous post-Independence Philippines. However, most of my informants were between the ages of forty and sixty years old. They directly experienced the Martial Law era during their childhood and saw

the changes in daily life while growing up around metropolitan Manila in the 1970s and 1980s.¹² Because they came of age at the end of the Marcos administration, their views on the time period are measured by a certain amount of temporal distance and wisdom. Some (but not all) temper the slogan, “Never Again to Martial Law” with more ominous statements: “at least there was law and order when Marcos was in charge” or “Bongbong Marcos might be President in 2016.”¹³

Aside from observation and interviews, I performed archival research at the Center for Ethnomusicology, a discreet research unit within UP, housed in the College of Music. “The Center” (as it’s commonly regarded by its administrators, librarians, technicians, and assistants) is the product of over four decades of music and ethnographic work by the late José Maceda who served as a UP professor from 1964 until his retirement in 1990 (at which point, he was named professor emeritus and continued directing the Center until his death in 2004). The José Maceda Collection at the Center – of field recordings, books, documents, and instruments from Maceda’s long career as an ethnomusicologist and composer – contains the largest assemblage of Philippine music in the world and the best source of information on José Maceda and the history of ethnomusicology and composition in Southeast Asia. The Center infrastructure consists of a laboratory and sound archive, a library, and an instrumentarium. The sound archive contains hundreds of hours of recording from Maceda’s fieldwork trips in the 1960s

¹² See edited volume by Cimatu and Tolentino, *Mundo Marcos: Writings on Martial Law and the Marcos Babies* (2010). In this collection, artists and scholars describe coming of age during the Marcos presidency and the Martial Law era.

¹³ Ferdinand Marcos Jr. (Bongbong) has been a key figure in regional and national politics since 1980. Bongbong is a national Senator at the time of this writing.

through the 1980s and was undergoing a massive digitization project during the time of my stay. Additionally, the Center for Ethnomusicology library is a vital source for secondary literature on Philippine ethnomusicology.

While researching at the Center for Ethnomusicology, I was most interested the José Maceda Collection of unpublished writings, personal communications, journals, personal observations from conferences attended around the world, as well as the full scores of Maceda's compositions. The Center's librarians provided me with archive guide files that allowed me to search through the Maceda Collection by name, year, and keyword with ease. I also had the benefit of the Marialita Tamanio Yraola Collection of unpublished writings and personal communications. Yraola was a Center administrator and Maceda's assistant from the early 1970s until the 1990s. Not only was I able to learn more about Maceda and the context of his research and compositional activities, I was also able to interview Yraola and benefitted from her expert commentary on the history and mission of the Center.¹⁴

III. Ethnomusicology and the Past, Historical Anthropology, and Memory Studies

I face a central problem when dealing with honored, awarded, commemorated artists such as Maceda and De Leon: I must disentangle competing mythologies about their lives and careers while recognizing the glaring omissions of people who helped create the myth. I have read long lists of achievements of both Maceda and De Leon, yet rarely noted are the supporters, the assistants, the copyists and the number of people

¹⁴ Interview with Marialita Tamanio Yraola, September 3, 2013, Tandang Sora, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines.

whose invaluable assistance was instrumental in each composer's recognition. Aside from prestige and networks of power, I also am confronted with the complexities of the past in the present. I explore how mythologies were created by identifying the historical nature of their creation: how an artist became an Artist over time in the context of shifting national and political concerns. As an ethnomusicologist dealing primarily with the past, I confront a discipline whose methodology relies on the under-examined construct of the ethnographic present (Bohlman 2008). Scholars who create alliances between history and ethnomusicology have provided little theory or methodology. I contribute a historical understanding to ethnomusicology that will lead to a healthy skepticism of primary sources and the myth of objective musical knowledge.

In "Returning to the Ethnomusicological Past" (2008), Philip V. Bohlman contemplated the temporal nature of the field and the central paradox of the 'the everyday' and 'other'. He wrote, "On one hand fieldwork takes place as an excursion into the culture of the Other. In contrast, however, fieldwork must account for everyday practices" (Bohlman 2008: 248). Fieldwork is a lived experience and the fieldworker must wrestle with this paradox made sharper through consideration of the temporal. As everyday practices unfold over time, the culture of the Other is assembled in retrospect and hardens in the present but marked by a "syntax of pastness" (Bohlman 2008: 140). Bohlman urged the fieldworker to embrace a particular fluidity that allows these past tenses to exist in a discursive space. Because of this (or in spite of this), I embrace what anthropologist Johannes Fabian's called "intersubjective time" in my research. Fabian wrote, "Once culture is conceived of as the specific way in which actors create and produce beliefs and

values, and other means of social life, it has to be recognized that Time is a constitutive dimension of social reality” (1983: 24). Fabian advocates for consideration of the temporal aspect of social analysis in the ethnographic enterprise. In this manner, I explore both the past as recollected by informants and the past as a commodity, ripe for commemoration.

Ethnomusicologists involved in ethno-archeology, archival research, and preservation have used the term “historical ethnomusicology” to describe their endeavors. Kay Kaufman Shelemay’s article, “Historical Ethnomusicology’: Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History” (1980), addresses the combination of “history” and “ethnomusicology” and recapitulates the history of music research in Europe and the U.S.: the first Western academic and scholarly field of music research was divided between historical musicologists with an interest in Western European Art Music (later, simply called musicologists) and comparative musicologists who considered non-Western and folk musics (later simply called ethnomusicologists). Shelemay noted that ethnomusicologists have had an uneasy relationship with historicism; this tension (and over-reliance on the ethnographic present) is a survival from the disciplinary divide with historical musicology (Shelemay 1980: 233-244). Shelemay suggests that the study of music as a historical process of remembering can contribute to preexisting narratives and enrich respective area studies and historical accounts.

The collection *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History* (Blum, Bohlman, Neumann 1991) offered ethnomusicologists’ perspectives on a range of historical topics. For instance, Jihad Racy described a late nineteenth-century meeting of Egyptian music

scholars and German comparative musicologists. Racy commented on the early stages of our discipline: the comparative musicologists wanted the Egyptians to conserve the “authentic” sounds of their tradition while the Egyptians wanted to “modernize” their music within existing Western art music practices (1991). During the 1990s, a few music ethnographies relied on the construct of social or cultural history. For instance, in *Jùjú: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (1990), Christopher Waterman discussed popular music in the historical context of Yoruban culture. In *Vodou Nation: Haitian Art Music and Cultural Nationalism* (1996), Michael Largey constructed a complicated historical narrative around art music in Haiti in diasporic, colonial, and global perspectives. For the past twenty years, ethnomusicologists with a consideration of material history and memory have further considered “pasts” in their work, adding a temporal consideration to space, place, and foreignness in discussions of ethnomusicology.¹⁵ Within these accounts, music is central to creating historical knowledge.

I draw on scholarship addressing the ethnographic past when addressing the historical within my ethnographic account. In *Negotiating the Margins, Historical Anthropology and Its Futures* (2002), anthropologist Brian Keith Axel defined the mission of historical anthropology in this way:

Rather than the study of people in a particular place at a certain time, what is at stake in historical anthropology is explaining the production of a people and the production of space and time. This orientation engenders a critical interest in seeking to understand the politics of living the ongoing connections or disjunctures of futures and pasts in heterogeneous presents (Axel 2002:3).

¹⁵ See Buckley, ed. (1998), Dent (2009), Emoff (2002), Harris (2004), Romero (2001), Samuels (2004), and Shelemay (1998, 2006)

The necessarily messy business of ethnographic research is complicated by a consideration of history: the present is quickly made past and the past rendered present in the contradictory channels of memory and moment. In José Maceda's archival collection and Felipe De Leon's exhibit, I found official stories collected in awards and lists of achievements. In conversations with the composers' friends and colleagues, I heard these lists repeated as a performance of a particular kind of history, teleologically backward from the Award the point of musical creation – as if the later recognition justifies the vision of nation and ascribes worth to its inception. In *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003), performance studies scholar Diana Taylor distinguished between the “archive” of knowledge (the material manifestations of history) and the “repertoire” of ritual, performance and memory that carve out a place for ethnographic studies of history. As one performance, memory or observation is made material in the archive, it does not leave the (ephemeral) repertoire but alters it; all other memories are thus abrogated by the reified, material version. Anthropologist and historian Ann Laura Stoler described this transfer from the repertoire to the archive in terms of historical ontology—as a form of essentialism in which “mutating assignments of essence” are dependent upon times and places (Stoler 2008: 4). Thus, the significance of the material collection is the reason for the assemblage. The award in the collection is not only a historical reminder of prestige; it *is* prestige.

Any material repository (archive or exhibit) and the knowledge generated by it must be scrutinized to examine the kind of tacit “common sense” implied in what was collected, what wasn't collected, and how those artifacts are regarded in the present.

Cultural historians and historical anthropologists have reconsidered the nature of colonial archives since the 1980s. The lesson imparted from these studies was to regard the information within archives as a particular discourse of knowledge in power formation, they are not “the truth” as much as they are examples of “truth making” within a power structure (Axel 2002: 14). Considering in this manner that power is not a force but a set of relations, we can read multiple (myriad) points of domination and resistance (ibid). In examining the archive, we revisit historical accounts (outcomes of ideological knowledge production), the materials that made them, and the circumstances of their making in order to negotiate these myriad manifestations. I am thus concerned not only with how the archive makes meaning, but also which meanings are absent from it. I approach all material repositories of knowledge with an ethnographic sensibility (rather than an extractive one) and move to the archive-as-subject, examining form and content of the archive as a knowledge center (Stoler 2002: 87).

My broader interrogation involves both musical historicization and national memory within the Philippines. Within memory studies, I can untangle mythologies of the National Artist Award by asking questions about commemoration: how and why are these Artists commemorated by this forum of national prestige? Maurice Halbwachs (1952) dislodged the concept of memory from the individual by discussing it as a social phenomenon. Collective memory is potentially altered, as anthropologist Christina Schwenkel wrote, in “shifting temporal and spatial contexts” and imbedded within objects, images and landscapes (2009: 10). The recent boom in memory studies was heavily influenced by the writings of Pierre Nora (1989), who argued that history

replaces tradition in modernity and *liex de memoire* (sites of memories) are places where public memories linger. All forms of social memory are ripe for interpretation: exhibits, images, concert halls, and anywhere else commemoration (writ large) constructs pasts.

It is worth noting that the term “memory studies” is not simply a substitute for “historical studies.” Skeptical of the intentions behind many uses of memory in current historical discourse, historian Kerwin Lee Klein warned of the term’s inherent seduction – that we may in fact assume repackaging “history” as “memory” cures the former of its epistemological anxiety in our attempts to describe the past “If history is objective in the coldest, hardest sense of the word, memory is subjective in the warmest, most inviting senses of that word” (Klein 2000: 130). In the most practical sense, a reinvestigation of knowledge production at the historical level engenders all sorts of questions about, for instance, structure and agency, resistance and domination (Stoler 2002, 2008; Dirks, Eley and Ortner 1994). In my discussion of the National Artist Award, I benefit from both approaches. The National Artist Award is a commemorative honor: not only does it grant prestige to a creator of the nation; it potentially transforms existing discourses about the honoree. I will use the methodology from historical anthropology to examine the political nature of the archive and to outline the collection-as-ideology. The José Maceda Collection and Felipe De Leon exhibit create ready repositories of knowledge for further research, *beckoning* the observer to historicize De Leon and Maceda. However, I will use the theory of memory studies to describe them as places of commemoration, as testaments to the legacy of “Great Men” (exemplary people) while contextualizing this ascribed status of “greatness.”

In order to accomplish this, I must rely on various interpretations of these artists' achievements and versions of their life stories. Especially when discussing both José Maceda and Felipe De Leon Sr., I rely on biographical sources as well as stories of interaction and achievement from colleagues, students, friends, relatives, and those workers and scholars who maintain their commemorative structures. Within this context, the various informants and commenters are also aware of biographical, hagiographic representation and have different reactions to and relations to these representations. I place these narratives alongside other one precisely because they sometimes contradict the master narratives of great men, and I embrace the inconsistencies between all accounts. De Leon and Maceda were/are spectrums of individuals: some of those representations played nicely into their status as National Artists and some did not.

In this sense, I construct a life history that is at times at odds with biographical representations favoring teleologies that end with greatness and begin with humility. The fact that both Maceda and De Leon are deceased presents a challenge in constructing a life history, although sections of this work will reflect that sentiment. Anthropologist Michael Agar wrote that life history is "...an elaborate, connected piece of talk presented in a social situation consisting of an informant and an ethnographer" (Agar 1980: 223). Thus informant and ethnographer begin (or end) by discussing the various aspects of a subject's "life," with the potential of creating a justifying narrative of how the subject fits the topic. Although Agar is describing the informant-as-subject exclusively, I extend this include the multiple life (or topic) histories discussed with each informant. For instance, I spoke with F. Sionil José, National Artist for Literature, about his life history. He was a

teenager during World War II, a writer and researcher for three decades, a recipient and critic of numerous awards.¹⁶ I discussed his passing association with Felipe De Leon Sr., adding to the life history of the latter. I spoke with Marialita Tamanio Yraola about her thirty year association with José Maceda, creating a life history of both Yraola and Maceda.¹⁷

From this interaction between multiple life stories, I create a story (of arts, awards, and composers) with no claims to universality, but instead with the focus on the particularity of actors within a network of power and privilege that extends to the state. By creating these stories from a number of perspectives, I avoid the traps of edited autobiographical representation. In his famous life history *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan* (1980), Vincent Crapazano compared the life history to the autobiography in which the subject is presented from the subject's own perspective. The life history differs from the autobiography in "double editing": first the life history is told in some form to the listener, who in turn produces it for the literary encounter (Crapazano 1980: 8). A classic of ethnomusicological life history, *Navajo Blessingway Singer* (1978) is nominally an autobiography (possibly in an attempt to empower the Other) but is still the result of double editing by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David McAllester. For Crapazano, the case history or the biography "presents a view of the subject from the perspective of an outsider; it bears the impress of a narrator who may even permit himself the luxury of 'objectively' analyzing and evaluating his subject" (Crapazano 1980: 8). Within this

¹⁶ Interview with F. Sionil José, September 11, 2013, Solidaridad Bookstore, Ermita (Manila), Republic of the Philippines.

¹⁷ Interview with Marialita Tamanio Yraola, September 3, 2013, Tandang Sora, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines.

world of artist commemoration in the Philippines, I am indeed an outsider with ends that are different from those I interview. My own biases are ever present, since I mine interviews and stories for certain details – excluding and including them for the sole purpose of creating a story with inconsistencies.

In combining published fictions (biographical commemorative materials) and unpublished stories (from informants about De Leon, Maceda, and the National Artist Award), I am mindful of the possibility of creating an exposé. While discussing the controversy surrounding anthropologist David Stoll and Rigoberta Menchu, Kay B. Warren noted, “the exposé has the goal of revealing truths that have been hidden from public view...The goal of this inquiry is to generate facts that will discredit accepted accounts and interpretations. Facts outside this frame of the immediate quest are ignored” (Warren 2001: 206). Although I will indeed reveal truths about the artists– namely, their associations with the former political regimes – I counter that these truths weren’t necessarily hidden, but were instead under-analyzed. Even the facts about the National Artist Award were already well-known. It was public knowledge that previous presidents had indeed given out the award without consulting the committee. Instead of discrediting other interpretations, I treat all (hagiographic, critical, personal, political) interpretations of these artists and their award as a collective narrative about the modern Philippine state.

IV. Philippine Studies: History, the Arts and the Nation

I examine twentieth-century social and political narratives about the Philippines through the work of historians Benedict Anderson, Resil B. Mojares, Alfred W. McCoy, Michael Cullinane, Reynaldo C. Ileto, and Vicente Rafael. Benedict Anderson examined

the roots of modern Philippine nationalist sentiment by discussing class identity and familial ties from the nineteenth-century Spanish occupation to the postcolonial present.¹⁸ Mojares interpreted the Philippine present through intellectual histories of the past, considering centers of intellectual activity (native scholars) outside of Manila.¹⁹ In his many publications on the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and the American empire in the Pacific, McCoy described how kinship ties shaped professional and political networks in twentieth-century Filipino nationalist discourse.²⁰ In *Ilustrado Politics* (2003), Cullinane offered historical explanations for the roots of modern Philippine political hierarchies in early Spanish and post-Spanish colonialism. Iletto chronicled the motivations of everyday peasants in Philippine revolution and complicated the idea of revolutions (in the eras of both Rizal and Marcos).²¹ Rafael's writings on both the colonial Spanish period and the late twentieth century also problematized the concept of Philippine history, focusing on particular moments of contact between the Philippine elite and systems of governance.²² To these critical accounts of elite culture construction in the Philippines, I add an ethnographic perspective that describes how elites maintain their place in the artistic world and enter into a political relationship with other elites of government and commerce.

The second half of the twentieth century marked a boom in music research in the

¹⁸ Anderson 1988a, 1988b, 2005.

¹⁹ Mojares 2002, 2006.

²⁰ McCoy, ed. 1993. See also McCoy 1999, 2009.

²¹ Iletto 1979, 1998.

²² Rafael 1993, 1995, 2000, 2005.

Philippines, primarily thanks to National Artist for Music José Maceda. He was not only a nationally celebrated composer, but also an internationally recognized expert on the indigenous music of the Philippines.²³ Maceda's 1950s music collection projects are widely regarded as the first systematic studies of Philippine native music, documenting the Hanunuo, Kalinga, the Magindanao and Tirurai, the Tagbanua, and the Ibaloy. (Dioquino 1982: 131). After joining the UP College of Music in 1964 and until his death in 2004, Maceda was a central figure in Philippine music research, commenting widely on the need to preserve traditional musics and creating a central clearinghouse at the UP Center for Ethnomusicology for this work. Maceda mentored a number of students in the 1970s and 1980s who continued this work, creating a knowledge base of Philippine music.²⁴ Furthermore, subsequent generations of internationally- and U.S.-based music researchers have explored indigenous, folk, and native musics of the Philippines.²⁵ In the last twenty years, the scope of Philippine research has expanded to include a number of works on historical and surviving Spanish and American colonial musics as well as the history of music research and composition within the Philippines.²⁶ Even more recently, scholars have interpreted popular music and film composition in the Philippines and in

²³ See Maceda 1956, 1958, 1959a, 1959b, 1963, 1964, 1971a, 1971b, 1973, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1992, 1998, 2001a, 2001b.

²⁴ This group includes Jonas Baes (1987, 1988, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007), José Buenconsejo (2002, 2007, 2010 and ed. 2003), Arsenio Nicholas (2009), Verne dela Peña (2000, 2011), Maria Christine Muyco (2011), and Felicidad Prudente (1977, 1978, 1984).

²⁵ Notably, Kristina Benitez (2005), Mary Talusan (2005), and Ricardo Trimillos (1972, 1983, 1984, 1987).

²⁶ See Brillantes-Silvestre (2009), Buenconsejo (2011), Chua (2008), Dioquino (1982), Irving (2010), Kendall (2010), Teresita Maceda (1992), Mirano (1992), Mirano and Dioquino, eds. (2010), Santos (1992, 2001a), and Talusan (2004, 2011).

the Filipina/o diaspora.²⁷

I am primarily focused on recent history (the late twentieth century) and particular types of interactions between artists and the government. Thus, I rely on scholarly works that illustrate this interaction and the particular modes of professional contact within the Philippine that are key to my examination of commemoration. In her doctoral dissertation (1999) and in her book *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (2011), ethnomusicologist Christi-Anne Castro details the nationalist project of the CCP, providing a framework for how the arts served as a grand symbol to unify the state.²⁸ Castro's work provides important historical background on the Marcos-era beginnings of state-sponsored national arts (1960s-1980s). I also rely on works that describe government-artist relationships in dance (Ness 1997), theatre (Burns 2012), and film (Espiritu 2007) in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Philippines.

Because I critique state recognition of artists and art, I draw on the rich body of work by ethnomusicologists addressing music and nationalism. I explore any scholarly assumption that nationalist music is a key technology for nation-making. Much of the scholarship addresses powerful national musical expressions that clash with state ideals. Robin Moore has addressed race, identity construction and national music in Cuba (1997); Peter Wade discussed class- and race-stratified national identity contestations in

²⁷ See Baes (2010), Balance (2007, 2010), Buenconsejo (2011, 2013), Castro (2010), Devitt (2008); Lockard (1998), Teresita Maceda (2007), Ng (2005, 2006), Rivera (2002, 2012), Tongson (2011), and Trimillos (1986, 2001).

²⁸ In her dissertation, "Music, Politics and the Nation at the Cultural Center of the Philippines" (1999), Castro chronicles the CCP from its inception in the late 1960s through the post-Marcos era. In *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (2011), Castro summarizes the history of the CCP and widens her focus to describe the relationship between Philippine state and other musical acts, such as the international promotion of the Madrigal Singers and the songs of 1986 People Power movement.

Columbia (2000); and Gage Averill provided a rich historical account of class, music and politics in Haiti (1997). These texts on Latin America and the Caribbean describe postcolonial situations similar to the Philippines: artists within newly-sovereign nation-states create works for state agendas. Craig Lockard surveyed Southeast Asian nationalist sentiments and progressive political popular musics in *Dance of Life* (1998). In his chapter on the Philippines, he described “Bayan Ko” as a powerful statement of post-Marcosian identity that has more cultural capital than the Philippine National Anthem.

With few exceptions, ethnomusicological works construct the nation, nationalism, and nationalist art from the Andersonian model, which rests on the work of Ernest Gellner. Ernest Gellner initially fleshed out his discussion of nationalism in *Thought and Change* (1964) and a more complete account in *Nations and Nationalism* (1983). Within Gellner’s work is a rejection of the idea that the nation was a primordial pre-statehood entity (Gellner 1964, 1983). Anderson (1983) extended this idea, arguing that nations exist in ‘how’ they are imagined. Ethnomusicologists describe how the nation is imagined or contested through music, but do not sufficiently challenge these concepts. Both Gellner and Anderson reify the concept of nation in order to explain nationalism; ethnomusicologists reify music as nationalist behavior in order to explain the nation. In “Reflections on Nationalism” (1985), John Breuilly commented on the strengths and flaws of Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* and Ernest Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism* (1983). One “avoidable” assumption, claimed Breuilly, plagues both works it that: “They both assume that the self-evident success of nationalism means that nationalism is very strongly rooted in the thought and behaviour of people” (1985: 72).

Without assuming the self-evidence of creative activities as nationalist behavior, I thus point to other signifiers in state recognition of musical acts and actors such as political ties to a patron, the topical nature of any art work, and the historicization of the listening subject.

Ethnomusicologist Michael Largey's historically ethnographic account of the formation of Haitian art music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (2006) offers useful ways to think about the work of De Leon and Maceda in the Philippines. Rather than considering only officially nationalist Haitian art music works, Largey developed Thomas Turino's idea of cultural nationalism or "the use of art and other cultural practices to develop or maintain national sentiment for political purposes" (Turino 2000: 14). The composers in my study and Largey's attempted to create music that was "musically universal" (recognizable within the parameters of an existing Western art or popular music tradition) while simultaneously "culturally unique" (bearing some marker of internal nationhood for the cultural citizen) (Largey 2006:5). Haitian art musicians combined metaphors of *Vodun* music with classical sensibilities to construct "Haitian-ness." Similarly, Felipe De Leon Sr. worked in a western musical idiom but used the post-World War II metaphor of "victory after suffering" to represent the Philippine nation in proto-Impressionist symphonic poems, and José Maceda balanced multi-regional, multi-ethnic Filipino indigenous sentiment with the avant-garde sensibilities of Iannis Xenakis to represent post-independence Philippines on the world stage.

However, an unspoken sentiment among many Filipina/o intellectuals is that

state-sponsored national arts are Manila-centric (area), Luzon-centric (region), Catholic-centric (religion), and Tagalog-center (ethnic group).²⁹ By instituting the CCP, Imelda Marcos centered Filipina/o arts squarely within her own vision of nation (and with her prejudices included) (Castro 1999, 2011). The imagined subject of all representations of the nation is Manilan, Luzonian, Catholic, and Tagalog while the object may have one or none of these signifiers plus the added description “indigenous,” “native,” “mountain-dwelling,” “Muslim,” or one of many Others associated with a religious or ethnic-minority in the Philippines.

Filipina/o identity is best understood through the works of nationalist author and political martyr, José Rizal. In *The Spectre of Comparisons* (1998), Benedict Anderson referred to Rizal as “the First Filipino” (230). In *Noli Me Tángere* (1887), Rizal describes multiple strata of Filipina/o colonial society (from Governors to *indios*) yet confines the space to the Philippines with Spain off stage and colonial Manila in the forefront.³⁰ “This restriction made it clear to Rizal’s first readers that ‘The Philippines’ was a society in itself, even though those who lived in it had as yet no common name” (Anderson 1998: 230). Rizal, a native Tagalog speaker, wrote this novel in Spanish – at this time, the language of the educated and the upper class of the Philippine colony. Rizal uses the word *Filipino* and *Filipina* within the text but not in the same sense they are used today.

²⁹ Since the creation of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts in 1992, administrators have made conscious efforts fund artists and artwork outside of this model from many places in the Philippines through outreach and recruitment via local arts councils and wider promotion. Source: (1) interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines; and (2) interview with NCCA film subcommissioner Ed Lejano, August 3, 2012, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

³⁰ The title *Noli Me Tángere* is from the Latin, “touch me not.”

Translators of *Noli Me Tángere* (and the sequel, *El Filibusterismo*, 1891) incorrectly regard *Filipina/o* in the ethno-racial (nationalist) sense, where Rizal's *Filipino* is a colony-born "pure-blooded" Spaniard. The term sits within a hierarchy of other designations used during the colonial period: *peninsulares* (Spaniard born in Spain), *mestizo*, *chino* (Chinese person born in the colony) and *indio* (indigenous or native Filipino) (Anderson 1998: 230-233). *Filipina/o* identity in the post-Rizal era however is based on the reification of a primordial *Filipina/o* that existed before, during, and after the time of Rizal. Within casual discourse of *Filipina/o* identity, my informants often invoke a *real* *Filipina/o*, usually in opposition to an "urbanite," a "foreigner" or an "elite." Claims to this end invariably call attention to their individual construction of the 'Filipino': the national subject that pre-dated Spanish influence on the 700+ islands of the modern Philippine nation. Much of my work attempts to sort out these definitions of the *Filipina/o* national while looking for intersections in the commemoration of state-recognized artists.

V. Dissertation Structure

In *Chapter 1 – Forgetting the Nation: the 2009 National Artist Award Controversy*, I focus specifically on the event that first sparked my interest in this topic. Through associations with other National Artists, and scholars from film, dance, music, and literature, I illustrate the many ways in which a presidential act (hidden in plain sight) was a failed attempt to erase certain artists from national consideration. Also, I describe other similar acts by previous presidents who elevated certain artists with strong ties to their respective administrations. Within this context, I establish a twentieth-century

history of national art and state politics in the Philippines by examining its roots in factional government practices.

Chapters 2 and 3 I focus specifically on two National Artists for Music, José Maceda and Felipe De Leon Sr. In *Chapter 2 - Remembering Maceda: Ugnayan 1974 and “Ugnayan Fest” 2010*, I describe Maceda’s career as a composer and his recognition by the Philippine state. Here I introduce the enduring legacy of Ferdinand Marcos and the echoes of Martial Law-era politics in the early twenty-first century as well as the renaissance of Philippine nativist composition in the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter 3 - Restoring the National: The Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. Centennial Exhibit chronicles the posthumous representation of Maceda’s contemporary and National Artist for Music, Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. I focus on a grand gesture of commemoration – an exhibit of De Leon’s works and personal items in celebration of De Leon’s centennial birth anniversary. This exhibit features De Leon’s original scores and other documents relating to his long career as a nationalist composer. I sort through clashing characterizations of De Leon: as a Japanese occupation collaborator, as a beneficiary-turned-critic of the Marcos dictatorship, and as a “crisis composer,” who served the Philippines at times of foreign and domestic subjugation.

Within the context of the National Artist Award, I construct a larger narrative about the modern Philippines. As I look for De Leon and Maceda in their collections, and as I listen to heated discussions about the National Artist Award, I hear and see many ways that the arts are public manifestations of the Philippine nation, the “best face” of a country in international relations and a powerful symbol of pride for the domestic citizen.

I provide an account of this from the “ground up” and consider how the public construction of national artists renders the Philippines into a unified conceptual whole.

Chapter 1 – Forgetting the Nation: The 2009 National Artist Award Controversy

“What is the nature and scope of the power of the President to confer the Order of the National Artists and how should it be exercised?”¹

“What made you interested in my unhappy country?” – F. Sionil José (National Artist for Literature, 2001)²

In this chapter, I address the titular award of this dissertation, the National Artist Award (NAA). The NAA is the highest national honor given to creative and performing artists in the Philippines, decided upon by experts and widely regarded as the top achievement of Filipino/o artists. I frame this process around an aberration in 2009: when then-Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo removed the name of a committee-chosen artist (composer, Ramón Santos) from the nomination list and added the names of four others with suspiciously close ties to her administration (theater pioneer, Cecile Guidote-Alvarez, comics writer and film director, Carlo J. Caparas, fashion designer, José Moreno, and architect, Francisco Mañosa). This act and the events that followed allowed me to engage in discussions with Filipina/o artists and scholars regarding government patronage and the detached symbol of artist as nation.

The National Artist Award (or the Order of National Artists) is conferred by the President upon high profile and influential Filipina/o artists who have made “significant

¹ *National Artist for Literature Virgilio Almario et al v. The Executive Secretary et al*, Republic of the Philippines, G.R. 189028 (Manila 2013). Source: Supreme Court of the Philippines website, accessed October 6, 2013, <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/jurisprudence/2013/toc/july.php>. For a full list of respondents and petitioners, see Appendix C.

² Interview with F. Sionil José, September 11, 2013, Solidaridad Bookstore, Ermita (Manila), Republic of the Philippines.

contributions to the development of Philippines Arts” in the fields of Visual Arts (sculptors and painters), Dance, (choreographers and performers), Literature (poets, novelists and essayists), Music (composers and performers), Architecture and Allied Arts (which includes fashion design), Theater (actors, playwrights, designers) and Film and Broadcast Arts (directors and film actors) (National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2012).³ It was first established by President Ferdinand Marcos as a national award in 1972 a few before declaring martial law.⁴ Not only do National Artists receive the highest form of state recognition, they also receive material benefits, such as a cash award and a monthly stipend. The NAA has outlived its creator (Marcos) and--some argue--outlived its significance, serving only a select, privileged segment of the Philippine society consisting of political favorites or “great” artists, or both. Others counter that the NAA still has merit but the process of awarding in the post-Marcos era is plagued with the problems of any committee-chosen recognition, such as favoritism, lobbying, or the comparison of incommensurable categories of achievement: is a filmmaker with ten films more worthy of the Award than a composer who wrote hundreds of piano pieces that few have heard? Does a folklorist who catalogued native dances contribute to Philippine nationhood more so than a theater designer whose innovative work transcends the medium? Regardless of the changing criteria of judgment, the National Artist Award is

³ From the National Commission of Culture and the Arts website (2012). The descriptions of the various aspects of the National Artist Award (ideology, rules, nominating procedures, categorical justification) on the NCCA website are consistent with other promotional materials except where noted.

⁴ President Ferdinand Marcos issued Proclamation 1081 declaring martial law on September 21, 1972, (announced on September 23, 1972) in response to alleged concerns over communist uprisings the Southern Philippines. Almost five months before the declaration of martial law, President Marcos issued Proclamation no. 1001 (*Declaring Fernando Amorsolo a National Artist*) on April 27, 1972, thereby establishing the National Artist Award and its first recipient, Fernando Amorsolo, four days after the Amorsolo’s death.

still a powerful symbol of the state's interest in the arts as nation.

However, everyone I knew at the University of the Philippines (UP) agreed that the President should not decide the National Artist Award. In the years since the 2009 controversy, those involved in the protest were willing to share their opinions. In analyzing and recounting discussions and experiences with artists and scholars anxious about the state of the NAA, I describe how a group of elites in a relatively new nation-state manipulate symbols of prestige in a world system of excellence. This form of prestige places the Philippines on the map with National Artists serving a similar function to the People's Artists of Russia or Knights and Dames of Great Britain. They are more than a national symbol – the act of conferring a title is a performance of nation, enacted by presidential proclamations and ritual ceremonies. I analyze this act by examining a disruption, or “follow(ing) a conflict,” where post-colonial anxieties reveal ambivalence about the Marcos dictatorship and how it is historicized in the present (Marcus 1985: 110). The question is not *who* is chosen for the award, but *how* are they chosen through this mode of prestige so closely linked to the legacy of the Martial Law era.

The National Artist Award is not recognition of the artist's product; it is an award for the artist. This is similar to the UNESCO award for Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was added to preexisting UNESCO categories (“Natural Heritage” and “Tangible Cultural Heritage”) in 1952. For UNESCO, Intangible Cultural Heritage is (1) “traditional, contemporary and living at the same time” (inherited traditions, both rural and urban), (2) “inclusive” (creating a sense community or shared heritage), (3) “Representative” (not limited to one area or one generation), (4) “community-based”

(shared by a group and limited to individual practitioners).⁵ Similar institutions exist at a national level in many modern nation-states. Since 1950, Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties features an Intangible Cultural Property as a category. Thailand's Office of the National Culture Commission has an Intangible Cultural Heritage subsection with its own National Artists Award. The United States National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) sponsors the National Medal of Arts which extends to organizations as well as individuals who are deserving of special recognition by reason of their outstanding contributions to the excellence, growth, support and availability of the arts in the United States."⁶ In her discussion of the UNESCO category, performance studies scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett described the metaphysical nature of the term "intangible heritage" and the perils of this category. She wrote:

People are not only objects of cultural preservation but also subjects. They are not only cultural carriers and transmitters (the terms are unfortunate, as is 'masterpiece'), but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself. What the heritage protocols do not generally account for is a conscious, reflexive subject. They speak of collective creation. Performers are carriers, transmitters, and bearers of traditions, terms which connote a passive medium, conduit, or vessel, without volition, intention, or subjectivity (2004: 60).

If you award a book (tangible cultural object), it cannot speak back to the awarding mechanism. Similarly, if you work to preserve natural heritage, it cannot actively comment on the process or the outcome. A Japanese *noh* master or a jazz composer can indeed alter, innovate, or respond to that tradition for which she or he was recognized.

⁵ "What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" UNESCO website, accessed May 17, 2014, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php>.

⁶ "National Medal of Arts," National Endowment for the Arts website, accessed May 5, 2014, <http://arts.gov/honors/medals>.

This is important for understanding the Philippine context, where Awarded National Artists are regarded as experts in their field and because of their awarded status. They are the final word and the top authority on their field of excellence.

Awards for culture achievement can also be viewed in terms of capital. Literary critic James F. English described culture awards as:

...the single best instrument for negotiating transactions between cultural and economic, cultural and social, or cultural and political capital – which is to say that they are our most effective institutional agents of capital *intraconversion* (emphasis original) (2005:10).

Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu, English used the term “capital” to indicate any quality perceived contextually as an asset: an expert rondalla player has capital in the field of music; a PhD-holder in botany has capital in the natural sciences (ibid. 10). In the case of the National Artist Award (and other awards as such in the Philippines), cultural capital (expertise in a field of art), becomes national capital. English urged scholars to focus on “neglected agents” of intraconversion within this process such as award administrators, judges, and clerks (ibid. 14).

Throughout this chapter, I also interpret this Award and the accompanying controversy as a competition on a number of levels. First, the National Artist Award is a competition between artists for state prestige, whether or not the artist regards it as such. With limited resources and limited number of artists that are chosen each year, not every artist considered during a nomination cycle can become a National Artist. Additionally, considering the nature of professional and personal networks, the NAA nominating procedure is a competition between the supporters of each Artists since, for instance, materials for nomination are submitted by peers and colleagues on the potential Artists

behalf. When an artist is conferred the Order of National Artist, the entire network benefits from this honor. Although each individual may not receive direct recognition, the patriotic honor is shared by all who aided their mentor or fictive kin. Finally, this a competition for the media and the press who hint about the secretive process of the NAA with tantalizing details regarding possible Awardees. I cannot count the number of newspaper articles or media reports that begin with the phrase "Who will be the next National Artist?" or "Will X receive the National Artist Award?" Whether it's a useless petition urging consideration for a "favorite," or a statement by a politician urging the council of experts to consider a dying a film actor or a current pop star for the Award, rumors, speculations, and the possibility of input by ordinary citizens keeps many Filipinos/as tuned in to ABS-CBN or the GMA News Network for the nine o'clock broadcast.

In order to critically analyze this competition and its accompanying prestige, I place them within a specific time and place. The place is Quezon City on the UP campus, whose scholars and professors past and present dominate the Order of National Artists. The time is forty years after Ferdinand Marcos declared painter Fernando Amorsolo the first National Artist in 1972. Since then, the Award and the process of selection underwent a number of significant changes altering the process of selection but not the accompanying level of prestige. By 1973, the process was informal and centrally under the control of then-First Lady Imelda Marcos, a patroness of the arts. After the fall of the Marcoses in 1986 and during the subsequent presidency of Corazon Aquino, the process was formalized with expert-led committees quasi-democratically electing National

Artists. Yet even after the National Artist selection procedure was standardized, successive Philippine presidents named Artists outside the typical nomination and adjudication procedure for over ten years.

In 2009, the artistic and intellectual elite, concerned for the state of the National Artist Award said, “no more.” A group of scholars and artists protested President Arroyo’s insertion names following the announcement. These protests began symbolically (in public demonstrations such as a stylized funeral for the National Artist Award on the steps of the CCP complex) then transformed into decisive legal action: a formal injunction, achieved by a number of living national Artists and others who petitioned the Supreme Court to stop the process until a judgment could be reached about the nature of presidential power in the Award process. I argue that these controversies reveal a central tension among scholars and artists: how to deal with the ubiquitous history of both cronyism and democracy in the Philippines while celebrating the place of art in society. First, I describe a public forum focused on the 2009 NAA controversy to illustrate the personal and professional alliances that characterize state-recognized prestige processes in the Philippines. Then, I explain the 2009 controversy through Court documents and normative processes of deliberation and conferment of the NAA. I discuss the forty-year history and the bureaucratic dimensions of the Award (eligibility and benefits), providing commentary from scholars and artists involved in the nominating and awarding process. Finally, I describe how the 2009 controversy was resolved and provide observations about the performance of tacit understandings of the relationship of government to artist the post-Marcos Philippines.

I. “NAA, NAA, Paano Ka Ginawa?”

On Tuesday, August 25, 2009, I learned about the National Artist Award controversy when I attended a public forum at the UP Diliman College of Mass Communication (CMC) Auditorium in Plaridel Hall. The forum, “NAA, NAA, Paano Ka Ginawa?” (“NAA, NAA, How Are You Made?”), was a chance for the scholars, students, teachers, and other concerned parties around campus to learn more about the controversy.⁷ On that day, I had no idea I would end up researching this topic. In fact, it took me a few months to process what I heard and saw that day.

With the benefit of hindsight provided by two more years of research in Quezon City, the “NAA NAA” forum was similar to many that I subsequently attended on the UP Campus: it was an assemblage of interested parties who gathered to learn more about a news event. And during the waning years of the Arroyo presidency and the numerous scandals that erupted as a result of her tumultuous nine-year presence in Malacañan, we certainly had much to discuss. After each public forum, the attendees broke away in smaller groups for dessert and coffee at the Chocolate Kiss Café or a beer at PCED or Sarah’s.⁸ At these hangout spots, they discussed reactions to speakers, solutions to the problems presented, or the everyday politics of “seeing others” and “being seen by others” at these events: why X attended and Y didn’t attend (or – more appropriately – if

⁷ The title of the forum is a play on words, based on the novel by Filipina author Lualhati Bautista, *Bata, Bata...Pa’no Ka Ginawa? (Lea’s Story) (Child, Child...How Are You Made?)*(1988).

⁸ The Chocolate Kiss Café is located within the UP campus in the Bahay ng Alumni (Alumni House) on Magsasay Street. The UP Hotel Patio, on the corner of Guerrero Street and Aglipay Street, is a restaurant frequented by UP professors and the only place where alcohol is served on campus. Some refer to both the hotel and restaurant by the name “PCED” (pee-séd), the anagram for the Philippine Center for Economic Development, of which the hotel was a project during the 1980s. Sarah’s is a drinking pub near the UP Campus in the Cruz na Ligas area of Quezon City, on C.P. Garcia Avenue.

Y didn't attend *because* X attended). Whereas the public forum requires a captive audience receiving information in a one-way performance from expert to listener, the mood is lighter at these after-forum gatherings. Teasing, jokes, and the wisdom passed from older scholars to younger researchers and students about "the way things are" characterize the informality of these hangouts. Lurking behind these conversations (and many other intergenerational interactions at UP) is the history of student activism on campus. Youth unrest gained momentum upon the inauguration of President Ferdinand Marcos in 1970 when the "First Quarter Storm" of protests exploded onto Manila as radicalized students battled police. The next year, students declared the campus as the "Diliman Commune," creating a human blockade and preventing automobiles from entering UP (Hedman and Sidel 2000:127, 128).⁹ By the 2010s, these former activists are now older professors, instilling a spirit of protest (measured by wisdom) within their students inside and outside of the classroom.

The "NAA, NAA" forum, the first I attended, made a deep impression on me for several reasons. This was my first visit to the Philippines; the stakes of this controversy reached a national level; and I was intrigued by how so many were visibly upset about an award that seemed so far outside of everyday concerns. Since that day, I have replayed the events of that forum over and over in my memory like a VHS tape in a VCR – an outdated form of video recording or playback even at the time of this writing (2014). The hum of the industrial air conditioner behind the words of each successive moderator,

⁹ Hedman and Sidel interpreted student unrest from the 1960s onward as a reaction to increased population and substandard conditions at colleges around Manila (2000: 125-126). The First Quarter Storm is described by journalist-activist José Lacaba (1982) and the Diliman Commune by historian Reynaldo C. Ileto (1993).

commentator, and speaker in Plaridel Hall sound like the whirl of a clunky plastic tape over playback. The tape is worn from pressing pause and rewind so many times that the visuals are fuzzy and the audio fades in and out during certain moments. The colors are a little too brilliant; the microphone voices are slightly distorted. I've told and re-told this story so many times, I can't decide if I'm describing the playback as I experienced or my own commentary on multiple playbacks. Maybe the voices weren't as fiery; maybe the colors weren't as bright. Yet I remain certain that this was a significant public response to high-level government interference and corruption.

I spent the morning of August 25, 2009, in typical fashion, pouring through files of the José Maceda Collection at the UP Center for Ethnomusicology. Center manager, Dayang Yraola, pulled me from my research coma to invite me to accompany her to Plaridel Hall in the College of Mass Communications, adjacent to the Center.¹⁰ "They'll be talking about what happened with the Award," she told me. Just a few days before, Dayang had given me the lowdown on the controversy. The name dropped from the list was her boss, music scholar, composer, UP College of Music professor emeritus and Center for Ethnomusicology director, Ramón P. Santos.¹¹ Unfortunately, Santos was recovering in the hospital at that time. After the announcement of the awards earlier that month, Santos had taken ill then underwent critical heart surgery. I wondered then (and still wonder now) if his omission from the list and his health problems were related. However, I knew then (and know now) that the topic is sensitive for all involved and I

¹⁰Aside from her duties at the Center for Ethnomusicology, Dayang Yraola is an independent curator, writer, and cultural resource manager.

¹¹See Santos 1992, 2001a, 2001b, 2005, 2010, 2012, and Santos and Cabalza 2012.

have not inquired further on this matter. It's better left unsaid.

After we left Abelardo Hall and crossed Ylanan Street to the College of Mass Communications, Dayang introduced me to “Yayo” who was leaning casually on the railing at the entrance of Plaridel Hall. He was all smiles; warm and friendly, shaking my hand and placing his arm on my shoulder for a half-hug. His appearance was distinctive: his head was shaven bald except for a small ponytail with attached bird feathers. He was a graduate student in College of Arts and Letters at UP Diliman finishing his master's thesis and, as of this writing, is teaching Art History courses. You can find him jogging around the Academic Oval at UP (twice a day, at least).

After Dayang introduced me to a few others we met along the way (“this is Neal, he's here to research Maceda”), we entered the CMC auditorium. Two hundred or so people were finding seats, chatting, shaking hands, waving, sharing glances of recognition, or surveying the room to see who else was in attendance. Then, a familiar face entered the hall – Felipe Mendoza De Leon Jr. (Jun De Leon). I was immediately struck by his resemblance to his late father, composer and National Artist for Music Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. He needed no introduction as he walked into the room with a smile, greeting the panel of speakers and waving at others in the crowd. Jun De Leon is a force in the Philippine national arts circle, holding administrative positions in the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), both nominating bodies for the National Artist Award. He's a popular lecturer at the University of the Philippines College of Arts and Letter and an outspoken

advocate for the integration of Philippine arts.¹² Jun saw me with Dayang and waved to us, flashing a broad smile. I knew him through his brother, Tagumpay De Leon (Uncle Pi), my *rondalla* teacher in the United States. I had only met Jun the previous day, but it was nice to have some recognition in a group of strangers.

At the front of the room, the panel of UP professors serving as speakers, discussants, and hosts eased into place to begin their presentation on the gerrymandering of the National Artist Award. Dean of the College of Arts and Letters, Elena Rivera Mirano opened the forum with a concise, succinct introduction to the topic.¹³ Although I didn't yet know her, I saw her at a number of forums and events of this nature around the UP campus. You can always count on her to be poised and fair in her assessment of issues regarding the place of art in the Philippine nation-state. When I interviewed her a year later, she described growing up as a young musician around the UP College of Music, where her mother was a choir director. She recounted with excitement and nostalgia the avant-garde concerts of José Maceda and Lucrecia Kasilag in the late 1960s.¹⁴

¹² Some of Felipe Mendoza De Leon Jr.'s wide ranging views on Philippine arts can be found in "The Roots of a People's Arts in Indigenous Psychology" (1991) and his public and university lectures spanning the second half of the twentieth century. Lily Mendoza (2002) summarizes De Leon Jr.'s contributions to the humanities from the various Philippine indigenous psychology movements in the late 1970s.

¹³ Elena Rivera Mirano conducted ethnographic work on the music of the Subli of Bantangas and describes her research in Mirano (2008). She was also a member of the famous UP Madrigal Singers under National Artist Andrea O. Veneracion, whose history is described in Castro (2001).

¹⁴ Interview with Elena Rivera Mirano, February 2, 2002, College of Arts and Letters Faculty Center, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines. National Artist for Music, Lucrecia Kasilag, was a major figure in Filipina/o music education. She was a composer, folklorist, and former president of the CCP. Her life, work, and role in Marcos-era arts are described by Castro (2011)

After a couple of speakers discussed the implications of the President's actions, anthropologist Eufrazio Abaya Jr. urged the audience to suspend our outrage for a moment and, "try to see this from a wider perspective." He encouraged us to analyze this entire affair within a social system of prestige and merit that characterizes much of modern Philippine history (and as evidenced by my research since, I listened very closely to his words that day). The audience reacted with whispered conversations, a few skeptical glances, and an audible "hmp" from the woman sitting next to me – no one in that room wanted to hear that we should, "just cool off." I met Abaya later through his associates who refer to him as "Boy," a nickname he's probably earned because of his seemingly-ageless face.¹⁵ A year later, after I had expressed an interest in meeting him, Abaya surprised me on a Sunday morning by waving down me down as I carried my groceries from the shopping center near his house on the UP Campus and inviting me over for an interview.¹⁶ Abaya is an accomplished educational and medical anthropologist who did post-graduate fieldwork with José Maceda in the 1980s and continues to serve on the advisory board at the Center for Ethnomusicology. After our interview, he invited me back over to play jazz standards while he sang baritone. I tried to tell him that I don't play guitar well, but he wouldn't take "no" for an answer.

Rolando Tolentino, the dean of Mass Communications at UP Diliman, was the final panel member to speak. His speech was in Filipino and I could only understand portions of it (since I had only completed intermediate Filipino language training the

¹⁵ "Boy" and "Jun" are common nicknames for Filipino men named after their father.

¹⁶ Interview with Eufrazio Abaya, February 19, 2012, the University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

summer before). I measured the reactions of the rest of the audience as Tolentino read a prepared statement. They laughed, smiled, and nodded in approval while— a welcomed change from the tense atmosphere during the previous speakers. I caught one word he kept repeating and upon which, he paused for emphasis during the presentation – “*baboy*” (“pig”). Tolentino was criticizing those pigs that greedily wanted the award without waiting their turn (I think). Until that day, I had only known of Tolentino through his reputation as a scholar of media and film.¹⁷ After meeting him first in Diliman, then in the States, Tolentino and I became friends and, over the next few years, he introduced me to key informants who continually benefit my research. He also provided a home for me on the UP Campus with an institution affiliation at the College of Mass Communications, where I found scholars and friends with a keen interest in my work. Tolentino’s speech ended with a thunderous round of applause and the moderator announced that the floor was opened for audience questions.

A woman with short cropped hair who was sitting two rows in front of Dayang and me stood and rushed towards the stage to the microphone. Although I couldn’t fully understand what she was saying, I could tell she was quite angry about President Arroyo’s actions and the state of the award. She was speaking loudly and forcefully in Filipino, nodding her head and gesturing with her hands. One of the moderators began to speak over the outraged speaker. The speaker paused just long enough to hear the interruption, and then continued her diatribe. I learned later that her name is Roselle Pineda and she’s a professor at the UP Diliman College of Arts and Letters. Because she

¹⁷ Roland Tolentino is a scholar and an outspoken critic of neoliberal Philippine economic and social policies. See Tolentino 2003a, 2003b, 2009, 2011.

was so visibly distraught upon first seeing her that day, I would generally avoid her in social circles afterward. I was a little frightened of her, mistaking her passion of that moment for general unpleasantness – I was wrong. After a proper introduction months later, I learned that Pineda is friendly and intelligent with a great sense of humor and impressive musical skills. I accompanied her singing on a couple of occasions on the UP Campus: at a rally supporting Rolando Tolentino’s bid for the UP chancellorship and another to raise awareness about the plight of imprisoned poet and activist, Ericsson Acosta. Both times, I played guitar while she sang Tracy Chapman’s “Talkin’ Bout A Revolution” – the only song we both knew that would be fitting for a rally.

After a few more audience members added commentary, Jun De Leon took the microphone to address the crowd. For the life of me, I can’t recall if Jun was speaking to the audience in English or Filipino – I was so transfixed by his quiet charisma that the medium was drowned out by the message. He told the audience that he was an insider during the 2009 National Artist Award deliberation and described some of the processes of nomination. He could not discuss the number of votes each nominee received, but he did reveal that the four committee-chosen National Artists received a significant voting majority.¹⁸ Therefore, De Leon asserted that Ramón Santos (dropped from the list by Arroyo) should have received the Award. Jun De Leon was “letting us in” on the secrets of the NAA nomination process. Within this gathering of the elites, it was his prerogative to allow the audience into select areas of the process: telling the spectators just enough to draw their attention but leaving enough secrecy to keep them wondering about ties to the

¹⁸ The four artists chosen by committee per typical procedure were film director Manuel Conde, novelist Lazaro Francisco, painter Federico Aguilar Alcuaz, and Ramón Santos.

President.

As Jun De Leon finished speaking, Roselle stood up again and asked him a question in Filipino in an anxious tone, but slightly less passionate than her previous speech. Jun answered, smiling and speaking slowly (like a father explaining a sensitive issue to his daughter), nodding towards Roselle then towards the audience. Roselle spoke again, this time in a calmer tone. Jun smiled and answered again. Roselle replied once more and smiled at him and the audience laughed (with them, not at them). Despite the language barrier, I understood this exchange: Roselle respected Jun's intellect and his authority on the matter. This was a clear performance of Jun's place as a gatekeeper of state sponsored prestige.

As Jun De Leon returned to his seat, the forum moderator approached the microphone and asked if there were any more speakers. Before she could finish the sentence, Roselle jumped from her seat in the front row and raised her hand to stop the proceedings. Reading from her cell phone, she announced that the Supreme Court had issued a status quo order halting the process of conferment of the 2009 National Artist Award. Unbeknownst to me on that day, the wheels had been in motion to stop this process since the moment it was announced the previous month. A group of over seventy artists and professors (including many present at the forum) petitioned the Supreme Court, which then decided that rank and title would be withheld from the 2009 NAA batch and cash awards would not be released until the named respondents (including the three inserted names, representatives of the CCP and the NCCA, and the Executive

Secretary to the President) could address the issue in preparation for oral arguments.¹⁹

The status quo order halted the process and ended our public forum that day. The last speaker made a few closing remarks; one of which was “Let’s wait and see what happens.” Although a few present that day were a part of the petition, none were aware that the injunction would fall out of the sky on that particular day – a reminder to us all that even the artistic elite must answer to another group of gatekeepers (in this case, the Supreme Court of the Philippines). The audience members slowly eased out of their seats, glancing at each other with surprise and bewilderment.

On our way out of the Plaridel Hall auditorium, Dayang suggested we get coffee. My “yes” reply came before she finished the sentence. The close of the forum had left me *bitin*: I wasn’t satisfied with the lack of resolution to the case and I still had a million questions.²⁰ We crossed back over Ylanan Street and got a slice of prettier-than-it-tasted cake at the College of Music canteen as dusk quickly settled over the campus. As we chatted, Jun De Leon walked by and stopped to greet us. Dayang invited him to join us. Just for a moment, he said. I had met Jun only the day before and I could already tell he was a busy man. At the time, he was teaching at three colleges, heading a number of committees at the NCCA, and touring with his folkloric music and dance group, the Kasarinlan Philippine Music Ensemble. Meeting Jun De Leon was the other reason I travelled to Quezon City that August. Jun, recommended to me by his brother, Uncle Pi

¹⁹ National Artist for Literature Virgilio Almario told me that he was responsible for organizing the petition. Source: interview with Virgilio Almario, February 12, 2013, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

²⁰ *Bitin* is a Filipino word meaning “hanging” or “unsatisfied.” I have adopted this term since I often heard it in informal sessions after public forums and lectures.

(Tagumpay), was helping me purchase rondalla instruments to bring back to the U.S. One late afternoon, I met Jun at the Asian Institute of Tourism where he was lecturing on Philippine culture to future tour guides and travel agents. He and I took a cab to his neighborhood in Cubao, then a tricycle to his house, then a crowded train to Santa Mesa where we parted ways so I could visit the O.C. Bandilla store to pick up my instruments and he could travel further south to teach another class that evening at Philippine Women's University. My five years as a freeway-flying adjunct professor in my late twenties in Birmingham, Alabama were nothing compared to the daily route of Jun, who was sixty-nine years old and navigating a complex route through Manila (only one tenth the size of Birmingham but with seven times the population). Whenever I saw Jun De Leon around the UP Campus, he was cordial yet always in a hurry, running between meetings. "Good to see you! We'll talk soon." Maybe he was running away from me, tired of all my endless questions about his father, composer Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr.

Jun chatted with Dayang and me for a little while and inquired about the current health status of Ramón Santos. When Dayang mentioned the Center for Ethnomusicology, Jun volunteered that he first met José Maceda many years before. Jun was working as an audio engineer at a TV station when Maceda, who had heard of Jun through his father, Felipe De Leon Sr., requested that Jun accompany Maceda to the field for recording and transcription.²¹ After sharing a few more a more anecdotes, Jun bid us farewell. I finished my stronger-than-it tasted coffee and left Dayang to return to my

²¹ According to the Center for Ethnomusicology catalog, Jun De Leon was present for research with Maceda in 1968 in Nueva Ecija and was involved in transcription work for field recordings of the Maguindanao, the Bontok in the 1970s.

room and begin writing as much as I could remember from the day's events.

I learned many things that day after attending the “NAA NAA” forum. Most importantly, I observed that in small upper echelon of the national arts, everyone seemingly knows everyone. The scholars, artists, and professors at UP are acquainted through a number of different intersecting associations marked by shifting power relations. Ramón Santos and Jun De Leon inhabited the same circles and have shared multiple associations at UP, the NCCA, and the CCP for over forty years. In her dissertation on the history of the CCP, ethnomusicologist Christi-Anne Castro (1999) noted that Santos and De Leon were both chosen to represent the field of music in a steering committee for the future of the CCP during uncertain times after the Marcos administration. Castro characterized the place of Santos and De Leon within a “musical clique or extended family” of artists, critics, and academics. Castro wrote:

Through this example and many others, it becomes evident (and similar to most aspects of life in the Philippines) that the realm of music, performance, study, and administration is based on a network of people known to one another over a long period of time. While new musicians may emerge and disappear, people who gain positions of power often circulate within that upper strata and know each other on a personal basis. Because of this, the play of politics in the universe of music becomes very complicated in the mix between personal and professional worlds (1999: 247).

Those involved in music – the most influential, the most powerful – have known each other through many different professional and personal connections, many since the middle of the twentieth century. I propose that another component of these networks is generational in nature. A significant quality of loyalty characterizes relationships between these positions: horizontally between two people of the same stature or vertically between mentor and student or parent and daughter or son. In this case, Jun De Leon is loyal to the

legacy of his father, National Artist Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr., and Ramón Santos to National Artist José Maceda, his mentor and friend. These mentor-protégé relationships are dominated by personal and professional allegiances (sometimes unquestioned) that govern state-sponsored arts.

I add that each “clique” as described by Castro is characterized by not only a universe of music and musicians (though complex in its own right), but also other arts universes with their own cliques: extended families within dance, theatre, literature, film, and even outside the arts in the fields of sociology, anthropology and history. Alliances (temporary and long-lasting) also exist between these fields as like minds in theatre and literature or dance and music often collaborate on projects, teach in the same academic division or college, or serve on the same board for the NCCA or the CCP.

Whenever I asked informants and friends about the nature of these ties of loyalty, some find the question (and my conceptualization of this tacit performance of power) to be distasteful, and possibly a devaluation of their professionalism. Others discussed these ties quite matter-of-factly, as a central component of how “things get done” in a young state that has been dominated by unequal access to resources and succession of colonial masters and oligarchs with a superficial (if any) commitment to the distribution of wealth. Cliques, spheres of influence, and vertical loyalty relationships between mentor and student or parent and progeny are responsible for successful endeavors. Some just tell me “that’s how things are,” – a statement of ambivalence about the nature of power and a tacit warning that questioning this system yields no rewards.

The “NAA, NAA” public forum was an emotionally charged performance of

indignation by artistic elites. The major figures of the 2009 controversy constructed areas of contact between “the public” (educated elites with varying degrees to access to the system of prestige) and the “experts” (elites at the center of the controversy with a greater stake in the Award). The networks of the major figures involved were present yet unspoken as discussions of fairness in nomination were contrasted with the cold biased nature of presidential power. Now, I turn to the specifics of the 2009 petition document, made public after the 2013 resolution in order to illustrate the construction of a “controversy” from a set of actions and reactions by a small group of arts administrators and the artists they support.

II. The 2009 National Artist Award Controversy and Injunction

In the time since the “NAA, NAA” public information forum, I learned more about the 2009 National Artist Award controversy from Supreme Court documents describing the sequence of events.²² The process in 2009 was similar to previous nomination and awarding cycles administered by the NCCA and the CCP and finalized by the Office of the President. After a year-long nomination period in which materials were submitted on behalf of potential candidates, the National Artist Award Secretariat began narrowing the eligibility list in April 2009 from eighty-seven nominees to thirty names on the first short list, to thirteen on the second short list, and finally down to four candidates with a significant voting majority.²³ The names of these four were forwarded to President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo on May 26, 2009 by the heads of the CCP and the

²² *Almarino vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P.

²³ *Ibid.*, 12-14.

NCCA.²⁴ Usually, by the time the list arrives at the office of the president, her approval is a mere formality – the National Artists have been vetted and chosen by committee.

However, during the 2009 process, the office of the president “...allegedly received nominations from various sectors, cultural groups, and individuals strongly endorsing private respondents Cecile Guidote-Alvarez, Carlo Magno José Caparas, Francisco Mañosa, and José Moreno”.²⁵ These nominators (who are the point of speculation, uncomfortable silences, and vague or humorous answers from my informants) are unnamed in the court document, but are most likely, within one of the many “arts cliques” I described previously.²⁶ Of the private respondents (Guidote-Alvarez, Caparas, Mañosa, and Moreno), none underwent the full screening, voting, and deliberation process that characterizes the modern National Artist Award.²⁷ At the end of July 2009, President Arroyo’s executive secretary announced the seven National Artists for that year.²⁸ This list included the four private respondents (Guidote-Alvarez, Caparas, Mañosa, and Moreno) and three that passed screening and deliberation (Conde,

²⁴ Conde (Film and Broadcast, twenty-six votes), Santos (Music, nineteen votes), Francisco (Literature, fifteen votes), and Alcuaz (Visual Arts, fifteen votes). Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid, 16.

²⁶ For example, I asked National Artist for Literature F. Sionil José about how these private respondents moved through the system. Sionil smiled then passionately slapped his desk on each word of his loud reply, yelling: “THAT’S THE PHILIPPINES FOR YOU, NEAL! THAT’S THE PHILIPPINES!” Source: interview with F. Sionil José, September 11, 2013, Solidaridad Bookstore, Ermita (Manila), Republic of the Philippines.

²⁷ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 16. Cecile Guidote-Alvarez was absent from any list of regarding the Award that year. The names “Caparas” and “Mañosa” were present on the long list of eighty-seven nominees, but eliminated in the next round of deliberation. Moreno’s name was present on the first shortlist but was eliminated in the second round.

²⁸ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 16.

Francisco, and Alcuaz).²⁹ The name “Ramón Santos” (although submitted by the NCCA and the CCP) was absent from the final list.

So, after the announcement of the award, seventy-three scholars, artists, and educators petitioned the Philippine Supreme Court in reaction to the announcement. The petitioners suggested that the Award should be withheld because President Arroyo abused her power by inserting her own choices, disregarding the careful work of the deliberation panel.³⁰ This group of petitioners included then-living National Artists, Virgilio Almario (Literature, 2003), Bienvenido Lumbera (Literature, 2006), Benedicto Cabrera (Visual Arts, 2006), Napoleon Abueva (Sculpture, 1976), Arturo Luz (Visual Arts, 1997), Salvador Bernal (Theater and Film, 2003), over sixty academics, professors, culture workers and non-affiliated artists, and the group, Concerned Artists of the Philippines.³¹ The petitioner-Artists wanted to maintain the award at the level in which was conferred upon them. They declared that the prestige of the Award was spoiled by the abbreviation of this process and negatively affected the reputation of the works that gained them such prestige.³² The rest of the petitioners expressed concern for the nation’s artistic and cultural heritage and taxpayer monies in service of misuses of executive

²⁹ Manuel Conde was declared National Artist via Presidential Proclamation No. 1823, *Declaring Manuel P. Urbano a.k.a. Manuel Conde as National Artist (Posthumous)*, on June 30, 2009. The rest were proclaimed on July 6, 2009, via the following proclamations: Francisco (No. 1824), Alcuaz (No. 1825), Guidote-Alvarez (No. 1826), Caparas (No. 1827), Mañosa (No. 1828), and Moreno (No. 1829). Carlo Caparas argued that his National Artist Award could not be halted since his status was already guaranteed by presidential proclamation (*Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 19).

³⁰ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 18.

³¹ National Artist and theater designer Salvador Bernal died on October 26, 2011, after the petition and the injunction.

³² *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 17.

power. All of the petitioners claimed that it was the sole duty of the two governing bodies of artistic excellence (the NCCA and the CCP) to decide upon and create the standard for nomination.³³ They argued that this standard should preclude self-nomination and political favor.³⁴

III. History of the National Artist Award

The National Artist Award has existed since the 1970s and been awarded by six Philippine presidents to fifty-seven artists. Once it has been conferred, the awardee remains a National Artist for life, then, per performative proclamation, forever. However, the roots of this award are firmly within of the culture of early Marcos-era politics. The categories in the first two years of inception were Architecture (Juan Napkil), Dance (Francisca Reyes Aquino), Literature (Amado V. Hernandez, José Garcia Villa), Music (Antonio Molina), Visual Arts (Guillermo Tolentino, Carlos ‘Botong’ Francisco). In the early years of the award, the categories were created for the artists’ areas of expertise. As more artists were recognized, more categories were invented, such as Theatre and Film (in 1976 for Lamberto V. Avellana) and Cinema (in 1982 for Gerardo “Gerry” De Leon).³⁵ The artists worthy of a national award came first; the categories were justified after the fact.

The National Artist Award, like so many of the cultural and artistic achievements of the Marcos presidency was the creation of then-First Lady, Imelda Marcos. The

³³ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 16.

³⁴ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 18. Cecile Guidote-Alvarez, who was the executive director of the NCCA and President Arroyo’s advisor on the arts.

³⁵ Castro discussed the creation of the National Artist Award by the CCP (2011: 131-132).

creation of a pantheon of Philippine artistic excellence was an opportunity to show the internal citizen and the external observer the best of Philippine society. But, consistent with other efforts in this manner, the NAA was another example of Marcos-era cronyism. A few informants have suggested that the Award was created simply to pay for the medical care of the first National Artist, painter Fernando Amorsolo. Others point to the “common knowledge” that National Artist Nick Joaquin only accepted the Award in 1976 under the proviso that the government would free journalist and Marcos-critic José “Pete” Lacaba from imprisonment.³⁶ However, looking back on the Marcos-era award from the vantage point of the early 2010s, some critics (who demonstrate no discerning loyalty to the Marcos regime and no particular nostalgia for that time) argue that during the 1970s and the early 1980s, that “the right people got the award.”³⁷ They comment that before the procedure of National Artist selection became democratized in its modern form, the process was *less* political, freed from committees with disparate, conflicting interests. When the National Artist Award was solely in the hands of the Marcos regime, there was less tug-of-war between egos with their own personal and professional loyalties.

The process of National Artist Award changed in the mid-1980s as a result of sweeping changes in Philippine government that characterized the mid-1980s, after the end of the Marcos presidency. After the People Power Revolution of 1986, Corazon

³⁶ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines; interview with Patrick Flores, September 6, 2012, at the Vargas Museum, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippine.

³⁷ Interview with Ramón Santos, September 21, 2012, Center for Ethnomusicology, Abelardo Hall, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

“Cory” Aquino, the widow of slain Marcos rival, Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr., assumed the Philippine presidency and began a promising administration of economic and social recovery, with a promised end to the cronyism that marked the Marcos administration. During that time the future of the NAA was uncertain, like so many other aspects of the previous Marcos culture. Was the NAA worth keeping in the post-Marcos era? The last round of National Artists was named in 1982 and the process was halted until 1987 after the transformation of the nation’s preeminent arts institution, the Cultural Center of the Philippines, and the creation of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts.

The changes of the mid-1980s were the result of both the presence of a new leader, President Corazon Aquino (characterized by some as having little interest in the arts), and the absence of First Lady Imelda Marcos. Film and theater scholar Nicanor Tiongson was instrumental in both the refashioning of the CCP and the creation of the NCCA. Tiongson described the immediate post-Marcos era as a questionable void – what would happen to state-supported arts under Corazon Aquino and a completely new government? Tiongson said that he, then a central figure in Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA), and a number of others proposed a department or ministry of culture to Aquino in 1986, soon after she assumed the presidency. He told me, “[We saw a] vacuum during the Cory [Corazon Aquino] administration. We were afraid some might take advantage of the vacuum and present whatever to Cory.”³⁸ Tiongson joined with other art scholars and creative and performing artists to present a plan to President

³⁸ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

Aquino, who suggested that this venture become the Presidential Commission for Culture and the Arts (PCCA) in 1987. Maria Theresa “Bing” Roxas, who had close ties to the Aquino, led this commission with Tiongson as vice president for the arts and others leading areas of funding, tourism, and education. The PCCA worked for five years with members of the House and Senate to draft Republic Act 7356, which established the National Commission for Culture and the Arts in 1992. This not only created a national endowment fund, but also a mandate that included consideration for artistic expression by a “pluralistic culture,” for conserving and promoting “the nation’s historical and cultural heritage,” for preserving and integrating “traditional culture,” and for ensuring the “widest dissemination of artistic and cultural products” both nationally and internationally.³⁹ While the efforts to create the NCCA were in motion, Nicanor Tiongson was also serving as president of the CCP. Since the CCP was such a strong symbol of the excesses of the Marcos era, Tiongson, Bing Roxas and others involved were tasked with changing the nature of the institution from a performance venue to a clearinghouse for the arts (Castro 1999: 240).⁴⁰

It was also during this time that the criteria and process of the National Artist Award was formalized first by Nicanor Tiongson with further changes considered and enacted by a formal NAA secretariat with, first, CCP officials, and later, commissioners from the newly-created NCCA, jointly organized in 1993. The categories of awarding were altered to mirror the subcommittees of the NCCA. Although this re-design did not

³⁹ “Republic Act 7356,” National Commission for Culture and the Arts website, accessed May 17, 2014, <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-ncca/about-ncca/about-ncca-ra7356.php>.

⁴⁰ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

change the preexisting Marcos-era categories (Literature, Music, Dance, Theater and Film, and Cinema), the award category “Architecture” was renamed “Architecture, Design, and Allied Arts” which included an award for fashion design, first given to Ramón Valera in 2006. The process of awarding change significantly with a careful nomination procedure and a series of deliberation panels that included a council of peers and a council of experts. The Aquino and post-Aquino National Artist Award was thus imbued with criteria of fairness and impartiality. Leaders in creative and performing arts re-fashioned the NAA as a merit-based honor decided by consensus and compromise of specialists in respective fields of achievement.

The post-Marcos era of the National Artist Award, with layers of bureaucracy and the non-disclosure of certain details of the deliberation process, was a topic that my informants discussed with limited candor but nevertheless provided commentary on the problems inherent in any process of prestige-by-committee. Art historian and curator Patrick Flores described the various interests of a deliberation panel during any single nomination period:

PF: This committee is not made up of academics only, or scholars. You have competing interests – artists, administrators and others. There are days when I think this jury should just be given to scholars. When you expand the sphere too much, you have so many interests to deal with – you dilute, you accommodate. Philippine culture is a culture of negotiation. I think you know that by now.⁴¹

However, the presence of scholars on these committees sometimes guards against the selection of artists whose body of work *should not* be considered “national.” Following

⁴¹ Interview with Patrick Flores, September 6, 2012, Vargas Museum, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines. Patrick Flores is a curator, art scholar, and director of the Vargas Museum. He’s written on curation in Southeast Asia (2008) and popular and classic visual arts in the Philippines (2010).

the death of comedian and film star Dolphy (Rodolfo Vera Quizon Sr.) in July 2012, the public caught a glimpse into the confidential final deliberations between NAA board members. While the media mourned the dying comic, a former NCCA member let slip to the press that Nicanor Tiongson voted against Dolphy's candidacy for the Award in a previous award cycle. When Tiongson was asked to comment, he defended his decision, issuing a statement declaring that he vetoed Dolphy because the actor was not worthy of the Award (an unpopular sentiment considering the health of the popular comedian). Tiongson cited Dolphy's derisive depictions of the poor and gay men throughout his fifty year film career. As Tiongson told me,

NT: Awarding him institutionalizes that type of prejudice. [When I was] growing up, there were years when that image was very dominant. I know that many gay friends suffered because the only image of the gay for their parents is Dolphy. There is no alternative image.... it became the defining, standard image of the gay.⁴²

Tiongson further added that discussions of representation and the repercussions of awarding negative depictions of Philippine culture and society were a frequent topic during his time as a board member.

After the process was changed in mid-1980s, over thirty-eight National Artists were named between 1987 and 2000 by consensus of experts and artists involved in the process. But this new, intricately deliberated Award was not without its controversies. Presidents continued to insert names or favor certain candidates over others, despite the formalized process. Corazon Aquino's successor, President Fidel V. Ramos conferred the Order of National Artists upon Carlos Quirino (a historian from Ramos's home province

⁴² Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

of Pagasinan), circumventing the work of the committee and creating the category of Historical Literature solely for Quirino's Award, which to date, was only used in that single instance. President José "Erap" Estrada followed suit in this manner, naming Ernani Cuenco National Artist for Music in 1999. Informants allege that this was a favor for the late composer, who scored movies that starred Estrada (a former film actor). Prior to 2009, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo ignored the democratic process of National Artist Award on two previous occasions: first in 2003 when she named Alejandro Roces (the education secretary of her father, President Diosdado Macapagal) National Artist for Literature and again in 2006, with Abdulmari Asia Imao for Visual Arts. Also, this time period marks the unprecedented refusal of the NAA by an artist. Film actor, producer, writer and director Ronald Allan K. Poe, Jr. was posthumously conferred the Order of National Artists in 2006 by President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Poe's family did not accept the award for political reasons. Ronald K. Poe challenged Arroyo, running against her in the 2004 Philippine presidential election. Poe's widow, Susan Roces, accused Arroyo of rigging the votes in her favor and rejected Arroyo's attempt to confer the Award. In 2012, President Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III re-conferred the National Artist Award upon Ronald K. Poe posthumously with the approval of Poe's family, affirming the original 2006 proclamation.

In summary, the National Artist Award began as one of many prestige processes of the Marcos government in the 1970s. Over time, the processes of Award were standardized and dominated by a bureaucracy of artistic elites but still subject to the changing whims of successive presidents. In the next section, I describe eligibility for and

benefits of the NAA within the changing context of national ideals and state patronage.

IV. Eligibility for the National Artist Award and Benefits

The first component of eligibility for the National Artist Award deals centrally with the idea of a constructed Philippine Nation. Eligible are “artists who through the content and form of their works have contributed in building a Filipino sense of nationhood” (National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2012). This idea of both “nation” and “nationhood” are fraught with meaning, as they are anywhere else in the postcolonial world. It is short-sighted and problematic to define the Philippine nationhood by the works of Awarded Artists (reading ‘with’ the grain of the performative value of the Award), but an examination of how previous awardees contributed to nationhood (by definition) reveals tensions within this definition. For instance, whereas Virgilio Almarino writes poetry and prose in Filipino and advocates for this national language, F. Sionil José (Literature, 2001) and Nick Joaquin (Literature, 1976) created fiction and criticism using the English language. When I asked former CCP-President, Nicanor Tiongson, about this, he noted:

NT: Philippine [literature] in English has been accepted as a valid language of expression for Filipinos. I myself have reservations about that. That’s how it is, *meron*. But the culture wouldn’t be the same if we didn’t have Nick Joaquin, put it that way. Many of [his] works have been filtered down and translated into Filipino.⁴³

A similar case can be made for the National Artists in Music. As I will argue in later chapters, composers Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. (a symphony, piano, and opera composer) and José Maceda (an experimental composer) represent the nation quite

⁴³ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

differently— one as a traditionalist and the other, a modernist, but both decidedly nationalist. Jovita Fuentes (National Artist for Music, 1976) was recognized for her excellence in performing the role of Cio-cio San in Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, a Western European opera (with an Orientalized subject). This is due in part to the differences in nomination and judging committees over time: Fuentes was part of the first class of National Artists when Imelda Marcos, a musician herself and a vocal supporter of art music, dominated the selection procedure. Another consideration is how excellence in appropriated Western forms can be seen as an act of resistance for the formerly colonized. While describing post-Marcos era attitudes towards Western musical forms, Castro noted:

As an active form of appropriation, this discourse affirms that the production of Western forms by the colonized is not necessarily an indication of colonial mentality but potentially a reworking of external forms to suit the taker. First, the expertise of Filipinos in Western Music shows that skills in this aesthetic realm are not exclusive to the Filipino or Euro-American. Second, any changes made to these forms show that power can tip in favor of the user rather than bowing to the hegemony itself (1999: 252-253).

Not only does this explain the prestige of achievement in Western musical forms such as the symphony or the opera, or the recognition of composers or performers who alter these forms for a hybrid-nativist or folk expression (like UP Madrigal choral director Andrea Veneracion or composer Lucrecia Kasilag), but also eligibility of the Filipina/o artist in the creative and performing arts fields who challenge a Western chauvinism by matching and sometimes exceeding the ability of their Western counterparts. Postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha called this a practice of appropriation a challenge to the colonizer in which,

... the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double... What [instances of colonial imitation] share is a discursive

process by which the excess or slippage produced by the *ambivalence* of mimicry (almost the same, *but not quite*) does not merely ‘rupture’ the discourse but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a ‘partial’ presence (1997: 153-154).

While perfecting the art form, the colonizer is still present in the discourse (partially, virtually) but its power diminished. The mimicry (in this case, performance of a Western art form) is at once “resemblance and menace” (ibid.). Far from an unchecked act of colonial domination, this mimicry could be considered another aspect of building nationhood.

Another factor in eligibility is the extent to which the artist has been both trailblazing and influential. Aside from contributing to nation building, those eligible are “Artists who have pioneered in a mode of creative expression or style, thus, earning distinction and making an impact on succeeding generations of artists” (National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2012) This is similar to other ways of recognizing art in the Western world, but in the case of some Artists, clashes with the first eligibility factor (contributing to a sense of building a Filipina/o nationhood). Simply being the best at an art form in the Philippines does not equate with trailblazing or transforming the medium. More importantly, impact is influence since trailblazing artists tend to influence the succeeding generation in a direct manner through encouragement and mentoring. From the personal/professional relationships I described previously, this guarantees a solid, loyal following from younger artists and expands the power base of each Artist. Impact is thus measured less in qualitative terms for comparison and more in popularity among a smaller group of devotees within the larger group of voters and experts. .

Finally, eligibility is also dependent on the size of the body of work and the

precondition of other forms of international and national recognition. A third factor for calls for “Artists who have created a substantial and significant body of works and/or consistently displayed excellence in the practice of their art form thus enriching artistic expression or style” (National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2012). While perusing the nomination materials for the 2009 National Artist Award for Music, I noticed each shortlisted nominee was followed by pages of lists of performances, compositions, and recordings. Despite these impressive lists of accomplishments, informants indicate that some artists vie for the National Artist Award, padding their lists with, for example, a new collections of old works or a significant well-publicized public event (publicizing nothing new) for media attention. Others counter that this padding rarely works and these acts of desperation backfire on the would-be candidate.

National Artist for Literature Virgilio Almario (who led both the CCP and the NCCA in the last two decades) has seen this process first-hand. We arrived upon the topic during an interview when I asked him if there was ever any doubt in his mind about accepting the Award in 2003.⁴⁴

VA: *Oo, naman*, [‘yes, indeed’] because I’ve seen how some people... [pauses, laughs]...crave for it! [We laugh] When I was the executive director of the NCCA, in fact, some artists [were] approaching me to check on their nominations. Until now, I still experience the same thing when I’m being asked for a signature to nominate somebody or ...to sign a letter to nominate somebody. [laughs] *Maganon* [‘it’s like that’].

You, the reader, must appreciate the context of levity within this exchange between Almario and me. We both understood that self-nomination and craving is embarrassing

⁴⁴ Interview with Virgilio Almario, February 12, 2013, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

(or should be) for the self-promoter who is *walang hiya* (shameless, a *faux pas* in Philippine culture) by demonstrating such undignified arrogance. You must wait your turn, they tell me. The controversy around Arroyo’s insertion of four names is explained by this social distaste for selfishly “jumping the line” as some informants speculate that these non-vetted potential Awardees were doing just that.

Eligibility for the National Artist Award also includes “Artists who enjoy broad acceptance” through “prestigious national and/or international recognition, such as the *Gawad CCP para sa Sining*, CCP Thirteen Artist Award and (the) NCCA *Alab ng Haraya*” as well as “critical acclaim and/or reviews of their works” (National Commission for Culture and the Arts 2012). In fact, the *Gawad CCP para Sa Sining* (“CCP Award for Art”) is regarded as a significant proving ground for National Artist Award consideration.⁴⁵ In nomination materials for the National Artist Award, the list of previous honors spans as many pages as works performed and composed.

The Order of National Artist is conferred upon both the living and the dead. Those living must be Filipino citizens at the time of nomination. Posthumous awardees also must have been Filipino citizens at the time of death and must have died after the establishment of the award in 1972. I view this particular criterion for nomination as the strongest reflection of the Award’s Marcos-era origins – 1972 was the first year of the

⁴⁵ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines. In 1988, José Maceda and four others (Lino Brocka, Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero, Arturo Luz, Ramón Muzones) who received the *Gawad CCP* all became National Artists a few years later. These same individuals were conferred the Order of National Artists by President Fidel V. Ramos in 1997. In 1988, F. Sionil José also received the *Gawad CCP* and became a National Artist for Literature in 2001. José contends that he should have received the National Artist Award with the 1997 batch but his nomination was blocked due to professional and personal ill-will. Source: interview with F. Sionil José, September 11, 2013, at Solidaridad Bookstore, Ermita (Manila), Republic of the Philippines.

Award and the same year that Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law. Every National Artist, alive or deceased must have experienced the Martial Law era. National Artists are proclaimed by the Philippine president with rank and title. The National Artist (or the late National Artist's family) is given the medallion and citation by the President, usually in a formal ceremony at the CCP. Additionally, living Artists receive a cash award of PHP 100,000 (USD 2227). For posthumous awardees, heirs receive a one-time payment of PHP 75,000 for heirs (USD 1689).⁴⁶ Also, living Awardees are provided with a monthly life pension (undisclosed amounts), medical/hospital benefits, life insurance, and arrangements and expenses for a state funeral. For posthumous awardees as well as deceased Artists, the Philippine government reserves a special section of the National Cemetery.⁴⁷ Finally each National Artist is granted a place of honor at protocolar precedence, national state functions, and recognitions at cultural events.

The material benefits of the National Artist Award are a sensitive subject with my informants. Through disapproving side glances (and sometimes direct glares) during interviews, I have learned that any insinuation that someone may want the Award “for the money” is an insult. However, the financial aspects of this Award are worth considering when the economics of an artist's livelihood are discussed. Although many National

⁴⁶ According to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (2012), the cash award amounts are of greater monetary value at this time of this writing than in 2009: PHP 200,000 (USD 4571) for living awardees and a minimum cash award of PHP 150,000 (USD 3,430) for legal heirs of posthumous awardees. Also, for living awardees, a lifetime personal monthly stipend of PHP 30,000 (USD 686) was disclosed by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (2012). In this work, I refer to monetary values from the 2009 Award cycle as referenced in *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P.,10, and the Cultural Center of the Philippines (2006: 7).

⁴⁷ Consultation with archaeologist Andrea Malaya Ragragio and photographer Roel Flores, May 5, 2012, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines.

Artists are associated with a higher learning institution, some do not enjoy the benefits of a regular salary. During an interview with National Artist for Literature, F. Sionil José, he expressed that aside from this honor, the material award is crucial to his survival. I asked him about his immediate reactions upon learning he was nominated in 2000 and 2001.⁴⁸

José replied:

FJ: Frankly, I wasn't excited... it's not a question of pride or being blasé, because I'm not. What I like about the National Artist Award is not the honor that goes with it, but the emolument. Because, I'm not rich. I cannot say that I'm poor either because I'm not poor anymore... But what I like about it is I get free medical expenses. This is very important because I am diabetic. My wife will tell you how much money we spend every month just for medicine and my injections. The second is that, I get 30,000 pesos a month, which is more than 500 dollars. I mean, that isn't much by our own middle class standards

NM: But it does add up. It helps a little, *di ba* ['right']?

FJ: Oh, yes, yes. And, free hospitalization. [Smiles, laughs]. So I tell my wife, 'hey, you don't have to worry when I die, because the state will pay for my funeral.'

The honorarium (or “emolument” as referenced in NAA materials) associated with the award explains the irregular number of National Artists chosen during each semi-regular three-year cycle. Because of the NCCA's and CCP's limited budgets in leaner years, it is simply cheaper to give the award to the family of a posthumous awardee, since that payment is a one-time lump sum (PHP 75,000) instead of the larger one-time amount and monthly allowance provided to a living National Artist.⁴⁹ When discussing the politics of awarding the living versus the deceased with NAA expert panelist and dance scholar

⁴⁸ Interview with F. Sionil José, September 11, 2013, Solidaridad Bookstore, Ermita (Manila), Republic of the Philippines.

⁴⁹ Interview with Nicanor Tiongson, August 30, 2012, UP College of Mass Communications, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

Esteban Villaruz, he observed, “The budget limits how many people you can give an Award. It’s stacked against you if the budget isn’t there.”⁵⁰ He added further that it is sometimes difficult for posthumous heirs to obtain this sum and the amount is small, only a meager prize for a family who sacrificed for their spouse or parent’s work.

EV: It’s very hard to claim when it’s posthumous. And even me as I deliberate, I think only [PHP] 75,000? ‘My husband might have been an asshole, you know! [we laugh] And as a wife, I suffered because of that man! And you give me this [small amount] only!’ It’s only really a token.⁵¹

Villaruz suggested that the family of the posthumous recipient is shortchanged by this unequal amount of material appreciation. Villaruz, a veteran of a number of NAA deliberation cycles, provided an interesting viewpoint – one that I had not heard elsewhere. Instead of asking (as many have) *does the artist deserve the prize*, Villaruz asked *is the prize sufficient for the artist?* In consideration of these crucial factors – eligibility, benefits, and the everyday politics of personal and professional allegiances, I conclude with the end of the 2009 controversy, the Supreme Court decision that ended the schism and created precedence for further similar actions.

V. The 2009 Controversy Resolved (July 2013)

On July 16, 2013, the controversy came to an end when the Supreme Court of the Philippines decided that conferring the Order of National Artists upon the four artists added by President Arroyo was a “grave abuse of discretion” because it was “contrary to the Constitution, the law, or jurisprudence” and “executed whimsically, capriciously or

⁵⁰ Interview with Esteban Villaruz, September 20, 2012, UP College of Music Library, Abelardo Hall, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

⁵¹ Ibid.

arbitrarily, out of malice, ill will or personal bias.”⁵² Arroyo ignored the process established by earlier proclamations and the four Awards she conferred were nullified:

WHEREFORE, the petition is hereby **GRANTED** in **PART**.

Proclamation Nos. 1826 to 1829 dated July 6, 2009 proclaiming respondents Cecile Guidote-Alvarez, Carlo Magno José Caparas, Francisco Mañosa, and José Moreno, respectively, as National Artists are declared **INVALID** and **SET ASIDE** for having been issued with grave abuse of discretion [emphasis original].⁵³

Guidote-Alvarez, Caparas, Mañosa, and Moreno were, thus, not National Artists of the Philippines. The justices further explained that the President does not have the right to consider any artist for the Award if she or he has not passed the rigorous screening and deliberation process.⁵⁴ This judgment created precedence, preventing any future Philippine president from inserting names at a later date. Also, the three artists from the controversy who were chosen through deliberation (Conde, Francisco, and Alcuaz) would indeed be honored by the CCP and the NCCA on an undisclosed date. Per decision, these three were National Artists.

In the four-year period between the beginning of the controversy and the announcement of the Supreme Court decision (2009-2013), I spent nearly eighteen months in Quezon City, researching various aspects of the National Artist Award within the Maceda Collection and at the NCCA and CCP libraries. The Award drifted in a liminal space, with no new nominees until the 2009 controversy was settled. I considered the subject at length by attending more public forums, conducting formal interviews, and

⁵² *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

asking more questions at evening hangouts. By 2013, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo had finished her term and President Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino III (son of President Corazon Aquino) had been in office for three years. My transition from speaking formal educated “Book Filipino” to more colloquial *Taglish* was so profound, that people eventually ceased complementing me with the phrase, “*Malalim ang Tagalog mo*” [“your Filipino is deep”]. This eventual integration into my field site was evident when I asked friends and informants sensitive or difficult questions regarding the political nature of the NAA. They would answer “that’s how things are” “it’s *that way*” or “you know this already.” Within those conversations, I still don’t know if I ever discovered “how things are” except to speculate that anything described in this manner goes without saying because (1) it’s too complex to describe, (2) it shouldn’t be described, or (3) it’s impolite for me to ask for an explanation. The laughs that litter my interviews are an indicator that I’m moving in to a sensitive area. At some point, my own feelings about the Award changed. As I learned more about complexities of nomination and the dedication and sacrifice involved in serving on a committee, managing the award, or even submitting a name for consideration, I found Arroyo’s act to be distasteful and suspect. And, when I considered Ramón Santos’s career, his volumes of work, and his advocacy for music preservation as Center for Ethnomusicology director, I began to feel that Santos was short changed by President Arroyo.

However, my search for explanations for the unsaid dimensions of the 2009 controversy led me to deemphasize other viewpoints within this analysis. For instance, what about those who simply didn’t care about the National Artist Award, who denied its

importance, or felt it was only a leftover from the Marcos Era and deserving of no further consideration? I spent a great deal of time during that eighteen-month period listening to detractors who countered that the Award was worthless, tainted, and a relic of a bygone era (worth forgetting). I noticed fewer smiles and laughs during those discussions, but the explanations of the things that “I know already” were much more satisfying. I was never *bitin* after these conversations.

The court’s decision (like the original petition) was a surprise that seemed to fall out of the sky: the artist- and scholar-elites involved in the original petition didn’t really know when the decision would be reached. When I returned to Quezon City in late July 2013, I expected to encounter friends and informants anxious to discuss the resolution of the National Artist Award controversy. I was quite disappointed. No one, not even those most passionately outraged in 2009, was talking. It simply didn’t matter anymore. Discussions over coffee at Chocolate Kiss or beers at PCED centered around new topics: the seemingly endless scandals of the Arroyo administration (that outlived her term in office), discretionary funds abuse by Philippine elected officials, or a new Ministry of Art and Culture proposed by some of the same figures involved in the PCCA thirty years before. In four years, many had moved on to new problems, forgotten about the controversy, or were satisfied by the court’s decision. They were no longer *bitin*.

One aspect of the 2009 controversy still left me unsatisfied – Ramón Santos’s National Artist Award. The Supreme Court of the Philippines decided that:

It was well within the President’s power and discretion to proclaim all, or some or even none of the recommendees of the CCP and the NCCA Boards, without having to justify his or her action. Thus, the exclusion of Santos did not constitute grave abuse of discretion on the part of the former President.⁵⁵

The ruling declared that the Philippine president has the power to refuse any submitted name that passed the deliberation process. At that time, Ramón Santos was not a National Artist. Virgilio Almario told me that Santos would automatically be considered for final deliberations in the next round, which began the nomination cycle in 2012 but was stalled until the court decision.⁵⁶ I have a feeling that Dr. Santos will receive the National Artist Award in the near future. I hope so.

⁵⁵ *Almario vs. Executive Secretary*, R.P., 29

⁵⁶ Interview with Virgilio Almario, February 12, 2013, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

Chapter 2 – Remembering Maceda: *Ugnayan* 1974 and Ugnayan Fest 2010

National Artist José Maceda composed *Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations* (1974) for the Philippine masses during the martial law regime of Ferdinand Marcos. *Ugnayan* was an ambitious composition during which ordinary Filipina/o citizens joined their neighbors in public gatherings to hear the composition broadcast over different stations via transistor radios. Maceda created *Ugnayan* with the explicit support of First Lady Imelda Marcos, a controversial figure and eccentric supporter of Philippine national arts during the time of the Marcos presidency and dictatorship. Nearly forty years after the original performance of this large-scale work, composers and scholars at the University of the Philippines (UP) reassessed both its social and musical impact at Ugnayan Fest 2010, a series of conferences and concerts celebrating the work of José Maceda. Ugnayan Fest 2010 also featured a smaller scale version of the original *Ugnayan*, broadcast on twenty radio stations on the UP campus. In this chapter, I describe my preconceptions upon attending Ugnayan Fest 2010, my change in perspective during the course of the conferences and concerts, and the ways in which both Maceda and the Marcos-era nationalist arts have been historicized in the present. Through interviews with participants of both the 1974 and 2010 performances of *Ugnayan* and archival work at the José Maceda Collection, I illustrate the complexities of reevaluating a work so closely tied to the early Martial Law era. But first, I begin with a brief prologue describing my field site (the University of Philippines Diliman) and the types of daily encounters that inform my research.

I. Prologue: Meeting Irene (February 2011)

“By the way, you know I’m the daughter of Imelda Marcos, right?” she said and peered down at me with a face I can’t quite remove from my memory.¹

During my field research around UP, I found it a challenge to understand the modern memory of the Martial Law era (1972-1986) or the presidency and dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. On some occasions, the name “Marcos” popped up nonchalantly in everyday conversation – “Oh, you know, we were at *x* last Friday and Imelda was there, chatting up everyone and being *herself*.”² Other times, simply mentioning the name “Marcos” led to a tense moment followed by a pregnant pause then a polite (yet obvious) shift to a different topic. I heard a number of stories: from a retired presidential bodyguard, from a jailed activist who was part of the First Quarter Storm movement, or from a woman named “Imelda” (a name shared by many women born in the late 1960s). Some of my friends are too young to have any firsthand knowledge of the Martial Law era. Others remember times before, the changes that occurred during, and the lasting impression it left on society. Those most vocal about this time period are between the ages of forty and fifty years old. They directly experienced the Martial Law era during

¹ I did not request formal permission from Irene Marcos-Araneta to recount our conversation.

² “Imelda being herself” can be interpreted a number of ways since, among my informants, Imelda Marcos is an eccentric larger-than-life character. First, she is famous for attending public functions (big and small) and “working the room” with her legendary charisma and charm. Secondly, Marcos is a consummate performer of *palabas* as described by Balance. *Palabas* is “bringing forth a version of one’s feelings in order to elicit an equally emotional response” (2010: 124). Imelda Marcos employed this tactic by singing local songs at Ferdinand Marcos’s campaign stops in order to generate enthusiasm or weeping publicly during media coverage of her racketeering trials in 1991 and 1992 in order to generate sympathy (ibid 127-128).

their childhood and saw the changes in daily life as they matured. Nearly everyone I know was affected in some way.

A second challenge for me (a product of the working class Southern United States) was the serendipitous meeting of well-known scholars and artists on the UP campus. I knew their names from books but I had never seen their faces. On one occasion, I encountered a friend and her mentor at PCED where they invited me to join them until my group arrived. Then, her mentor (who I had not met previously) and I had a lively thirty meeting exchange about our mutual affinity for German beer and the difficulty of finding it in Manila. I learned only afterwards that the man she introduced only as her “mentor” was leading Philippine scholar E. San Juan Jr.³ The next day, I chided my friend, “If you would’ve told me he was E. San Juan, I could’ve been asking him a million questions about his writing – not having him list the best draft houses in Manila!”

Meeting Irene Marcos-Araneta was a culmination of both of these frustrations. When I learned of her identity, she and I had already spent twenty minutes chatting about José Maceda and other figures in Marcos-era music. We were standing outside of Palma Hall on the UP Campus after attending a *Binalot Talk* at the Archeological Studies Program (ASP). *Binalot Talks* are a weekly semi-formal brown-bag presentation of work-in-progress by archeology graduate students and anyone else with similar interests. I was invited by the ASP Chair, who guaranteed me that I would appreciate the eclectic variety

³ Epifanio San Juan Jr. is a leading Filipino literary academic, civic intellectual, activist, writer, essayist, filmmaker, editor, and poet. See San Juan (1986, 1992).

of topics. Scholars from outside and inside the Humanities and Social Sciences are invited to participate in this supportive forum. On this particular occasion, the attending crowd of approximately forty graduate students, professors, and alumni from across the campus was listening to Jack Medrana, an ASP lecturer, present his research on a recent trip to France where he observed the intersection between Cultural Heritage Preservation and archeological concerns.⁴

When the talk was over, the crowd slowly eased out of the room, chatted, and congratulated Medrana on a well-done presentation. On my way to the door, the ASP director, called in my direction and halted my exit: “Hey Neal! Come here. This is Irene – you guys should meet each other.” He introduced Irene as a former student at the UP College of Music in the 1970s. He told me that she would be interested to hear about my research. She was a lovely woman somewhere between the age of forty and sixty-five (I have learned to stop guessing ages in the Philippines), about my height, dressed smartly casual. She had finely cropped salt-and-pepper hair and a smile that never seemed to fade from her face. While the rest of the crowd moved toward the smoking area outside of the Palma Hall basement, Irene and I walked slowly out of the ASP office as she described her time as a student of José Maceda. However, she told me, she was closer to Maceda’s contemporary, composer Lucrecia Kasilag. Irene also shared that she attended the Makati *Ugnayan* performance in 1974. She listed various scholars, musicians, and UP alumni that I should contact and possibly interview. We knew some of the same people and with

⁴ “Presenting Heritage Lessons from the Cultural Attractions of France,” by Jack Medrana, February 2, 2011, Palma Hall, Archeological Studies Program, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City.

each acknowledgement of familiarity, the conversation got deeper into the potential politics of my research.

As we meandered outside and continued our conversation, I became curious. It seemed like we were familiar with the same professional circles, but I had never heard of anyone named Irene. Who was she? A music professor I had not yet met? A performer? So I asked, “Ms. Irene, you were here in the 1970s and you studied at the College of Music. What do you do now? Are you still involved with the University?” She paused, smiled with her eyes, and said, “Oh...I really don’t *do* anything,” then politely laughed. I laughed too, because she laughed. Why were we laughing?

She proceeded to tell me that she “keeps herself busy” with charity work, a youth symphony, and a youth choir. As we reached the exterior of Palma Hall and the potential end of our conversation, I said, “You know, Ms. Irene, it was so nice to meet you. Listen, I’m interviewing quite a few people who were associated with Maceda, De Leon and other National Artists for Music. I would love to hear more about your relationship with Tita King [Lucrecia Kasilag]. Could I have your email address so we could possibly set up an interview sometime?” She took a small notebook out of her handbag and started writing. She paused, turned her slightly, then stamped out any confusion in my mind regarding her identity

“By the way, you know I’m the daughter of Imelda Marcos, right?”

The utterance of the name changed the terms of the exchange: Irene Marcos-Araneta, she wrote on the paper. Yes, her face was the face of both Imelda and Ferdinand Marcos. I had seen that face before.

I tried to recover from my surprise but I know she saw my facial expression. I blurted out the first thing that came to my mind – some human need to find familiarity between two people of obvious political difference, “Oh...yes...I...I saw your brother on television the other day. He’s back in politics, right? And your mother, the First Lady, she’s a senator now...”⁵ Tripping on words, trying to form a sentence...I was thinking (but not saying aloud), yes, your brother is a congressman and mine is a loan reconciliation officer for a bank. Your mother was the First Lady and my mother was a housekeeper. I composed myself.

She replied, still smiling, “Yes, my brother and my mother are both very busy these days...” I was immediately embarrassed, wondering if my expression of shock might have offended her. Surely, I wasn’t the first person to react in this manner.

Immediately, all those things about the Martial Law era – the corruption, the silences, and the people who simply *disappeared* – flooded my thoughts. Yet the conversation continued amicably for the next few minutes. I noticed that the assembled crowd of smokers outside Palma Hall had slowed their conversation and were watching the exchange between Irene and me. A couple of them were smiling – they knew that I didn’t know who she was and they were having a laugh at my expense.

A big black SUV pulled up and parked near where we were standing – in a place marked “No Parking.” A large intimidating-looking man in a powder-blue *polo barong* was in the driver’s seat and another equally large and equally intimidating-looking man

⁵ Irene’s sister, Imee Marcos, has been governor of Ilocos Norte since 2010.

in a similar outfit was exiting through the passenger side.⁶ He casually opened the rear door and waited for Irene to enter.

Irene and I continued chatting as she walked over to the car. She told me it was a pleasure to talk to me. Then, as she climbed into the back seat of the SUV, she said, “Neal, are you going back to the College of Music? I’m passing right by there. You want a ride?”

“Ah...Oh, no thank you, ma’am” I said, stammering. “I...I’m going *that* way to... another building. Over there.” I pointed in the opposite direction – the direction that *was not* the direction of the College of Music.

The big black SUV drove away from Palma Hall as I looked back every few steps to see if it was out of sight. Then, once it was gone, I turned around and walked slowly to the College of Music, hoping that I wouldn’t run into that SUV again.

II. Composer José Maceda

Ugnayan was originally performed on New Year’s Day in 1974 under the auspices of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) and Imelda Marcos. Composer José Maceda envisioned *Ugnayan* as both a challenge to Western art music composition and as a unifying populist musical expression. José Montserrat Maceda (1917-2004) was a composer, performer, and ethnomusicologist. Maceda trained in Europe, the United States, and the Philippines. Within his engagement with the avant-garde music of Edgard Varèse, Iannis Xenakis, Maceda was searching for a medium of art music composition to

⁶ The *polo barong* is the short-sleeved linen version of the *barong tagalog* (embroidered formal shirt made of silk or other fine fabrics). The polo barong is the least formal version of this shirt and is standard office and professional wear. It is common for bodyguards to wear the powder-blue polo barong while on duty.

represent the Philippine nation. He believed the work of Varése and Xenakis transcended the constraints of a Western musical-ideological framework (Tenzer 2003). The same year, Maceda completed his dissertation in Ethnomusicology at UCLA (Maceda 1963), he premiered his first large-scale avant-garde composition for voice and Asian musical instruments, *Ugma-ugma* (“Structures” 1963), a performance that realized his early vision of using native taxonomic timbral interaction to reflect diverse Filipina/o conceptions of music. Upon researching the music of the Maguindanao and other indigenous groups of the Philippine islands, Maceda was interested in how instruments and sounds interacted and posited within his scholarship that their timbral arrangement was a unifying concept in Filipina/o music making (Tenzer 2003: 100; Kasilag 2009).

According to leading Maceda interpreter, Ramón Santos (2005), Maceda was firmly entrenched in musical ideas resulting from his fieldwork and his exposure to the musical avant-garde when he began composing in 1963. Maceda scored *Ugma-Ugma* for a number of Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian instruments (rattle/scrapper, voice, carabao horn, whistle, sho, bells, clapper, buzzer, tubes, mouth harp, pai pan, bamboo sticks, gabbang, kunitan, gender, agung, gandingan, and komodan). The combination of these defined-pitch, undefined-pitch, variably-pitched and single attack instruments offered a wider spectrum of sonic events. It was a human expression of *musique concrete* without the electronic component (Santos 2005: 129-136). Maceda continued in this fashion with *Agungun (Gong Sounds for Six Gong Families)* in 1966 and *Kubing (Music for Bamboo Percussion and Men’s Voices)* in 1968. Between this work and other compositions, Maceda was attempting to free avant-garde musical

practices from their European forbearers.

Ugnayan reflected Maceda's next creative development of using recorded sound and spatial dispersion. Santos described this as the culmination of ideas from two earlier compositions, *Pagsamba* and *Cassettes 100*. *Pagsamba (Ritual)* was performed in 1968 by 241 musicians spatially dispersed around a concert hall, drawing again from the work of Xenakis. Santos wrote: "...where Xenakis created various levels of sonic space through mathematical theorems, Maceda was able to produce poly-dimensional sound spectra through creative manipulation of the natural ambiguities existing between speech and song in local languages, layering and segmenting themes interlocking events in time" (2005: 138). Maceda's experimentation with overlapping timbral interaction and density was further explored in his 1971 composition, *Cassettes 100 (Study In Sound: Sound in Various Densities, Dispersions, and Concentrations)*. The performers walked around the lobby of the CCP with cassette tape recorders of gongs, zithers, and other native Filipina/o instruments. Santos wrote: "Although the general public reaction was highly mixed, Maceda was greatly encouraged by the result of his experiment, which, in contrast to the sedentary location of the sound sources in *Pagsamba*, was able to create unpredictable dispersions of sounds through the planned and unplanned movement of people" (Santos 2005: 141). This idea of "mixed public reaction" has been repeated by Santos and others in interviews: the performers and other organizers describe these events as exciting and full of possibilities. The audiences, so accustomed to the ideology of Western music, were unsure how to receive the performances.

One of my larger concerns is how Maceda, his colleagues, and his biographers

retrospectively chronicle his career, placing events and accomplishments within a particular teleology. Maceda was aware of the power of historiography and public perception as a means to the end of bringing attention to his endeavors. For instance, after an announcer mentions Maceda in any given public space, it is usually preceded or followed by his state designation: “National Artist for Music.” In 1992, José Maceda received this honor but was ambivalent about the award.⁷ However, he appreciated the attention it drew to the Center for Ethnomusicology. Within this framework, research on José Maceda is quite challenging: within the literal archive of achievements and lists of awards, I attempt to reconcile the repertoire of asides, actions and opinions that he shared with colleagues (Taylor 2003).

It is worth noting general observations about the historicization of Maceda’s compositions in the context of scholarly discussions of Philippine nationalist music. First, Santos (2005) impresses upon the reader the seemingly backward progression of Maceda’s work. In Maceda’s earlier compositions, he uses *musique concrete* ideas on acoustic instruments. Only after exploring their capabilities on live instruments does he return to the idea of recording the sounds, as in *Cassettes 100* and, later, *Ugnayan*. Ramón Santos, a colleague of Maceda’s and the leading interpreter of Maceda’s music, suggested that Maceda was not progressing backwards, but rather improving upon the Western model. In his 2005 article and again during his speech at Ugnayan Fest 2010,

⁷ A few informants have hinted that José Maceda was more concerned about preserving his collection at the Center for Ethnomusicology and creating new music than receiving formal recognition from the Philippine state. While his name is always preceded by the “National Artist for Music” designation and his plaque has been placed prominently at the Center, I posit that this is a commemorative act by others rather than the will of Maceda himself.

Santos framed Maceda as the pioneer, not the imitator or the product of Western European high modernism. He valorized Maceda's use of native or "nativist" concepts and instrumentation as the beginning of Filipina/o art music.

I pause to mention briefly my use of the word "nativist" and the assumptions tied to it. Regarding late 1960s Filipino/a nationalist music, Christi-Anne Castro wrote:

The nativist movement urged artists to look to indigenous materials rather than aspects of culture borrowed from the west as well as to not confine Filipino culture to that created by art specialists. Nativism...manifested itself in various ways after the Philippines became a republic. While nationalism was geared towards the elevation of the Filipino as distinct from other national designations, nativism had a more internal focus (Castro 1999: 140).

Much of this nativist activity entailed inserting a Filipino art identity based on minority peoples whose values were "more pristine" than those urbanites who had been "converted" by the West, or using these minority arts as a "pool of source material." (ibid). I read ambivalence in these compositions: Maceda uses the sounds to represent the constructed Filipino in music, but the *musique concrete* trend of using sounds as empty signifiers robs the sounds of their "native" value (Emmerson and Smalley 2014). The sounds simultaneously represent presence within and absence from the constructed Philippine nation. In one sense, the very presence of native instrumentation compels the listener to place them in the nation, of the nation, and within a newly formed canon of Filipina/o sounds. In another sense, Maceda removes the sounds from local performance and uses them purely for their sonic value in the tradition of *musique concrete*, where sounds are used in any fashion or combination the composer chooses independently of original context. On such practices in the work of composers such as neo-Orientalist Tan Dun, music historian John Corbett wrote that this is a particular form of Orientalism

where the sounds of the Other (in this case, constructed native expressions of the Philippines) are re-mapped back onto the subject. “Orientalism is reflected back-and-forth like a musical *mise-en-abyme*” (Corbett 2000: 180).” I disagree that this “back-and-forth” is as simple as Corbett explained. Maceda was not of the culture he was borrowing from – he was an ethnomusicologist and composer from the academic elite who saw the music of Filipina/o *others* as both a bottomless well of musical ideas and a sonic symbol of the essentialized Filipina/o.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, José Maceda’s career as both an ethnomusicologist and composer blossomed with the performance of daring large-scale works (the likes of which had never head before in the Philippines) and the increasing political and financial means to perform ethnographic work on the music of the Philippine archipelago. During this perfect storm of scholarly and musical achievement, Philippine society was entering the tumultuous Marcos era, with first, the election of Ferdinand Marcos in 1969, and then, his declaration of Martial Law in 1972. Both Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos supported grand artistic projects that celebrated their New Society. It wasn’t long before they noticed the work of Maceda through their various networks of influence among the academic and artistic elite.

III. *Ugnayan* (1974)

During the 1973 *Pasko* (Christmas) season, many residents of Makati received the following letter:

San Lorenzo Barrio Council;
#37 Juan Luna St. SLV,
Makati Rizal.
Dec 29, 1973.

Dear Barrio Residents,

The Cultural Center of the Philippines in association with the government and private institutions has the pleasure to invite you to the world premier [sic] of a unique socio-musical presentation UGNAYAN, a simultaneous broadcast by 20 radio stations, each playing one instrument of an orchestra, performing a musical composition prepared for this occasion. The 20 stations heard simultaneously over 20 loudspeakers will blend in to a symphony to be heard on January 1, 1974 at the Roxas Triangle, Makati Avenue. The Program will start at 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. while the actual broadcast will start at 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

(sgd) Victor A. Lim, Barrio Captain.⁸

Versions of a similar letter were sent to the residents of five cities of Metro Manila as well as the provinces of Rizal, Bulacan, Pampanga, Laguna, Bataan, and Cavite. Families were encouraged, urged, persuaded (and in some cases, forced) to attend the first performance of *Ugnayan*. The listeners were located in Southern and Western Luzon, but the “orchestra” they were hearing was comprised of instruments indigenous to the entire Philippine archipelago.

By 1973, José Maceda’s earlier attempts at spatial experimentation in music drew the attention of Lucrecia Kasilag, then head of the CCP. The CCP was the brainchild of First Lady, Imelda Marcos, who began planning its construction while her husband Ferdinand Marcos was still President of the Senate. In her 1999 dissertation, Castro wrote: “[Imelda Marcos] envisioned the Center to be a showcase of Filipino artistic expression and a landmark of architectural beauty that would foster the arts of present day and preserve the heritage of the past” (Castro 1999: 102). Castro described the

⁸ José Maceda Collection, Center for Ethnomusicology, University of the Philippines Diliman, accessed March 24, 2011.

controversial history of the CCP and the different motivations of Imelda as Ferdinand's secret weapon (Castro 1999: 103). While Ferdinand legitimated his authority through force, Imelda manipulated symbols of minority indigenous peoples and reified "the Filipino" to enact ideological violence on the Philippine people.

Upon declaring martial law in the Philippines in 1972, Ferdinand Marcos nationalized all privately-own radio stations and placed them under the control of the his press secretary and his secretary of national defense after suggesting that broadcast voices were to blame for his manufactured crisis regime. In *Radyo: An Essay on Philippine Radio* (2003), media historian Elizabeth Enriquez wrote, "...Ferdinand Marcos accused, among others, the vociferous radio commentators who were critical of his administration, of supporting the insurgency and of destabilizing the government" (30). He allowed some operators to resume programming shortly after this. However, the public was aware that these stations were controlled by those with close ties to his administrations, such as the brother of Imelda Marcos, Benjamin Romualdez (Enriquez 2003: 30).

Imelda Marcos's support for the public broadcast of *Ugnayan* over the radio is thus no neutral gesture. She ordered then-nationalized radio stations to broadcast Maceda's composition, featuring the recorded sounds of indigenous voices and instruments on twenty separate tracks. The Marcoses and the national media encouraged ordinary citizens to assemble in town centers with their transistor radios in order to experience authentic Filipino culture in the form of nativized instrumentation from various spatial distances. Metropolitan Manila newspapers featured announcements that beckoned the listener to "Rediscover...the sounds of our ethnic musical instruments."

During a time when evening curfews were strictly enforced, public gatherings were discouraged, and anti-government rhetoric was silenced, the citizen was encouraged by the First Lady herself to join their nation-mates in a constructed public act of unity.

I imagine two clashing sets of expectations about *Ugnayan*.⁹ Maceda planned for this work, like his others, to be an experiment in overlapping timbral interaction. The involvement of uninformed, “everyday” listeners with little instruction on this native music was not necessarily a consideration for his composition. I have found no evidence that he envisioned this work as a social movement for the masses. This explains the complexity of conflicting and competing conceived outcomes of the performance. Imelda Marcos was not necessarily involved in the artistic or creative side – the spatial concerns of the work were secondary to the cultural experience she planned for her subjects. The medium of reception for her subjects, the transistor radio, was a relatively inexpensive form of technology, ubiquitous in early 1970s Manila. Jonathan Sterne describes the place of radio within the home as a focal point of domestic life (2003: 208). Imelda Marcos attempted to thus unite the nation by applying (forcing) this domesticity upon them in the unfriendly public arena.

Getting the citizen out of the house and into the public, they joined and, thus, created the crowd that historian Vicente Rafael described in “The Cell Phone and the Crowd” (2003). Rafael asserted that the subject assumes a particular kind of anonymity

⁹ *Ugnayan* was originally conceived by José Maceda under a different name, *Atmospheres*. “*Ugnayan*” (meaning “interconnection” or “interlocking”) was suggested by an unnamed contributor (presumably, associated with the Marcoses or the CCP) during the planning phase. The change in name reflects the transformation of this work from a performance designed by Maceda to a demonstration of national unity as envisioned by the Marcoses.

within the crowd. It does not erase class difference, but it does obscure the individual.

Rafael wrote:

The sense one gets from moving in and through crowds is of a relentless and indeterminable mixing of social groups. This pervasive sense of social mixing contrasts sharply with the class-based and linguistic hierarchies that govern political structures and social relations in middle-class homes, schools, churches, and other urban spaces (2003: 414).

The individual dissolves within the crowd. The participants of *Ugnayan* within this crowd are simultaneously thrown into an un-grouped mass and temporarily unaware of each other's "place" in the social structure. The myth of class absence, so prevalent in Filipina/o identity construction is simultaneously present and hidden. The telecommunicative fantasy as described by Rafael is based on the assumption that the voiceless individual could speak to the oppressive power structure. In *Ugnayan*, the same music is broadcasted toward the mass, yet the listener is able to interpret it individually (each person hearing a different combination of sounds simultaneously). By participating in *Ugnayan*, the listener is simultaneously anonymous, inscribed in a social hierarchy, yet receiving an individualized message (depending upon where she is standing and which way her head is facing).

IV. Ugnayan Fest 2010 and *Ugnayan* 2010

Thirty-five years after the original broadcast, I attended Ugnayan Fest 2010 on the UP campus, sponsored by the Center for Ethnomusicology. This conference and concert series opened on February 1, 2010, with a scholarly presentation by Ramón Santos. In his presentation, "Ugnayan – Society and Power as Music Composition," Santos described the original genesis for *Ugnayan*, the factors of composition (especially the concept of

music and environment), and the original public reaction 1974 broadcast. In this speech and in the question-and-answer section following, Santos directly addressed the fraught nature of *Ugnayan* 1974's original support by Imelda Marcos. He said,

The involvement of peoples and communities harnessed the collective participation and energy of many individuals in the process of creating and producing a unique environment of both sound and human...as a potentially effective instrument in the martial rule of the regime of Ferdinand Marcos which gave it's all out support through the immediate patronage of the then First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos. [*Ugnayan*] became a flagship project in her thrust to cultivate culture and the arts as part of the campaign to mitigate the impact of the authoritarian rule (Santos 2010).

I was surprised by this admission. Before then, I wasn't sure whether the political nature of the piece (or the support of the Marcoses) would be discussed. Furthermore, central to Santos's presentation was the possibility of salvaging anything from a piece of music that was used as a propaganda tool for an oppressive regime. He posed the question: "Would [*Ugnayan*] have been possible without the mechanism of the martial law regime?"

After Santos's presentation, a number of audience members (UP faculty and visitors) shared their individual recollections and opinions on the performance. Jonas Baes (festival organizer and student of Maceda) decried the entire original performance as an enforcement of *barangay*-style political violence on the citizens. "*Barangay*" means "township" and reflects a type of polity found in some areas of lowland Luzon, but not everywhere in the Philippines. Baes was criticizing the style of governance in which Marcos organized rural areas into townships for easier governance, imposing the values of one area of the Philippines onto others. Baes told us that the audience that he was in high school during the original performance. His brother, a protest singer, was in prison and his family saw *Ugnayan* as "another political ploy from the Marcoses." Baes

continued that he was surprised to learn the creator would be his teacher when he began university as music major. “It was funny that when I came to the College of Music [as an undergraduate], the composer of *Ugnayan* was the most revered teacher.” Baes, a composer and ethnographer, argued that he valued the music of *Ugnayan* (divorced from its original subject). With a smile, he warned us, “Just wait to hear the voices later today – then you’ll know what *Ugnayan* is about.” Until that point, I thought that *Ugnayan* only featured instruments – apparently voices appeared on the broadcast. Another faculty member remembers fondly that her parents dragged her to the town center as a child to hear the performance. She was a Western-trained musician and had no idea *what* she was supposed to be experiencing, yet her parents were stalwart in their belief that she was experiencing *something* Filipina/o. The audience and commentators were ambivalent about the meanings of the original performance but did agree that there was artistic merit in this work.

I spent the remainder of the first day of Ugnayan Fest 2010 with associates from the Center for Ethnomusicology. That evening, *Ugnayan* would be broadcasted on twenty different radio stations but only accessible on the UP Campus around the Carillon Plaza, a miniature version of the original 1974 performance. Listeners were instructed to bring boom boxes (portable radios) to hear this broadcast. The technical and administrative staff from the Center, who ordinarily spend their days digitizing files in the José Maceda Collection, were setting up sound equipment in preparation for the concert. Under the carillon, David Guadalupe was tending a table with a computer, a large multi-channel soundboard, and multiple boom boxes (with bags of nine-volt batteries). He was flanked

on all sides by other Center workers. He graciously answered all of my many technical questions about how the large-scale *Ugnayan* would be adapted for the smaller-scale performance. Upon my arrival, David informed me that the staff from the School of Engineering had not yet arrived to provide the small radio transmitters. He told me that they were “cheating” and had no official permission to use the radio airwaves. But, when asked, the Communications Bureau suggested that it was possible to broadcast on the smaller, unused frequencies in-between the more powerful, metro Manila FM stations. David and the Center engineers had transferred Maceda’s twenty-track analog recording to a digital format generated by a computer for the performance. The medium of listening would be different in the 2010 performance (modern portable stereos rather noisy unreliable transistor radios).

After Santos’s presentation, I quickly returned to the Carillon Plaza (a few steps away from Abelardo hall) to hear and see the soundcheck before the general public arrived there later. David recorded himself saying the numerical designation of each track. Upon my return, the staff finished placing the boom boxes in the shadow of carillon. A large metal box with cables running to the soundboard and the computer housed the radio antennae. They began the sound check by broadcasting David’s recorded voice to the boom boxes in front of us: the test pattern of David speaking the word “one” was generated on track 1 through channel 1 and broadcasted on the FM frequency 91.9 (designated “station one”). During the sound check, as all twenty radio stations were broadcasting the test signal with slight delays, I heard a composite number, “twelvnineTEENteentwoWAN.... twelvnineTEENteentwoWAN....

twelvnineTEENteentwoWAN....”

After the sound check was completed, I helped David by collecting the carefully-placed boom boxes as a group of students prepared for the first piece to be played that evening, “*Likasan*,” (“Exodus”), a composition by Ramón Santos for non-conventional instruments, musicians, and non-musicians featuring six carpenters hammering nails on prepared wood slots, four kantawayan (suspended gongs), four hanging metal scraps, four transistor radios, four gamelan gongs, six bamboo whistles and three whistle tubes (swung in the air by three performers). It was a comment on modernity: hammering sounds, metal scratching, and intervening human voices in a somewhat melodious mixture. The musicians remained in their place as the crowd assembled around the Carillon Tower at 6:00 p.m. when Jonas Baes took to the microphone to announce the concert was beginning.

I recognized faces from the *Ugnayan* forum at the concert. It looked like everyone from Santos’s talk stayed for the performance. We were joined by seniors, adults, teens, and parents with small children. They brought strollers, folding chairs, and picnic blankets. The attendees were most likely the families that lived on the UP campus (which has many residential areas for faculty and staff). Children and teens were in school uniforms and many of the college-aged people arrived with one (or two) boom boxes. Baes welcomed everyone and asked them to please wait for the performance of *Likasan* to finish and he would help all those wishing to participate in *Ugnayan* to register their boom boxes so he could assign them a station.

Most of the nearly 300 folding chairs surrounding the Carillon Tower were filled,

so I crouched next to José Buenconsejo, a former student of Maceda's and professor at the UP College of Music. He missed the forum and I was quickly filling him in on the highlights of Santos's presentation when one of his students walked up to us and offered me a chair. Santos's *Likasan* began with the precise tapping of the musician-carpenters on their planks of wood. Twelve minutes into the performance, we were startled by the sound of carillon bells which came from above. Specifically for this performance, Santos had written a new part for the work that included the bells from the carillon tower behind the performers. It surprised all of us, overpowering the sound of the instruments, suggesting a greater wave of influence over the jagged crashing and whistling sounds; the bourgeoisie crashing over the proletariat; the voice of a greater power over the din of machinery and *progress*. The voice of Maceda himself?

After thunderous applause from the audience and a bow by the conductor and the musicians, Santos waved to the crowd, rolled up his sleeves, turned around and walked back to the computer console where David and the other engineers prepared for *Ugnayan*. Baes took the floor and announced to the stationary audience, "it's okay to move around now!" with a laugh. He directed all those with boomboxes who wished to participate in *Ugnayan* to a desk where they would be assigned a radio frequency to ensure equal distribution of all the tracks of the work. The din of conversation began to grow louder with laughter and *tsimis* (gossip) against the sound of radios whizzing past talk and music and static.

No one announced that *Ugnayan* was beginning. It was close to 7:00 PM and the sky was darkening. Prepared for this event by their instructors and the announcements

that decorated the College of Music and the College of Mass Communication, the UP students were the first to take action, walking around with their radios. Slowly, we in the audience stood and began to move, each of us taking a cue from the others we saw. It was very casual and friendly. Some were having trouble with their boom boxes – the volume was too low. Baes stopped the proceedings and announced on the microphone with a smile, “We have a bit of a technical glitch. We’re gonna set up and try this again.” Many of us were still shaking hands, introducing or re-introducing ourselves to each other, sharing looks of familiarity between old and new friends. José Maceda’s daughter, Marion Maceda Villanueva, was there – the family resemblance was stunning! A few members of the audience left as the sky grew darker. There was no hint of disappointment, just cordial good-byes and hugs as the sound of conversations grew quieter.

After two more false starts, *Ugnayan* began properly around 8:30 PM.¹⁰ Only a handful of stage lights were still on and the crowd moved cautiously around the circle guided only by the lights of the boom boxes. Some stopped to listen to the broadcast of each radio; looped sounds of the *agung* (suspended brass gong from Mindanao), the short phrases of the *kolitong* (tuned zither of the Kalinga people of Northern Luzon), the clanking *bangibang* (percussive wooden bar of the Ifugaos), the piercing high pitches of the *ongiyong* (Ifugao whistle flute), and the low ominous sound of the *kawayang bungbung* (bass bamboo horn from Pangasinan). Most of us traveled slowly around the

¹⁰ See Appendix D – Listening Chart for José Maceda’s *Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations (1974)* for a detailed description of the sound of this composition.

circle, doing more talking than listening. The movement felt organic; no one seemed rushed or anxious. A few people stood and held entire conversations, hearing sounds from a different boom box in each ear. Santos moved from person to person and radio to radio with a smile and spring in his step. A group of six college students UP lounged around one radio at the edge of the circle. Some of them were listening, some of them were talking; two of them were snuggling each other while another was giggling at their open display of affection. I wondered if this was the original social interaction that the creators intended – the *kaugnayan* (“interconnection”) of casually experiencing music together.

During my stroll around the *Ugnayan* circle, I was fascinated by the sounds in multiple combinations. I prepared myself to be as objective as possible for this experience, but continuously checked and re-checked my love for gadgets and high-concept technological presentation. This performance seduced me in both respects and I’m re-checking once again as I write these words. As a pure musicking experience, I was *blown away* by the ingenuity of the composition and the effects on the listener (me). The interaction of the different instruments (and the distance) between sound sources was intriguing, head spinning, double-taking: “Where did that sound come from?” Each time I turned my head slightly I heard a different combination of instruments and patterns from the boom boxes interacting with the sounds of stepping, shuffling, and conversations from the other participants. After my third time through I was halted by a sound that seemed to come out of nowhere, from one radio, then the next, then the next: humans singing “yaaaaaa,” introduced by the *agung* gongs. These were the voices that Jonas Baes

told us to listen for! They sang a swooping pattern that seemed to rise out of nowhere. The voices from one radio were singing a similar pattern as the voices from the other. I turned around to see reactions of pleasant surprise and awe from the other listener/performers. José Maceda's son-in-law was next to me. He looked at me or no one in particular and quietly said, "wow." The sounds of recorded voices were slowly overtaken by instruments again.

Twenty minutes later, the music stopped. I don't think anyone noticed as it softly faded into the din of conversation. Baes took the microphone and announced to the crowd, jokingly: "It's over...Now let's do it again!" We gradually dispersed as a few congratulatory hugs were passed between the staff members of the Center for Ethnomusicology.

The crowd that day was audience and performer, listener and participant. But why re-perform *Ugnayan*? The original performance of *Ugnayan* in 1974 was a mass social act, dependent upon the participation by ordinary Filipinas and Filipinos. Their role as envisioned by Maceda was to hear the sounds of native instruments in over four hundred possible combinations at any time during the one hour broadcast. According to the newspaper announcements from the CCP, the role of the listener/participant was to *experience* the sounds of the Philippines and discover a forgotten precolonial history. By various means, the residents were urged (and according to one commentator, bullied by the barangay captain) to assemble with their radios and to listen. They may or may not have heard what Maceda intended once they assembled. Although Maceda never guaranteed an experience of Filipina/o-ness for the listener, he was still complicit in the

government's corralling these participants into the public space. Following this logic, we (the crowd and I at *Ugnayan* 2010) were all complicit in this same idea during the re-performance.

Santos, Baes, and the other commentators during the "Ugnayan Forum" came back the point repeatedly that many people didn't "get" (understand) the original *Ugnayan* – that the intellectual nature of the enterprise was lost on the everyday participant even if the gesture was appreciated. I assert that this is an attempt to excuse the original performance and to separate it from the original intentions by Marcos and CCP as a propaganda tool. According to this logic, if the dictator's efforts were ineffectual, then the dictator failed (but the music succeeded). By re-performing *Ugnayan* in a different context, not under the duress of an oppressive government but of our own free will, we were separating Maceda from Marcos. However, the re-performance was only realized through a different set of power relations in the academic setting.

Ugnayan 2010 was both a way to forget and a way to remember. By confronting the political nature of *Ugnayan* 1974 on the first day of the festival, Santos acknowledged the fraught circumstances of its inception. *Ugnayan* 2010, the only successful restaging of Maceda's 1974 composition (on a smaller scale) is similar to staged revivals of World War II avant-garde theatre in the 1970s and 1980s.¹¹ Of this practice, theatre scholar Branislav Jokovljević (2011) recounts that Russian Constructionist and German Expressionist works were reconstructed with hopes that the potential of the original

¹¹ On other occasions, Maceda restaged *Ugnayan* in indoor venues and broadcasted through multiple stationary speakers.

performance was preserved., but most (or all) reconstructions were performed only once with mixed results (50, 52). Where the aforementioned performance scholars attempted to capture the original intent of the performed works (and failed), the presenters of *Ugnayan* 2010 aimed to separate aesthetics and social concerns from undesirable aspects of the first performance. By re-performing the work and shaping the festival around the apolitical aspects of *Ugnayan*, the organizers divorced the music from its original political context. By participating in *Ugnayan* 2010, I attempted to understand some of the purported “Filipina/o” extra-musical concepts within the composition: patience, teamwork, strength in numbers, and shifting environments that encourage adaptation as a cultural value.

V. Epilogue: Hearing Stories (March 2011)

A few weeks after first attending the Binalot Talks at the ASP in 2011, the organizers asked me to present my research. The ASP Chair assured me that works in progress were fine: “Just give us an idea of what you’re doing.” Unsure of which aspect of my research I would present, I gave my presentation a vague title: “Historical Ethnomusicology and Philippine Art Music.” It was an exciting prospect – to tell my friends more about my work, instead of giving them the polished, three-sentence cocktail party summary.

As the date of my presentation approached (March 9, 2011), I worried that a purely theoretical introduction would bore the audience of archeologists, art historians, and mass communications scholars. I needed a solid example of one performance, one happening, or one issue. Since I had been perusing the recently-digitized “Ugnayan” file

of pictures, news reports, scores and other documents at the Center for Ethnomusicology, I decided to present my preliminary findings at the ASP. Then, I started planning the chapter you just read.

After my first encounter with her the previous month, I wondered if Irene Marcos-Araneta would be among the audience members for my talk. If she attended, I faced the possibility of criticizing the dictatorship in front of the dictator's daughter. My friends told me I had nothing to worry about – Marcos-Araneta's presence at academic conferences and concerts at Ateneo and the UP Campus was ubiquitous and she has heard many presentations that assess or criticize the Martial Law era. Since I first met Irene the previous February, I reflected on the incident with friends who helped me to put it in proper perspective. I learned that Irene was the “good one” of the family – the one who stayed away from the spotlight, the most intelligent, the nicest, and the least overtly political. One friend said that, as a child, she only knew her as “*Ate* Irene,” and didn't realize until much later the family connection to the rest of the Marcoses.¹² However, others warned me – be careful. It doesn't matter that Irene is “the good one.” Either through experience or through word of mouth, others in the academic community will look down upon any association with *anyone* named Marcos. “Do not let her help you with your research,” they warned.

The night before my Binalot Talk, however, my perspective changed considerably. After completing my PowerPoint presentation, I decided to find some

¹² “Ate” (pronounced “AH-tey”) means “older sister.” It is both a common term of address and a term of endearment for women slightly older than the speaker.

dinner and the next day's events soak in before finishing my final presentation draft. I ran into a group of friends who invited me to join them at PCED. Two of the men were my age, but one was a few years older. I met him previously but couldn't remember his name. They invited me to their table, where I gulped down a large plate of *pancit bihon* and chatted between mouthfuls.¹³ Our friendly, lively conversation eased through many topics and eventually settled on the Martial Law era. The "pauses" I described earlier were again present, but the older man continued. He asked me what I knew about the Marcos Martial Law regime. This was a common experience for me since I was often evaluated by Filipinas/os who were curious about the extent of my knowledge on Philippine culture and history. Whenever I stated "what I knew," the questioner then proceeded to tell me the "real story." On this particular occasion, I wasn't prepared for the truth that followed.

The older man told us the story of when he was imprisoned during Martial Law. I can't remember if he protested, wrote a poem, or simply opened his mouth in the wrong context. His crime was not violent and he was not exactly sure why he was being arrested on that day. He spent weeks in a cell with other people who didn't know why they were there or when they could speak to their family. While recounting the story, he chose words carefully in Filipino and in English and stopped to clarify phrases or expressions that I might not know. I didn't (couldn't) ask what physical harm occurred during his imprisonment because his heavy silences during certain places within their narrative told

¹³ "Pancit" is the general term for a dish of noodles, vegetables, chicken and shrimp. *Bihon* is the thinnest variety of pancit noodle.

their own story. After dinner, we wished each other well and I walked home with a full stomach and a heavy conscience.

The next day, I presented on *Ugnayan* in Palma Hall to a crowd of graduate students, professors and others from the community. The presentation was well-received; the questions and comments were thought-provoking. A few of the audience members participated in the original *Ugnayan* performance in 1974. One man shared a remembrance from his childhood. He was eight years old and playing basketball with his friends in Makati when a grown-up approached them and announced: “You have to go Triangle Park right now!” The boys stopped what they were doing, walked over to nearby park, sat bored for thirty minutes with no clue of what was transpiring, returned to their playground, and then resumed their basketball game. After finishing the story, he added that he completely forgot about that incident until he heard my presentation.

And, yes, Irene Marcos-Araneta was among the audience members. Due to the vague title of my presentation, “Philippine National Composition,” she may not have known that I would discuss an event during the Martial Law era. She seemed to be listening intently. During the question and answer section following, the host asked her, “Hey, Irene. Did you go to *Ugnayan* [1974]?” She smiled and announced pleasantly and matter-of-factly (much to the shock of her fellow audience members), “Yes. Neal, you mentioned all those people who were bullied into participating. I was bullied too! I didn’t want to go. I was thirteen years old and my mother dragged me there, saying, ‘You will go to *Ugnayan* and you will have FUN!’” The small crowd laughed (nervously, but politely).

A younger college-aged audience member asked me to clarify one aspect of my presentation: “What about the logistics? How did they use ALL the radio stations?” I restated my earlier remarks about nationalized radio: *Ugnayan* was a huge event and radio station managers had, “no choice.” I said, “The country was under totalitarian rule. Everyone participated because they *had to*...or else.” Out of the corner of my eye, I noticed the audience uncomfortably glancing toward Irene. She noticed this, too – keeping a smile but raising her shoulders slightly. Yes, she was in the audience. But so were others who suffered under martial law. Once again, she’s probably heard all this before.

After my presentation was over, once again, the approximately forty audience members eased out of the room slowly, chatting and moving toward the smoking area outside of Palma Hall. And, to my surprise, Irene was the first to approach and congratulate me on a great presentation. Just like the first time we met, she continued conversing with me all the way outside of the Palma Hall basement. She even gave me a couple of hints – a few nuggets of inside knowledge about the National Artist Award (which I won’t tell you) and we discussed the differences between Lucrecia Kasilag’s and José Maceda’s philosophies on music.

The same big SUV pulled up outside. Two intimidating men (who looked a little less intimidating this time) wearing similar powder blue *barongs* eased out of the front seats. This time, Irene said, “I’m having lunch with one of my friends at the College of Music. Are you going back there? You want a ride?” I won’t be seeking your help or accepting any favors, but five more minutes to ask you questions? Sure.

On the short ride (which felt like an eternity) to the College of Music, I said, “Ms. Irene, your mother’s interest in the arts is well-known. But what about your father? Did your folks just divide the labor at home?” We laughed and she replied that he was always attending events, but her mother was the driving force at home regarding all things musical. Then we talked about OPM – Original Pinoy Music, and the development of popular music on the radio in the 1980s.¹⁴ That would be a much better topic for my dissertation, she told me. At the end of our ride, we passed by the Carillon Tower where I heard *Ugnayan* 2010 the previous year. Irene said, “You want to know what my father thought about music?” She pointed at the tower and said, “He wanted his voice to ring out across the campus.” At the end of the ride, she invited me to join her for lunch. I replied, “No thank you.”

Later that evening, I sat with a group of friends at PCED and we discussed my presentation earlier that day. This was another post-forum get together (like so many I had experienced before) but this time, my presentation was the topic of conversation. Two friends arrived late, a woman in her early thirties and a man in his mid-forties. They pulled chairs next to me and the woman spoke for both: “Neal, we were at your presentation and we had questions but we didn’t want to ask them there.” I asked, “Why?” She said, “Because *she* [Irene] was there.” The woman added that she was a little “star struck,” not realizing that Irene Marcos-Araneta was in the audience until she remarked about her presence at *Ugnayan*. The man told me another story:

¹⁴ OPM (Original Pinoy Music) was a male-dominated rock style popular on Philippine radio stations in the 1980s and 1990s

Neal, when I was a kid, and Marcos declared martial law, nothing really changed at first. But after a while, in the parks, in the streets, after church...where everyone was talking, I noticed people silencing each other: 'Shhhhh...don't talk about that.' Some subjects, some words, some recollections – just 'shhhh.' Then the 'shhhh' started coming more often. Eventually, we just stopped talking. We stopped assembling. So, you discussed a piece of music where people were forced to attend and forced to interact. Place *that* in the context of the silences. By that time, everything and everyone was quiet.¹⁵

The silences of the Marcos era permeated the entire fabric of social life and halted all typical human activity – assembling, chatting, *tsismis* (gossip). The presence of one member of the Marcos family at my presentation enacted a similar violence on the audience – a silence so deafening to my musician ears.

¹⁵ The speaker allowed me to use his story, but wishes to remain anonymous.

Chapter 3 – Restoring the National: The Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. Centennial Exhibit

May 2012 was a busy month for me while researching the posthumous commemoration of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. The National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), and other Philippine government offices were celebrating the birth anniversary of the late nationalist composer.¹ De Leon was born on May 1, 1912, in the town of Papaya, Peñarada municipality (now called General Tinio) in Nueva Ecija province. He died on December 5, 1992 in Manila. The National Artist Award was posthumously conferred on him by Philippine President Fidel V. Ramos on October 9, 1997.² Another proclamation declared the period May 1, 2012 through April 30, 2013 as the Centennial Year of National Artist for Music, Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr.³ On the first day of his centennial year, the Philippine Postal Corporation issued a 7 peso (USD .16) commemorative stamp with his picture.

The CCP and NCCA also sponsored two more commemorative acts in honor of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s birth centennial: the exhibit at the NCCA Gallery and the Felipe De Leon Centennial Concert at the Fil-Am Life Center Concert Hall. On May 28, 2012, I visited the exhibit and attended the Concert, both held in Intramuros, Manila. In this chapter, I will describe my associations with the memory of Felipe De Leon Sr., my

¹ The National Commission for Culture and the Arts is also named the *Pambansang Komisyon para sa Kultura at mga Sining*. In conversation, most refer to it as the NCCA.

² Presidential Proclamation no. 1115.

³ Presidential Proclamation no. 283 by President Benigno S. Aquino III.

impressions of the exhibit, the commemoration of De Leon as a nationalist, and De Leon's association with occupying Japanese government in the Philippines in the 1940s. I focus is on how the memory of De Leon is shaped by the last generation who knew him personally: his children and the current group of administrators at the NCCA and the CCP.

I. Encountering the Memory of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr.

I first became acquainted with Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. through his son, Tagumpay De Leon. When I tell this to my friends at the University of the Philippines Diliman (UP), they assume I am referring to one of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s *other* sons and a range of semi-descriptions invariably follow before I can make my case.

“Jun, from Art Studies?” they ask. This is the eldest son of Felipe De Leon Sr., Jun (Felipe Mendoza De Leon Jr.), a professor, public intellectual, and chairman of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts. My friends assume I am referring to Jun De Leon because most of them were his students at UP, where he is a popular lecturer in the College of Art Studies and the Philippine Institute of Tourism. Jun De Leon is a go-to figure in the arts and a highly regarded critic. He's well-known in Manila for his views of arts synthesis and Philippine nationalism.

“Is he the composer? The one who went to the U.S.? The one with the patriotic name?” This describes Felipe De Leon Sr.'s second son, Bayani Mendoza De Leon. Bayani De Leon was a composer, poet, and Philippine music teacher who relocated to California on a Fulbright fellowship in the 1970s. He lived in New York for the next forty years and returned to the Philippines in late 2012, where he passed away in the

summer of 2013.⁴ Bayani’s name is indeed quite nationalistic. It is the Filipino word for “hero,” and the root word (“bayan”) means “nation” or “community”

“Is he the lawyer? The one who used to sing with the Madrigal Singers?” This description fits the youngest De Leon brother, Magdangal Mendoza De Leon (Parañaque, Philippines), who is currently a national court of appeals judge (no longer a lawyer), dubbed the “singing judge” by his colleagues. Magdangal is a singer, conductor, choral arranger and composer. While a UP Diliman College of Law student, he sang with the world-renowned UP Madrigal Singers and has since composed a number of anthems including the Philippine Army March, the Philippine Coast Guard Hymn, and the University of the Philippines Law Graduation Hymn.⁵ The De Leon daughters, Marilag De Leon Mendoza (New Jersey) and the late Luningning De Leon (Manila), are accomplished musicians in their own right.

The son of Felipe De Leon Sr. to which I am referring is Tagumpay – or as, I know him, Uncle Pi.⁶ Uncle Pi has been my teacher of rondalla since 2001, when he first served as the Rondalla Ensemble instructor at the University of California, Riverside. Uncle Pi emigrated to the U.S. in the 1970s and settled in Burbank, California, working as an engineer for many years at Glendale Water and Power. He’s a founding member of

⁴ Telephone interview with Bayani De Leon, February 9, 2009. Bayani De Leon’s poetry is featured in De Leon (2008). His early career is outlined in Samson (1976a). His work as a Filipino culture scholar in the U.S. is chronicled in the interview “Filipino Cultural Identity: A Personal Journey by Composer Bayani Mendoza de Leon” (n.a. 2000).

⁵ Christi-Anne Castro provides historical, national, and international contexts for the University of the Philippines Madrigal Singers in *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (2011).

⁶ This nickname changes with Tagumpay’s relation to the speaker. A Filipina American colleague (who also addresses him as “Uncle Pi”) once introduced her young son to him as “Lolo Pi” (“Grandfather Pi”).

the Rondalla Club of Los Angeles and the principal bassist for the Fil-Am Orchestra.

During our classes, Uncle Pi told us stories about his father, Felipe De Leon Sr.: how he composed the Philippine National Anthem for Japanese occupiers in the 1940s, how he wrote the first Filipino-language grand opera based on the famous nationalist work, Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tángere*, and how he was named National Artist for Music in 1997. The UCR Rondalla Ensemble is also a part of the De Leon family musical legacy: our entire repertoire was arranged by Bayani De Leon and we played a number of Felipe De Leon Sr. compositions. We ended every Rondalla Ensemble performance with the Felipe De Leon Sr. composition, "Pilipinas," a lively march made famous by the De Leon family in the mid-1960s. Once while rehearsing "Pilipinas," Uncle Pi threatened us (jokingly) that if we continued to miss so many notes, his late father would "come down" and "reprimand us." His father, Uncle Pi bragged, could hear a single wrong note in a choir of over a hundred people!

Uncle Pi was quite happy to share more information about his father with me after class and during breaks. After the death of my father in 2008, Uncle Pi and I connected on the topic of shared loss. I think I understood Uncle Pi a little better after this, especially his change of demeanor when speaking of his father: his long pauses, his carefully chosen words, and a seriousness that curves his eyes, ever so slightly, when the topic arises. Uncle Pi (twenty-nine years my senior and quite fatherly himself) often manipulated my interest in his father to chide me about my lifestyle: "You know how my father died? Smoking! It's going to kill you too!" Uncle Pi told me that he renounced his Filipino citizenship became a U.S. citizen only after his father died in 1992. After 2008, I

understood this choice a little better as well.

For nearly ten years, my encounters with the memory of Felipe De Leon Sr. were in the United States. Uncle Pi introduced me to Felipe De Leon Sr.'s other sons, both in the U.S. and in the Philippines in 2009. From 2009-2012, I accessed Felipe De Leon Sr.'s scores while consulting biographical sources at the UP Diliman libraries. I've also met two of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s grandchildren – namely Diwa De Leon, a professional film and television and composer, and Sinag De Leon, a visual artist and crafts maker.

Then in 2012, I encountered a different type of Felipe De Leon Sr. memory performance – an exhibit and a concert each celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. These centennial remembrances are worth noting because of their generational nature (the immediate family of De Leon are present and have input on the matter) and their infrequency. Unlike Jose Maceda, whose career is commemorated on a regular basis by the UP Center for Ethnomusicology, only a select number of De Leon's works are performed. Before this exhibit, Felipe De Leon Sr.'s scores, personal items, sat in storage in the old De Leon family home in Cubao (now inhabited by Jun De Leon). You are more likely to hear the name Felipe De Leon *Junior* (Jun De Leon) in Manila arts news than Felipe De Leon Sr. I don't encounter the memory of Felipe De Leon Sr. in Manila often unless I'm specifically looking for it.

I regard the *De Leon* exhibit as a performance of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s cross-generational memory. Sociologist Paul Connerton wrote:

Across generations, different sets of memories, frequently in the shape of implicit background narratives, will encounter each other; so that, although physically present to one another in a different setting, the different generations may remain mentally and emotionally insulated, the memories of one generation locked

irretrievably, as it were, in the brains and bodies of that generation” (1989: 4). Connerton’s idea of generational memory accounts for the qualitative difference in reflection between multiple generations with different contexts for recollection. Felipe De Leon Sr., who was born when the Philippines was still an American colony, survived the Japanese occupation in the 1940s, witnessed the Martial law government of Ferdinand Marcos, and the People Power revolution, was regarded by colleagues and critics in a number of ways during his own life. The background narratives of De Leon’s career are wide and varied. Depending on the generation of storyteller, De Leon was a leader, a creator, and a fierce advocate for musicians’ rights. De Leon composed hundreds of musical works, facilitated greater cooperation between musicians by organizing the League of Filipino bands, and championed copyright protection for musicians by instituting FILSCAP (Filipino Society of Composers and Performers). De Leon’s career can also be viewed as a collection of narratives about the creation of the Philippine state in the twentieth century. He composed national music for occupying Japanese forces in the early 1940s and President Marcos’s New Society in the 1970s, as well as other works that celebrated various international political interests in the Philippines, such as “Welcome To The Philippines – Theme Song for the Philippine Pavilion at the New York World’s Fair 1964-1965” (with Otilio O. Arellano) or the “Eisenhower March.”

By the time my research was underway (2009-2013), De Leon’s memory was ripe for interpretation by the NCCA, the CCP and De Leon family. For the children of De Leon, his centennial celebrations are their last chance to comment on how De Leon should be remembered – not by simply venerating a “great man,” but also by favoring

certain narratives of greatness over others. They communicate a particular version of Felipe De Leon Sr. to their *kababayan* (fellow countrymen) and to the arts community. This intersects with missions of the NCCA and the CCP, two government art institutions that promote named National Artists. In this chapter, I explore the conditions of this commemoration – how De Leon’s choices are reevaluated through a twenty-first-century lens and guarded from multiple interpretations by the public.

II. Intramuros and Memory

From May 28, 2012, to July 16, 2012, the *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit was housed in the lobby of the NCCA building in the Intramuros section of metropolitan Manila. I visited the exhibit on the day it opened, hoping to meet Uncle Pi there. He had traveled from California specifically for this occasion to join his brothers, Jun De Leon and Magdangal De Leon, and his sister, Marilag Mendoza. I ended up missing him because I had to journey from my home in Quezon City (north of Manila) to Intramuros. I describe this adventure in detail in order to contrast the *De Leon* exhibit space and place with the world around it in Manila.

This trip, and almost all of the events that I describe in this chapter, took place in Metropolitan Manila. The word “National” in the phrase “National Artist” assumes that the recipients of this award can, by definition, hail from anywhere in the Philippines, but most of them come from Manila – much to the chagrin of those who charge that the national arts elite is a Manila-centric culture. The centers of culture and the arts (The CCP and NCCA) are (not coincidentally) in Manila as well. This exhibit, although occupying the dream space of the constructed history of an individual, is as much a

product of Manilenyas/os imagination as any late-night cockfight, sixteenth-century Catholic church, or posh shopping center in this cosmopolitan mecca.

On the morning of May 28, 2012, I followed my usual route away from my home on the UP Diliman campus in Quezon City: jeepney to a taxi, then a taxi to the Metrorail station on Roosevelt Avenue to take the Yellow Line LRT toward Baclaran.⁷ I exited the taxi, climbed the long staircase into the sky, stood while a security guard searched my bag (not as carefully as you might think), then boarded the train. The LRT is a horrible claustrophobic experience for me. Every time I ride it, I wonder how anyone can take this trip daily as many Manilenyas/os do. People are crammed in around me like sardines in a can, bumping my arm as I hold my wallet in the front pocket of my trousers. It was incredibly hot outside, and every time the train stopped at another station, a new group of people boarded and brought their body heat with them. Adding to my terror was the behavior of another passenger who looked to be around seventy-five years old. She boarded, sat on the bench across from me, and made a sign of the cross quickly as the train disembarked. Coming from a very Roman Catholic family, I knew what this meant – she was scared. She was scared quite possibly for the same reason I was scared: this train coming off the rails, or a stampede, or an electrical fire. We weren't supposed to be this high, we weren't supposed to move this fast. We were defying the impenetrable

⁷ “The Yellow Line” or “LRT-1” is a light-rail multi-car train that makes up one third of the Manila Metrorail System and covers the western portion of Manila. The Yellow Line is a light rail route in which the multi-car train is powered by an overhead cable rather than a charged third rail (Post 2007: 137). The Yellow Line is the oldest of the three Metrorail routes, established in 1984. The names of the routes refer to their beginning and end points. The Yellow Line runs from Santolan (north of Manila) to Baclaran (south of Manila).

Manila traffic and the laws of gravity. Americans and Filipinas/os alike tell me that the train is the safest, fastest, cheapest, and most reliable way to navigate the city, but I don't like it.

Manila is a huge sprawling metropolis that never fails to overwhelm my sense of space and place. I've simply never experienced anything like Manila before, spending most of my life in small and medium-sized U.S. cities and a few years in the greater Los Angeles orbit. Manila's population is nearly 20.7 million people and is the sixth largest metropolitan area in the world. In the two years I spent in Manila, I've heard more sounds, seen more people, and smelled more smells than ever before in my life. The logic of simply navigating one's way around *all those bodies* is simultaneously nerve-racking and magical.

After exiting the LRT, I found a taxi and asked the driver to take me into Intramuros. We entered the old walled city and he stopped to ask the guard about the location of the NCCA building. I interrupted, "*Kuya, nasa tabi ng Red Cross Building...nasa malapit sa St. Augustin Church.*"⁸ The taxi driver knew the precise location of the latter and proceeded to drive over old cobblestone roads into the oldest place in Manila. School was out and the driver had to slow down as waves of young girls and boys in similar uniforms flooded the street, walking to their own relaxed rhythm.

⁸ In English, "Buddy, it's beside the Red Cross Building...it's near St. Augustine Church." In the Filipino language "*kuya*" literally means "older brother" but is also a term of address for men slightly older than the speaker in familiar situations or everyday commerce. It is slightly more common (and less rude) to refer to the second or third person in everyday speech with terms such as "*kuya*," "*ate*" (older sister or woman slightly older than the speaker), "*tita/tito*" (aunt/uncle or woman/man near age of the speaker's parents), "Sir," "Ma'am" or "Miss," than to refer to them as "you," or "that man," or to use their name without using the aforementioned titles.

Intramuros is the center of public memory in Manila. It is the heart of recorded history and the heart of colonialism. After Spanish imperial forces deposed local leader Rajah Suleiman in the sixteenth century, they constructed a walled edifice from which to conduct their colonial government and religious mission, calling the area “Intramuros” (“inside the walls”) or “the Walled City of Manila” (Caoili 1999: 23). After the U.S. government purchased the Philippines from Spain and quelled local attacks at the beginning of the twentieth century, U.S. colonial forces modernized the city by widening streets and constructing a sewage system. However, the United States never bothered to re-decorate or alter the look of the Spanish colonial-era buildings since the mock-Mediterranean “mission look” was in style in California in the early twentieth century (Byrne 2007: 2-3).

Intramuros is also the center of public amnesia in Manila – an abyss of lost memory and a graveyard haunted by imperial, colonial, commonwealth, military, and civilian ghosts. Intramuros (and much of the rest of Manila) was reduced to rubble during the battle between American and Japanese forces in the Battle for Manila from February to March 1945. When U.S. troops pushed the defending Japanese occupiers into Intramuros, nearly everything inside the walled city was destroyed including all historical records from occupiers and colonial governments alike.⁹ On the devastation in

⁹ Anticipating the attack by General MacArthur, General Yamashita ordered his occupation troops in Manila to withdraw to the mountains in northern Luzon in February, 1945. However, the 30,000 Japanese marines and sailors in Manila either ignored or failed to receive this order. Steinberg (1967: 113) noted that the culpability of General Yamashita (and by extension, the Japanese government) is ambiguous regarding the atrocities that resulted from the destruction of Manila. This does not excuse the level of devastation that occurred, but does explain the confusion and disorganization of this conflict where clear battle lines were absent and obliteration (measured in humans and buildings) was common by Japanese Imperial soldiers

Intramuros, heritage archeologist Denis Byrne wrote:

Accounts of March 1945 mention that even after the fighting ceased, it was a few days before haunted-looking survivors began to emerge into the streets from the places they had been hiding or trapped. They emerged into a landscape of ruin that was still smoking and where, with the cessation of the bombardment, the silence must have been extraordinary (2007: 7).

This “silence” was the absence of voices from over 710 Americans, 16,000 Japanese, and over 100,000 Filipinos killed during the battle. Manila was flattened with Intramuros at its center.¹⁰ Later in the mid-twentieth century, Intramuros was completely rebuilt in the style of the Spanish Colonial era without regard for the brutal events of 1945 (Byrne 1997: 17). Intramuros today is a palimpsest, where Saint Augustine Church (the only surviving structure) is joined by newly rebuilt Spanish signifiers to erase each era of tragedy and rewrite them as a single continuous colonial legacy.¹¹

who were uncommanded and bent on personal revenge rather than military victory. For these atrocities in Manila, General Yamashita was found guilty (and later executed) by a United States military commission for failing to control his troops in a landmark precedent-setting case *In re Yamashita 327 U.S. 1* (1946). This case resulted in future rulings in which omission of command responsibility is criminally liable (the “omission mode” of criminal liability).

¹⁰ Steinberg (1967: 114) observed that roughly 80% of Manila was destroyed. It is ranked second to Warsaw as most damaged city of World War II.

¹¹ Huyssen (2003) discussed the urban palimpsest of Berlin, New York, Buenos Aires and other major cities.



Figure 1 – Memorial Statue, Intramuros, April 4, 2012.

In the shadows in Plazuela Santa Isabel, Intramuros, a single memorial to the Intramuros tragedy (Figure 1) commemorates the death of Filipina/o civilians on that fateful day in 1945.¹² This statue portrays a seated woman (bearing a striking resemblance to the Virgin Mary of Christian mythology) holding a dying baby. She is surrounded by two men, one woman and two children. Their eyes are obscured – you cannot discern if they are dying, weeping, or have already died. Under the statue, is the

¹² In his essay “Intramuros,” Denis Byrne (2007) comments on the politics of heritage restoration from the first-person perspective of an archaeologist searching for signs of history in the rebuilt walled city in 1989. However, Byrne’s time in Intramuros did not overlap with the construction of the World War II memorial in 1995 (Figure 1).

following inscription, “Memorare – Manila 1945”

This memorial is dedicated to all those innocent victims of war. Many of whom went nameless and unknown to a common grave, or never knew a grave at all, their bodies having been consumed by fire or crushed to dust beneath the rubble of ruins.

Let this monument be the gravestone for each and every one of the 100,000 men, women and children and infants killed in Manila during its battle for liberation, February 3 – March 3, 1945. We have not forgotten them, nor shall we ever forget.

May the rest in peace as part now of the sacred ground of this city: the Manila of our affections.

February 18, 1995

This single memorial to a moment of historic obliteration sits hidden in the foliage in the back of a Spanish-named section of memorial, with an epitaph written in English, surrounded on all sides by rebuilt Spanish edifices. Intramuros, itself a rebuilt historical exhibit, displays its only memorial to this dark time in a shady corner where few will see it.¹³

My destination on May 28, 2012, the NCCA building, was much easier to find than the Battle of Manila memorial. The NCCA building is one such Spanish-style reconstruction, prominently located on a reconstructed brick road, General Luna Street. When my taxi arrived there, I exited the cab onto the sidewalk in front on the NCCA building, and my eye was drawn to a flurry of activity – shopkeepers, customers, and children – just ten feet away. Directly across from the NCCA building are three *sari sari*

¹³ The names of benefactors for this memorial are not visible. However, historian of the Japanese occupation, Ricardo José shared that he was part of the small group of scholars and politicians who funded this memorial in 1995. Source: interview with Ricardo T. José, September 6, 2013, UP Center for Third World Studies, Palma Hall, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

stores with benches and small tables in front.¹⁴ One of the storefronts serves food outside, while another has tables inside and a videoke machine running all afternoon and evening. The patrons of the NCCA building stand in stark contrast to the working-class people surrounding the *sari sari* stores – their naked children roaring with happiness while chasing each other up and down General Luna Street. I saw a customer purchase a soft drink (in a plastic bag with a long plastic drinking straw) and turn around to speak with another man who had the overall vibe of a working-class entrepreneur, possibly the *sari sari* store owner.¹⁵ He was texting on his cellular phone with one hand and getting a manicure with the other hand from a woman with a big wooden cart full of bottles of nail polish and gloss.

I entered the NCCA building (immediately thankful for the rush of cool compressed air in May, the hottest month of the year in Manila) and stopped at the security guard desk. I asked him if I could see the *De Leon* exhibit and he replied emphatically in English with a smile, “of *course* you can come in.” I wondered what my welcome would have been if I wasn’t White, well-dressed, and obviously marked as a foreigner with a privileged status. Security guards in Manila deal with everyone from every class background and have both an internal and an external agenda of who is permitted to enter and who is not. This guard probably has more in common with the

¹⁴ *Sari sari* stores are small convenience stores that are ubiquitous in both rural and urban areas of the Philippines. Families own these stores and operate them out of the front of the family home or a free-standing wooden trailer.

¹⁵ When you purchase a soft drink at a *sari sari* store, the clerk will pour it into a plastic bag and provide you with a plastic drinking straw so that you may enjoy your cold beverage and the clerk may redeem the value for the beverage’s glass container.

people store across General Luna Street at the *sari sari* (for whom access to the exhibit or the NCCA building is restricted) than his employers upstairs in the NCCA offices.

Security guards are everywhere in Manila. I estimate that they outnumber police officers, who I have been warned to avoid at all cost unless I'm looking for trouble. Security guards, unlike police, are generally cordial, helpful, and seem to know *everything*.

Security guards have directions, they help you to find taxis, and they seem to be present during all activities not covered by some other professional interlocutor. You can even call the security guard in your village when your pet turtle is getting attacked by a sewer rat: the security guard will arrive with a broom and handle the situation (true story).

Security guards, with pistols prominently displayed on their belts, are the centers of everyday physical and logistical authority in Manila. I thanked him and opened the thick glass door that separated the exhibit from the lobby of the NCCA.

III. Encountering the *De Leon* exhibit

A. A loop, a desk, two jackets, and a trombone

When I arrived at the *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, it was already 2:00 p.m. and everyone from the opening gala that morning had already left – possibly to catch a nap before that evening's concert. As soon as I opened the heavy glass door, I felt the cooler air conditioning (stronger than the lobby) and smelled freshly-dried paint. The room was immaculately clean and bright with white, brown, and black walls and a spotless marble-tiled floor. The walls were adorned with Felipe De Leon Sr. scores, posters, scores, awards, and other personal items. Upon entering, my eye was drawn to the things that didn't seem to belong among these materials – a video projector,

an old wooden desk, two coats, and an old trombone in the middle of the floor, not connected to any wall or cabinet display. Scanned images of sheet music (De Leon works) and short video clips (images of De Leon's works performed) were projected onto a wall opposite the entrance in the middle of the exhibit floor. While these projections played, recordings of De Leon's music emanated from speakers hidden in the ceiling. These sounds originated simultaneously from *nowhere* and *everywhere*.



Figure 2 – Desk and chair, *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, May 28, 2012. Label under glass reads, “Desk and chair of Felipe Padilla De Leon with photographs from the family album.”

The wooden desk (Figure 2) displayed in the exhibit (near the center of the room, slightly to the right of the entrance) where, in his Cubao home, Felipe De Leon Sr.

composed his works and wrote his music essays. Added for the exhibit was a clear glass sheet that sat on top of the desk; photographs of De Leon Sr. and his family were placed under it and arranged for the viewer to enjoy. I saw pictures of him conducting an orchestra, accepting, and standing with the De Leon family. In one photograph, Felipe De Leon Sr. was standing above and behind the late Iluminada Bonus Mendoza De Leon, his wife and the mother of the De Leon sons and daughters. The two are posed as if Felipe and Iluminada (an accomplished pianist) are examining a piece of music and using the piano to converse. Another is a black and white family photograph of Iluminada (propping up her infant daughter Marilag) and the rest of the De Leon children. I believe this picture was taken around 1957 since Uncle Pi (standing next to a teenage Bayani) looks about twelve years old with his younger brother (standing to his right side), Magdangal, as a small child in short knickers. Luningning, also a preteen, stood next to her brothers and, per her namesake, sparkled with a lovely, beaming smile.¹⁶ The resemblance between a teenage Jun De Leon and his father was so strong that I had to look twice to determine which “Felipe De Leon” (junior or senior) was standing on the far left-hand side next to Luningning. Although photographs dominate the workspace portion of the desk display, the opened desk drawer revealed the books that Felipe De Leon Sr. read in his spare time: *Aaron Copeland on Music* (a series of essays by the American composer); and *Aristocracy of the Mind*, a biography of Jorge Bocobo (former Philippine president, University of the Philippines president, and Supreme Court justice).

¹⁶ “*Luningning*” is a Filipino word meaning “sparkle.” Luningning De Leon, daughter of Felipe De Leon Sr. and sister of Uncle Pi, passed away in the summer of 2009, one month before I was scheduled to meet her on my first trip to Manila.



Figure 3 – Coats, *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, May 28, 2012. Label reads, "Clothes of Felipe De Leon."

The coats (Figure 3, above) and the trombone (Figure 4, below) were perched on two pedestals on the left side of the exhibit. The two coats on display (Figure 3) were the actual clothes worn by Felipe De Leon Sr. Uncle Pi told me later that evening that seeing these coats was a very emotional experience for him. De Leon Sr. wore them all the time, and for Pi, these defined his father more than just about anything else in the exhibit. The trombone was Felipe De Leon Sr.'s also – pointing back to his very early days as a performer. Taken together, the desk (where De Leon worked), the coats (that De Leon wore), and the trombone (that De Leon played) simultaneously immortalized De Leon and pointed to the finite nature of his career and life. While I was examining this

evidence of active behavior, I was hearing (projected through the speakers) and seeing (projected onto the rear wall), a soprano singer performing a recitative section from De Leon's opera, in a continuous loop. His acts of musicking were simultaneously *over* (the marks of age on the unused jacket, the empty desk, and the time-stamps of rust on the unusable trombone) and *never ending* (the repeating audio and video).



Figure 4 – Trombone and sheet music, *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, May 28, 2012. Inscription on pedestal reads, “Music is like a being with life and soul, and not a mere chain of sounds in a link without sense.”

The inclusion of these three freely standing objects (the trombone, the desk, and the jackets), collapsed the distinction between “historical” and “art” exhibit. In a historical exhibit, artifacts such as material objects are displayed for the purpose of

justifying a particular historical narrative; their inclusion (and the justification of their inclusion) is subject to a pre-determined inscribed meaning. In the *De Leon* exhibit, this was the most clearly evident in the inclusion of De Leon's letters, essays, scores, awards, and photographs which demonstrate the span of De Leon's nationalist endeavors: photographs with Philippine presidents, music for world's fair exhibitions, and writings that urge composers to embrace materials of folk music. In an art exhibit, material objects are created or chosen for the purpose of their display. Their inclusion is subject to an overarching unified theme but their meaning is only partially inscribed by an overall thematic description or a description of each individual work. Art historian and philosopher Didier Maleuvre lamented the interpretive confines of a historical model on an art exhibit (1999). The problem, wrote Maleuvre, is that the art museum model is forced upon by the historical museum. While discussing the complex categorical confusion of art exhibits and historical exhibits, Maleuvre's chief complaint was that the "...museum champions the presentation of artworks as primarily historical artifacts, presented according to chronological and national (rather than thematic or formal) categories" (1999:3). Artworks are an uneasy fit into the scheme of a historical exhibit – whose inscribed meaning provides multispatial appreciation to historical artifacts. The inclusion of the trombone, the coats, and the desk achieved the opposite of this – their placement in the overall structure of the exhibit estheticized these artifacts. The presence of these objects in the middle of the floor (not mounted on the wall, or placed in a corner) thoroughly alters the spatial flow of the entire exhibit. Though the choice of including these three was undoubtedly sentimental in nature, their location was anti-pragmatic (they

are “in the way” of the exhibit visitor), and I had no choice but to consider their visual aesthetic quality in three-dimensions, from various angles, at varying distances.

B. Labels

Museum labels with short passages about Felipe De Leon Sr. were on each wall. These were written by Felipe De Leon Jr. but no authorship is indicated. The titles of each label evoked different aspects of the composer’s ascribed legacy. On the right wall nearest to the entrance were the labels (right to left; closer to farther from the entrance): “*Ang Makabayan/The Nationalist*,” “*Ang Pambansa/The National*” (Figure 5, below), and “*Ang Katutubo/The Native*.”¹⁷ Then, seen at the farthest counterclockwise portion of the room is the final label “*Walang Maliw na Kaloob/Lasting Legacy*”.

¹⁷ By National Commission of Culture and the Arts mandate, all printed, published, and displayed items by the NCCA must be in both English and Filipino. Each label and display sign at the “*Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon*” is presented in non-italicized English (printed font) and in italicized Filipino (handwritten font). Although this aesthetic choice clearly demarcates both scripts, it effectively *others* the academic Filipino language used in presentational form.



Figure 5 – *Ang Pambansa/The National, Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, May 28, 2012.

I focus specifically on the third label: “*Ang Pambansa/The National*” (Figure 5).¹⁸ Of the four labels, this one recounted De Leon’s use of Western forms in a manner that I had not previously encountered. On right-hand side of the label was the image of De Leon Sr. looking over a score, pen in hand. To the left of the pictures was the text, written in both Filipino and English in a similar format to the other three labels, describing De Leon’s opinions on Western music and how he changed and improved upon Western composition in order to capture a “Filipino” sensibility. From an early twenty-first-

¹⁸ Full text of “*Ang Pambansa/The National*” is included in Appendix E.

century perspective, these sentiments were somewhat defensive –that De Leon translated Western music into Filipino-language forms, something that in art circles today would seem like a dated, colonial concept. The text read that De Leon “... [argued] for a Philippine Music with its own history and aesthetics that deserved cultivation, inculcation, a policy from the government to nurture it, and a cherishing from the people.” However, this seemed a little self-congratulatory in the context of the exhibit’s backers – the NCCA, carrying out a government policy to nurture the aforementioned arts (creating the exhibit).

Each label ended with a summarizing phrase, which conflated Felipe De Leon, Sr. (the National Artist and icon) with the ideal Filipino. De Leon’s story was thus equated with contemporary identity construction. “*Ang Makabayan/The Nationalist*” ended with the phrase: “The Filipino is forged in struggle.”¹⁹ “*Ang Pambansa/The National*” ended with the phrase: “The Filipino is collective, gathered as nation.”²⁰ “*Ang Katutubo/The Native*” ended with the phrase: “The Filipino springs from the field of the local.”²¹ Taken collectively, the three labels reflected a classic interpretation of Filipina/o society – the Filipino (De Leon) is a local who, in the grand collection of all localities (the diverse regions of this island nation), gathered collectively with his fellow nation members, who struggle through the creation and maintenance of nationhood.

The text of these museum labels left no doubt in my mind regarding how De Leon

¹⁹ “*Pinapanday ang Pilipino sa pakibaba.*”

²⁰ “*Kolektibo ang Pilipino, natitipon bilang bayan.*”

²¹ “*Umuusbong ang Pilipino mula sa larangan ng katutubo.*”

or his collection of material objects should be interpreted. Although no author is listed and no references are provided, they were created by Jun De Leon. But in their authorless presentation, they are the opinions of no one – they are simply “the truth.” Not only did these essays solidify an unchallengeable inscribed meaning, they reflected a meaning created in the early twenty-first century, where the politics of identity and the myths of horizontal comradeship are central to national ideals in the Philippines.

C. Hidden areas, lists of compositions, and awards

Despite the seemingly endless data I observed at the exhibit, the room was arranged in such a way that it never seemed busy or cluttered. Strolling around the room, I never felt a sense of information overload. When I asked exhibit curator Patrick Flores about this delicate balance, he style replied, “That’s my style...I want it to be more evocative than didactic.”²² This evocative style was not only evidenced in the seemingly “out-of-place” additions such as the jackets and the desk, but also the division of the exhibit space. On the right side of the room (behind the “*Ang Makabayan/The Nationalist*,” “*Ang Pambansa/The National*”, and “*Ang Katutubo/The Native*” labels), there were three alcoves with displays of pictures, scores, and articles. These items were displayed under glass, waist-high (if your height is 5’4,” like mine is), at a 30 degree angle away from the viewer, and backlit. I discerned no overarching theme or unifying quality for each alcove, containing a similar variety of items from various periods of De Leon’s career.

²² Interview with Patrick Flores, September 6, 2012, Vargas Museum, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines.

The first alcove (behind the “*Ang Makabayan/The Nationalist*” label) featured the score for “*Banyuhay (Metamorphosis) for Voice and Orchestra*” under glass in the middle of the page. I’m sure this score was white and clean in 1965 when the letters “Lyrics by Alejandro Abadilla” were written in calligraphy at the bottom of the page.²³ At the *De Leon* exhibit, the score was yellow and brown with age and the pages were torn and water-stained. Next to it were two essays, also browned with age: “Poetry, Music And Social Consciousness by Felipe Padilla de Leon” and “Our Musical Culture by Felipe Padilla de Leon,” both written in English. Next to these was a typed letter in Filipino, dated April (*Abril*) 5, 1985. The letter begins “*Mahal Kong Levi,*” “(Dear Levi,)” and is signed (in ink) “Pipe” (De Leon’s familiar nicknamed).²⁴ On letterhead, the return address listed De Leon as (1) Technical Assistant for Cultural Affairs, Office of the President of the Philippines, Malacañang, (2) Trustee, Music Promotion Foundation of the Philippines, and (3) President, Filipino Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, and (4) *Pambansang Samahan ng mga Banda ng Pilipinas* (National Association of Philippine Bands). Above and below this were black and white photographs of De Leon. In one, he was wearing a bow-tie and speaking into a microphone. In another, De Leon was directing an ensemble featuring a guitar, a piano. In a third photograph, he was directing an orchestra. To the top right of the display was

²³ Poet, essayist and fiction writer Alejandro G. Abadilla, contributed lyrics to a number of De Leon compositions.

²⁴ “*Mahal kong*” is a common salutation in written correspondence in the Filipino language. This letter was addressed to Levi Celerio, a long-time lyricist/collaborator with Felipe De Leon Sr. Levi Celerio was awarded National Artist for Music and Literature in 1997. De Leon’s nickname (“Pipe”) is pronounced “PEE-pay.”

an issue of *Ang Bansa: The Voice of the Nation* De Leon's self-published quarterly featuring essays on music, culture and the arts. This was the first volume and first issue (*Taon 1, Aklat 1* or Year 1, Book 1), dated June (*Hunyo*) 1957, with a picture of national hero José Rizal on the cover.²⁵

In comparison with the labels (which dictated their own interpretation), the artifacts behind the glass in the alcoves begged the viewer for interpretation. Whether they beg the viewer to *other* the past as foreign or whether they beg the viewer to find some empathy with a temporal familiarity, they are objects unified by one theme – they belonged to Felipe De Leon and represent a variety of times, places and efforts within his own career. But, they are hidden in alcoves, behind the essay labels which serve as sentinels of inscribed meaning in the exhibit.

While surrounded by *so many* materials painstakingly organized for display, it was surprising to think that just a few months before, all of these items were in storage in the De Leon family home in Cubao. Exhibit curator Patrick Flores told me that much of it was in disarray and in serious need of a librarian to catalogue and organize these items when he began working on this project.²⁶ Flores described the process of sorting through the amount of unorganized material for the exhibit and preparing it for display.

From the entrance of the exhibit, facing north (labels, bench, and alcoves to your

²⁵ *Ang Bansa* is “the nation.”

²⁶ Interview with Patrick Flores, September 6, 2012, Vargas Museum, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines. Flores echoed a sentiment first expressed during a consultation with Jun De Leon, who told me about the state of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s materials on August 24, 2009, at the College of Arts and Letters Faculty Center, University of the Philippines Diliman Campus.

right, trombone and desk to your left) was another area in the back of the room. When I walked into this narrow corridor, I saw approximately fifty De Leon scores displayed under glass on one side (the back of the projector wall) and a very long list of De Leon works on the opposite wall, printed in the same style as the essay labels. The scores and sheet music were from various time periods and suffered different signs of age. Their placement was interrupted by more black and white photos of De Leon (conducting and consulting with performers) and two of artist-drawn caricatures. It was clear that the focus of this section was to display the quantity of De Leon works, but also very evident was the number of professional collaborators he worked with, especially lyricists Levi Celerio, Alejandro Abadilla, and Guillermo Tolentino.²⁷

²⁷ National Artist for Visual Arts, Guillermo Tolentino was a famous sculptor who wrote the libretto for De Leon's 1957 nationalist opera, *Nole Me Tángere*.

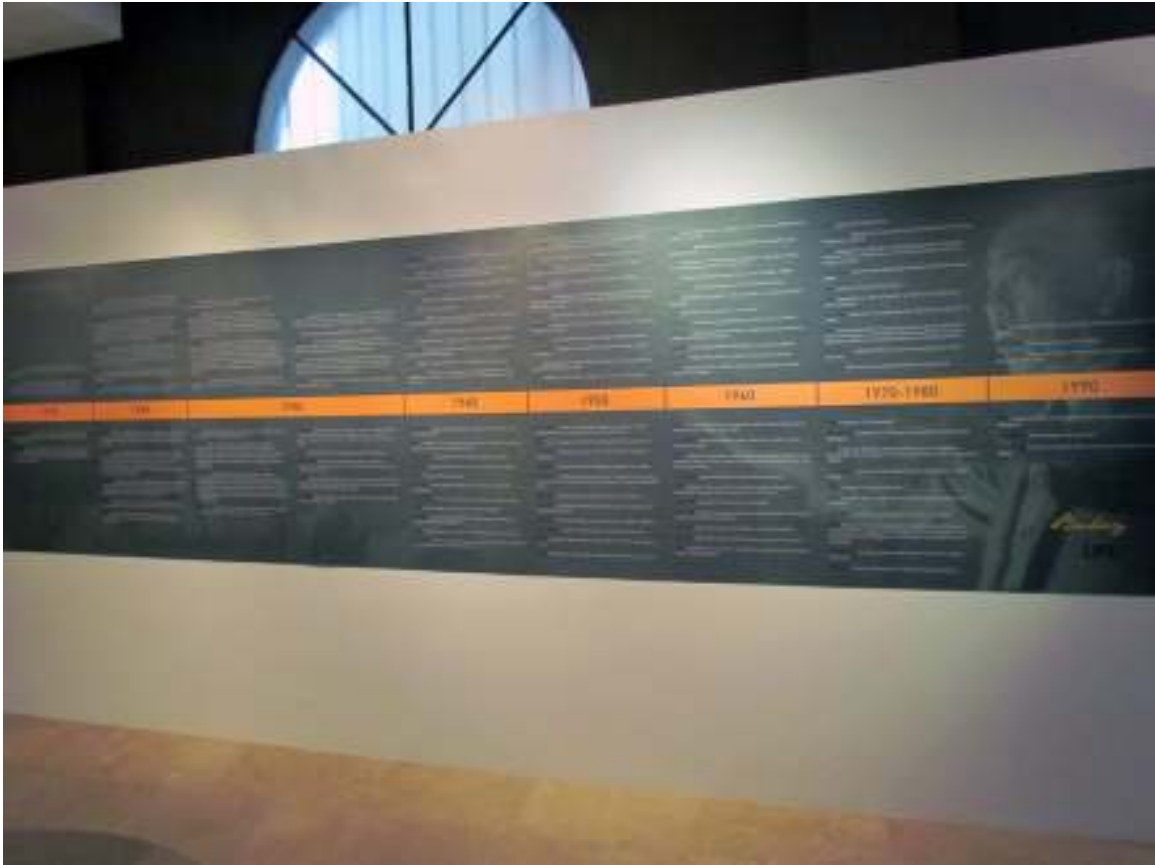


Figure 6 – *Buhay/Life, Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, May 28, 2012.

Leaving the narrow alcove after a quick look at the scores (favoring the air-conditioned open room of the exhibit proper over the narrow LRT-like environment of the score-corridor), I encountered a timeline of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s career on a very long label (Figure 6) on the left hand wall (closer to the jackets and the trombone and facing alcoves and the three label essays on the right side of the room, closer to General Luna Street and the workers at the *sari sari* store who may not enter the exhibit). This timeline ("*Buhay*"/"Life") was organized by decade in nine vertical columns. The dates and events were listed in English above the decade section, below in Filipino (italicized,

handwriting font). A watermark picture of Felipe De Leon Sr. was behind the white text and the image melted into the black background. Both personal and professional achievements were listed in the decade 1940:

1940, 28 July	Married pianist Iuminada Mendoza with whom he would have eight children.
1942	Composed “ <i>Awit sa Paglikha ng Bagong Pilipinas</i> ,” based on Catalino S. Dioniso’s winning in the nationwide contest.
1942, 29 Nov	Conducted the first all-Filipino symphony orchestra
ca. 1943	Taught at the Conservatory of Music, St. Scholastica’s College
1946	Composed “ <i>Payapang Daigdig</i> .”
1947, June	Jointly premiered “Bataan” and “ <i>Banyuhay</i> ” at the UST Auditorium.
ca. 1947-1948	Served as music editor of the vernacular weekly <i>Ilang-Ilang</i> .
1947	Named “Composer of the Year” by Chronicle Magazine.
1948, Apr	Awarded “Diploma” of Honor by the National Federation of Women’s Club of the Philippines.
1949	Voted “Composer of the Year” by the Manila Music Lovers Society.
1949, Aug	Premiered “Manila Sketches” at the UST Auditorium; Premiered “Cry of Balintawak” at the UST Auditorium.

Included in the timeline was Felipe De Leon Sr.’s marriage to Iuminada Bonus Mendoza, but not the births of his sons, Jun, Bayani, Uncle Pi, or his daughter, Luningning, which also occurred during the 1940s. Like much of the exhibit, the information on this timeline was vetted and qualified by Jun De Leon. Curator Patrick

Flores told me that the crew of exhibit organizers had the most trouble preparing the timeline since there were many errors in the official CCP/NCCA National Artist biographical publications. Flores shared that Jun De Leon spent much of his time during the process consulting with his brothers via telephone, discussing the correct dates for the timeline and for the list of compositions in the back alcove.²⁸

Not surprisingly, the timeline was full of honors and awards, comprising at least half of the space of the timeline. At the end of the exhibit (or the beginning, if you went around the room clockwise from the entrance) was a freestanding glass case displaying Felipe De Leon Sr.'s most valued and prestigious awards (to the left of the entrance, facing the projector, near the desk and closer to the timeline wall and the "*Walang Maliw na Kaloob/Lasting Legacy*" label). De Leon's National Artist Award medallion, featuring the performative statement of award declaration in Filipino and signed by President Fidel V. Ramos in 1997 was displayed on one side of this glass case. The other side of the glass case was the Rizal Centennial Award (1861-1961), the Pro Patria in celebration of the birth anniversary of national hero José Rizal (1961) – both an award plaque and an award medallion. The inscription on the award plaque read: "In recognition and grateful appreciation of invaluable services rendered and support extended to the Order and dedication to the noble ideals and principles of our National Hero."

²⁸ Interview with Patrick Flores, September 6, 2012, Vargas Museum, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines.

IV. Culture of Material Recognition

I provided a detailed description of this exhibit to demonstrate the number of meanings at work in the display of materials and how their content and organization dictates or disrupts potential interpretation. I now return to two intersecting themes in this work: materiality and recognition in the Philippines. The physical evidence of his recognition - the award plaques and medallions – are stronger symbols of his career than scores, photographs, or even recordings and performances of his compositions. The material manifestation of the award is more important than the performative act of awarding. Specifically, the material evidence of this interaction (between awarding body and awardee) *is* the interaction of recognition.

This culture of material recognition is ubiquitous in everyday life in the Philippines. This struck me very early in my time in Manila during official interactions and anecdotal episodes. In 2011, I attended a conference where, on the last day, I was stopped by two conference organizers at the registration table. Once they noticed that I was a guest (and not officially registered), they were very upset and quite apologetic because they had no certificate for me. I told them that it was okay and I didn't need one. They looked at me quite confused – apparently I was the only attendee who did not require some sort of signed, stamped, or officiated physical evidence for attending. The community leaders, professors, and others in attendance needed the physical proof to submit expense reports, curriculum vita, or resumes. They could not simply list their involvement. Without the certificate, they may as well not have attended. In a culture where certified copies of diplomas for college graduates are more important than

transcripts, the submitted certificate of the proof is the gold standard for recognition. When giving a guest lecture or attending a Christmas party, I am given some sort of certificate - a token of recognition, a token of appreciation, or, a token of acknowledgement. However, they are much more than this. These certificates *are* attendance.

When I discussed material recognition with various informants, they laughed off this banal aspect of life in the Philippines. Reuel Aguila, playwright and University of the Philippines professor, shared this anecdote – an observation from his mother (he *insisted* I tell you this, to give her due credit). You should read this aloud to appreciate it fully:

RA: My mother tells me they call it ‘*certi-pikit*’.

[I thought he was pronouncing the word “certificate” with a Filipino accent – exchanging the “f” for the “p” consonant. When he noticed that I didn’t understand his attempt at humor, he continued to elaborate on this pun.]

RA [smiling]: The [root] word is ‘*pikit*’. It’s not ‘certificate’, it’s ‘*certi-pikit*’. They earn their merits by sleeping. ‘*Pikit*’ [in Filipino] is ‘to close your eyes’!

[We both laugh]

RA: You attend, you sleep, you are awarded for being there.²⁹

Aguila’s opinion on the relentless presentation of material reminders is cynical and light-hearted, but he makes a point about the origins of recognition and its evidence. When I asked him how long he’s been aware of this type of activity, his answer linked this practice to the Philippines’ colonial past. The first recognizer is the colonial master.

²⁹ Interview with Reuel Aguila, March 6, 2013, University of the Philippines Diliman campus, Quezon City, Republic of the Philippines. Aguila is a poet, playwright, and a professor of Filipino and Philippine Literature at the College of Arts and Letters at UP Diliman.

NM: How long has this been going on? When did you first recognize it?

RA: Decades...it's a long discussion on a colonized country... [by] extension, a postcolonial discussion. When a colonizer pats you on the back, it's good. But you feel bad because he's still your colonizer, your boss. He's patting your back, not because of what you have done, it's because you're a good subject to that person. You're still a subject. You obeyed him, you obeyed her.³⁰

Awarding and the material nature of it, according to Aguila, is a surviving colonial mindset. The award is recognition of your service, but that service goes in one direction – for the benefit of the colonizer. When the colonizer (Spain or the U.S.) convinces you that this service is more important than your previous concern, those tokens of recognition take on a greater importance. The truth of this exchange comes from the “top down,” from the powerful to subservient, and exists in material form.

The certificate, and by extension, all material evidence is proof-positive that you have done what you say you have done. This describes all materials in the exhibit such as the coat, the trombone, the photographs, the scores, the awards. The exhibit served as an even stronger memory place, because it is a *material* memory – is the only memory that is trusted. With this in mind, the tragedy of the destruction of Manila is not limited to the loss of bodies and souls. It extends to books, the government documents and the historical records that were obliterated when the city fell in 1945.

With the importance of materiality established, I remain quite curious that within the *De Leon* exhibit, one important certificate, one important piece of paper is missing – the certificate that declared De Leon innocent of the crime of collaboration issued by a

³⁰ Ibid.

post-war tribunal after the Japanese occupation of the Philippines. I believe this omission is explainable only within the context of specific historical circumstances and how they are historicized in the present.

V. De Leon and “Song for the Creation of the New Philippines”

Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. is referred to as the ‘crisis composer’ in biographical accounts and National Artist Award literature. His biographical entry in NAA promotional materials indicates that this was how he served his nation – during certain regimes and times of national peril, he provided the music (Cuyugan-Asensio 1998). Many sources refer to his name synonymously with nationalism: “pioneer of nationalistic compositions” (Samson 1976: 109), “composer of nationalistic songs” and “the Philippines Historic Composer” (Osit 1984: 91). In this section, I discuss a life event that was mentioned in the “*Sining sa Buhay*/Art In Life Felipe Padilla De Leon” exhibit but addressed only superficially. The crisis composer, Felipe De Leon Sr., wrote national anthems for two fraught governments: the Philippine Republic during the Japanese occupation and also for the President Marcos’s New Society in the 1970s.³¹ In the exhibit, this is a mere detail in the label, “*Walang Maliw na Kaloob*/Lasting Legacy”:

In the context of the quest for independence during the American and Japanese periods, de Leon’s sympathies with the folk found national expression in culture and the arts. For him, music resonates the soul of the nation. Pride of place is best awakened by making the nation the heart of music and ultimately, music the heart of nation.³²

³¹ De Leon’s “New Society” hymn and “Song for the Creation of the New Philippines” are discussed in Castro (2011)

³² Text in Filipino: “*Sa konteksto ng pakikipaglaban para sa kalayaan sa panahong Amerikano at Hapones, natagpuan ni de Leon sa kultura at mga sining ang isang anyo ng simpatiya para sa taumbayan. Para sa kanya, iniaalingawngaw ng musika ang kaluluwa ng bayan. Ang pagtangi sa pook ay napupukaw*”

The absence of significant attention to De Leon's work for the occupying Japanese in the exhibit is reflective of an overall sentiment in the Philippines that this time is best left forgotten. However, I assert that the story of De Leon's involvement is instructive and forces us to reconsider the nature of colonialism, imperialism, and the historiography of Philippine national identity.

I'll begin by telling you the story the way I heard it – from Uncle Pi and from his biographers. On Wednesday, November 25, 1942, six uniformed, armed Japanese military officers arrived at the doorstep of Felipe De Leon Sr. shortly after midnight in the Quiapo district of Manila. The previous year (1941), The Philippine Commonwealth was invaded by Japanese imperial forces. Shortly after this, Manuel Quezon, the president of the Philippine Commonwealth, escaped to the United States where he lived in exile. The famous phrase he left his top aides was: "Cooperate but never collaborate."³³ Felipe De Leon Sr.'s two young sons (Jun and Bayani, just babies at the time) and his wife, Iluminada, were asleep in the other room. The Japanese officers

at ang pagkakakilanlan ay nabubuo sa paglikha sa bayan bilang puso ng musika at sa huli, ang musika bilang puso ng bayan."

³³ These final instructions, "cooperate but never collaborate," are iconic in the literature of the Japanese occupation period in the Philippines. However, the actual phrase is only found in newspaper reports, popular historical works, and textbooks. In his account of Manila mayor Jorge Vargas's collaboration trial, Malay quoted the departing President Manuel Quezon instructing Vargas, "Cooperate with them [the Japanese] if necessary, but don't take an oath of allegiance to the emperor" (Quezon in Malay 1967: 15). The final instructions of fleeing General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) were, to Vargas, "Do anything they [the Japanese occupying government] want you to do, but don't take an allegiance. If you do, we'll shoot you in the back when we return" (MacArthur in Malay 1967: 16). These final instructions and their interpretation by the members of the post-commonwealth Philippine Republic government were crucial factors in their people's court trials after the Japanese occupation era.

handed the thirty-year-old De Leon the lyrics to “*Awit sa Paglikha ng Bagong Pilipinas*” (“Song for the Creation of the New Philippines”). In broken English, they said “Saturday, we come back – 3 o’clock – finished!” (Osit 1984: 76).³⁴ They expected De Leon Sr. to compose the music for the provided lyrics.

At the dawn of this hastily-assembled Japanese complacent government, Felipe De Leon Sr. was tasked with composing a song to celebrate a state in peril. Six months after Japanese imperial forces first occupied the Philippines (December 9, 1941), the *Manila Tribune* newspaper announced a Japanese-military sponsored contest for composers and poets. Catalino S. Dionisio’s Filipino-language poem “*Awit sa Paglikha ng Bagong Pilipinas*” (“Song for the Creation of the New Philippines”), was chosen for the lyrics of an anthem for Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic.³⁵ Osit (1984) claims that no one is sure why the Japanese military brought the “Song for the Creation of the New Philippines” to Felipe De Leon Sr. instead of other composers in Manila at the time. Osit surmises though that as a young composer, De Leon had written a number of music reviews and essays for the *Manila Tribune* so he assumed that his journalist colleagues recommended him for it (Osit 1984: 85).

Until faced with the dilemma of writing this song under duress in November

³⁴ The use of English in the Japanese Period was a necessary evil. Although one of the goals of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’s project in Southeast Asia was to resurrect the use of native languages in the governments of formerly colonized nations, English was the only language Filipinos/as and Japanese had in common. For more reflection on the aims of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in the Philippines, see Dery (2012).

³⁵ Very early in the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, Japanese officials promised that the Philippines would be a sovereign republic by 1943 (Steinberg 1967: 85).

1942, Felipe De Leon Sr. had only composed a handful of zarzuelas, piano works, hymns, and art-songs. He was, however, not a compositional novice: in 1939, he premiered three orchestral pieces (an orchestral suite, a five- part suite, and a symphonic march). De Leon's early musical experience included playing the trombone in community marching bands, a trend represented internationally by the Philippine Constabulary Band (his teacher, Col. Antonio Buenaventura was a leader of this group). Upon his graduation from the University Of Philippines Conservatory of Music in 1939, he became a composition instructor and arranger. Osit recounts that two weeks before he was commanded to write "Song for the Creation of a New Philippines," De Leon was reprimanded by a Japanese official who heard him use a snippet of the Philippine Commonwealth National Anthem during a rehearsal for a musical stage play he was directing.

As I argue repeatedly in this dissertation, music doesn't stop when the nation is in peril. There are only a handful of accounts of musical life in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation, but they point to a wealth of both public and underground musical activity.³⁶ Any official plans that the Japanese had for music programs in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere were subsumed under a wider cultural development rubric

³⁶ See the collection *Panahon ng Hapon: Sining sa Digmaan, Digmaan sa Sining (The Japanese Occupation Period: Art for War, War for Art)* (Barte, ed. 1992) for perspectives on literature, theatre, and visual arts during this time. For discussions of music in *Panahon ng Hapon*, see Santos (1992) and Teresita Maceda (1992). Santos's contribution to this collection features data from the final interview with Felipe De Leon Sr. before his death later that year (1992).

(Santos 1992: 96).³⁷ In the Philippines, and particularly in Manila, the Japanese found a thriving art music scene which they viewed as “American-influenced” which they aimed to erase from the Filipina/o soundscape.³⁸ Despite this distaste for the cosmopolitan sounds of Manila, Japanese administrators sponsored competitions for performers and composers and commissioned works on a small-scale (ibid.).

Felipe De Leon Sr. composed music for “Song for the Creation of a New Philippines” as commanded and submitted it to the Japanese officers upon their prompt return, three days later. Unknown to them, De Leon borrowed the melody from “*Marcha Nacional Filipina*” (“Philippine National March,” national anthem of the Philippine Commonwealth) and used it for “Song for the Creation of the New Philippines.”³⁹ According to his biographer, Osit, this act, “emboldened” the guerillas on the battlefield to “keep on fighting” and “embodied the Heart and Soul of the Nation” (1984: 76). This has often been characterized as subterfuge, a purposeful statement of resistance against Japanese hostility.⁴⁰ In the *De Leon* exhibit this trope is featured in the label “*Ang Makabayan/The Nationalist*,”

[De Leon’s] musical score for ‘*Awit sa Paglikha ng Bagong Pilipinas*’ [‘Song for the Creation of the New Philippines’] (1942) exemplified his craft and resolve. Subverting instructions by the Japanese military authorities, de Leon subtly and

³⁷ For the cultural and social policies of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere from a Philippine perspective, see Dery (2012).

³⁸ Irving (2010) might argue that this was not necessarily the heritage of American colonialism. Manila was a thriving cosmopolitan city since the time of Spanish colonialism, cross-pollinated by various European and other international influences.

³⁹ See Castro (2011: 28-30) for an analysis of “*Marcha Nacional Filipina*.”

⁴⁰ Samson (1976), Osit (1984) and Cuyugan-Asensio (1998).

astutely intimates the melody of the banned national anthem in the opening phrase of ‘*Tindig, aking inang bayan*’ [‘Rise, my nation’].”⁴¹

Immediately following the end of the war, Felipe De Leon Sr. was accused of collaboration for composing the national anthem under Japanese occupation and was tried in a people’s court after the reinstatement of the Philippine Commonwealth government in 1945. According to Samson (1976b) and Osit (1984), De Leon was found “not guilty” by the tribunal because of his use of the previous anthem as an act of resistance.

It was because of this story that I first became interested Felipe De Leon Sr. so many years ago. Therefore, I was quite disappointed when I saw so little of the *De Leon* exhibit devoted to this episode – a story of heroism, of daring, and ingeniousness. More importantly, in an exhibit devoted to materiality, the materials of his court case were absent. In order to discuss this act and its interpretation, I will give a brief history of changing political concerns during the Japanese occupation and how this time has been interpreted by historians, critics, and apologists in the twentieth century.

VI. The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines and Collaboration

During the tumultuous Japanese occupation era (1941-1945), the Philippines was in a liminal state, with two nominal governments, three presidents, and the presence of two foreign powers (Japan and the U.S.). Japan’s imperial creation, the Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in Southeast Asia was comprised the former colonial and imperial

⁴¹ Text in Filipino: “*Halimbawa ng kanyang talino at paninidigan ang kanyang manuskrito para sa ‘Awit sa Paglikha ng Bagong Pilipinas’ (1942). Bilang pagsuway sa mga panuto mula sa mga Hapones, masining at matalisik niyang iminungkahi ang himig ng ipinagbabawal na pambansang awit sa pambungad na pariralang ‘Tindig, aking inang bayan.’*”

subjects of nation-states in the West. Unlike the Vichy regime in France or other occupied areas of Europe, the Philippines was a commonwealth (not a sovereign nation) lead by President Manuel Quezon, and his associates, a class of American-educated Filipino politicians.⁴² After entering the Philippines on December 12, 1941, Japanese administrators created a temporary government with Manila mayor Jorge P. Vargas as head of the Philippine Executive Committee, a transitional group to usher in the Japan-sponsored Philippine Republic. Then, another Quezon associate, Jose P. Laurel, was hand-picked by the Japanese and elected president.⁴³ The Philippines was granted sovereignty under the Japanese and the Philippine Republic was established on October 14, 1943. Exiled in the U.S., Commonwealth president Manuel Quezon died from tuberculosis in exile in 1944. Sergio Osmeña (vice president under Quezon, also exiled in the U.S.) was named president of the Philippine Commonwealth. The Philippines nominally had two presidents, both issuing proclamations and orders from different

⁴² Collaboration and cooperation with the French Vichy government is discussed in Davies (2001), Gordon (1980), Kaplan (2000), Lloyd (2003), Novick (1968). Works on collaboration and cooperation with Nazis elsewhere in Europe are numerous. Selected bibliography includes: Bannet (1999) and Deák et, al (2000) on occupied Europe; Barber and Harrison (1991) and Jones (2005) on occupied Russia (1991); Conway (1993) on occupied Belgium; and Hirschfield (1988) on occupied Holland.

⁴³ Steinberg (1967), Setsuho (1999) and Nakano (1999b) noted that the Japanese occupation government wanted the Japanese-led Philippine Republic government leadership to be a seamless continuation of the Commonwealth leadership – therefore leaders were chosen from the same pre-occupation oligarchy. Although Steinberg characterized Laurel as “pro-Japanese” even before the occupation (1967:78), Nakano (1999b) doubts that the leaders under the Japanese occupied government were significantly less “pro-American” than exiled President Quezon or Vice-President Osmeña. Nakano wrote that the Japanese military “acquiesced” to the idea that the occupation government was still “pro-American” after two years in office (1999b: 27). By extension, exercises of loyalty to the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere by the Philippine Republic elite were little more than a protective ruse.

continents.⁴⁴

In February 1945, after four years of atrocities, starvation and the uncertainty of a society facing the end of the world on a daily basis, that apocalypse came with the destruction of Manila. Laurel, Vargas and other Philippine Republic officials escaped Manila to, first, northern Luzon, and then later Japan. After the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings and the surrender of the Japanese military in August 1945, Laurel officially dissolved the Japan-sponsored Philippine Republic while the returning President Osmeña restored the seat of the Philippine Commonwealth to Malacañang Palace. Laurel and his government officials returned to the Philippines and were imprisoned by General MacArthur while they awaited trial for acts of treason in collaboration with the Japanese government.⁴⁵ A short time later (July 4, 1946) under Osmeña-successor President Manuel Roxas, the Philippines became a sovereign nation.

After the return of President Osmeña in 1945, the issue of collaboration was addressed by an assembled people's court.⁴⁶ But treason and collaboration were mired in post-independence domestic concerns and post-colonial politics. The people's court made a few judgments, but most of these were overturned in the Philippine Supreme Court

⁴⁴ President Roosevelt approved an Administration Joint Resolution act that retained Manuel Quezon as president of the Commonwealth (in exile) until "normality" returned (Steinberg 1967: 103). When Quezon died in New York on August 1, 1944, Vice President Osmeña assumed this office and became the fourth president of the Philippine Commonwealth. The nominal existence of two simultaneous presidents of the Philippines – Laurel as head of the Republic of the Philippines, and Osmeña as president of the Philippine Commonwealth in exile – complicated the nature of treason and collaboration accusations.

⁴⁵ Numerous accounts describe MacArthur's role in the Philippines in pre-war and post-war periods. For MacArthur's opinions on collaborators (particularly Laurel) and their fate, see Edgerton (1977).

⁴⁶ The people's court was established by Osmeña via Act 685 in September 1945.

because the definition of treason in these proceedings. During the occupation, “acts of treason” were difficult to define: was collaboration an act of treason against the Philippine Commonwealth or against the United States?⁴⁷ Or – as many contested – it was neither, since the Philippines was a sovereign republic for half of the occupation period. By the time this was discussed in the people’s court, the Philippines was a sovereign republic (again), and it seemed like a moot point to decipher treason under old occupiers and dissolved governments. Another complication was President Osmeña’s declaration that guilt for accused collaborators was to be decided on a case-by-case basis and that culpability was based on motives for working under the occupation government. Treason was not the offense of an act of collaboration; rather, motivations were treasonous and punishable.⁴⁸ Lastly, shifting political concerns were taking center stage: the American government threatened to withhold economic aid unless collaboration was addressed.⁴⁹ Shortly after the end of the occupation era (1948), Philippine Republic President Manuel Roxas issued a blanket amnesty for those accused of collaboration. In

⁴⁷ To complicate this matter further was the question of declarations of war by the Japan-sponsored Philippine Republic. On September 23, 1944, President José P. Laurel declared a state of war between the Republic of the Philippines, the United States of America and Great Britain (Steinberg 1967: 98). An act of support toward the Japan-sponsored Philippine Republic’s “wars” was an act of treason against the Philippine Commonwealth and the United States (and vice-versa).

⁴⁸ This idea had serious long-term effects for all involved. As described in Monod (2005), in Europe, culpability was based on actions. Intentions were a secondary concern. Since intentions and motives were questioned in the Philippine people’s court trials, innocence could be proven if the accused worked under duress, worked to immediately protect the Filipina/o people, or worked with the goal of subverting future harm to the Filipina/o people. See Steinberg (1967).

⁴⁹ Simultaneously American interests changed support from Sergio Osmeña to then-presidential hopeful Manuel Roxas, who participated in the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic. Because Roxas had roles in both the American administration and the Japanese occupation, his place in the treason/collaboration controversy was ambiguous. See Steinberg (1967).

the context of a destroyed city, a re-born republic, and a tortured population, the issue of collaboration was exchanged for the promise of a new government, a period of mourning for Manila, and the rehabilitation of a downtrodden nation.

VII. Early Post-occupation Debates and “Big Men” on Trial

Scholarly interpretations of the Japanese occupation period in the Philippines are dramatically uneven: the lines of criticism and interpretation follow shifting political concerns in the post-occupation era. The first accounts were written by American scholars in the two decades following the war. The earliest (and most polemical) was David Joel Steinberg’s *Philippine Collaboration in World War II* (1967). In this work, Steinberg sorts through the complexities of immediate post-Japanese occupation politics and concludes that the Philippines’ moral deterioration in the twentieth century was the direct result of amnesty given to the prewar elite who then became leaders in the postwar government. According to Setsuho, Steinberg’s voice joined a chorus of other historians who created the dominant view of Japanese occupiers in Southeast Asia: their presence in Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines in the 1940s shaped the ideals of political leadership in Southeast Asia and determined their relationship to emergent nation states.⁵⁰

David Joel Steinberg’s *Philippine Collaboration in World War II* (1967) was criticized harshly by Filipino intellectuals.⁵¹ According to Nakano, the central dichotomy

⁵⁰ Nakano (1999a: 268) asserted that this was first suggested by Benda (1958) regarding the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, applied to all formerly occupied nations in Silverstein (1966) and became the established viewpoint by the publication of Steinberg’s later work on the subject (1971).

⁵¹ See Agoncillo (1984), Constantino (1978), Malay (1967).

of “collaborators” vs. “resistors” or characterizations of “traitors” vs. “heroes,” was created by American writers, such as Steinberg (Nakano 1999a: 268). The Japanese occupation was, first and foremost, a failure of the U.S. to defend their colony and not a war caused by the Filipinos (ibid). Steinberg advanced a predetermined argument: the U.S. supported a particular to egroup of questionable oligarchic politicians during the Commonwealth era that remained in power during the occupation. These politicians forgave themselves and moved forward to dominate Filipino politics (questionably) in post-Commonwealth era.⁵² Philippine historian Teodoro Evangelista accused Steinberg of misrepresenting Manila mayor Jorge Vargas due to these prejudices: “Vargas stood convicted by Steinberg’s preconceived ideas without the benefit of inquiry. Too much reliance and importance were given to the legal brief against the man for his alleged collaboration with the enemy” (Evangelista 1967: X). Thus, Steinberg’s position as an outsider precluded him from Filipino understandings of the case based on the historical specificity of the Japanese occupation era (the mentality of the war years and the specific conditions of postwar years).

Armando J. Malay’s *Occupied Philippines* (1967) and Teodoro Agoncillo’s *The Burden of Proof* (1984) focus on accused collaborators Jorge Vargas, occupation mayor of Manila and Chairman of the Philippines Executive Commission, and José P. Laurel,

⁵² Steinberg used the term “*utang na loob*,” a concept which roughly translates to “debt of gratitude.” Steinberg employed this concept narrowly to discuss webs of political influence and allegiance that connect Commonwealth, Japanese republic, and post-occupation elites. His use of the concept trivializes complex histories of class, race, and colonial behavior. Nakano (1999b) offered a more nuanced view that accounts for national interests and inter-generational concerns within the political elite.

president of the Japan-sponsored Philippines Republic during the occupation.⁵³ Both Malay and Agoncillo attempt to capture Filipina/o sentiment about the issue of collaboration and explain the motives of the accused political elite. In the introduction to *Occupied Philippines*, Malay wrote that public sentiment was solid before the declaration of amnesty:

It soon became very evident to the Filipino people, as reflected in the press, was sympathetic to the so-called collaborators. Every time Laurel or Vargas would score in the trials or in the hearings on bail petitions, there would be uncontrollable cheering in the audience, which the newspapers reported dutifully (Malay 1967: 144).

Thus, according to Malay, the Filipina/o people were ready for the collaboration issue to shelved by July 7, 1947, the beginning of the Vargas Trial (less than a year before the amnesty declaration). With the hindsight of nearly forty years since the Japanese occupation, noted Filipino historian Teodoro Agoncillo wrote:

That Vargas and Laurel and their ministers were guilty of collaboration with the Japanese was no longer in doubt. They collaborated politically. From this temporal distance, the real issue was whether they collaborated voluntarily for their own personal aggrandizement and whether in collaborating with the enemy they made the people suffer untold hardships (Agoncillo 1984: 198)

Agoncillo, also sympathetic to Vargas and Laurel, updates the idea of collaboration with a late twentieth century judgment. While Malay refuses to use the term, Agoncillo, uses it

⁵³ Although I focus on Filipina/o responses to the prevailing perceptions of American historians, there are (and hopefully will be more) notable additions to the literature on Philippine/Japanese collaboration that further complicate the subject. Renato and Letizio Constantino (1978) characterized resistance during the occupation as a measure against *two* imperial foes: the United States and the Japanese. Works by Goodman (1967) and Friend (1988) are informed by Japanese as well as Philippine sources and make comparative forays into other areas of Southeast Asia. McCoy (1980) was the first to challenge the traitor/hero and collaborator/resistance dichotomy by tracing local allegiances in politics outside of Manila. Nakano (2012) also analyzed the issue of collaboration in local politics in Leyte. Japanese historians (silent on the issue until recently) provide a wealth of insight on the issue in Ikehata Setsuho and Ricardo T. José's edited collection, *The Philippines under Japan: Occupation Policy and Reaction* (1999).

in the technical sense only. The two figures were collaborators by definition but they were not guilty of disobeying the final orders of their President Manuel Quezon. The pressing issues for Agoncillo were motives and effects – a subject that no one discussed after the amnesty declaration in 1947.

The problem with these works is that, like so many accounts focused on the political elite; they are our only models for interpreting actions and consequences during the Japanese occupation. These accounts do not describe the actions of and consequences for lower-level administrators, artists, or laborers.⁵⁴ After reviewing the literature on both amnesty and collaboration, I wish to reexamine the apocryphal story of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s trial by people's court and consider alternative interpretations in the present. To summarize: young De Leon, left with no choice but to write this music for a foreign invader, used the melody of the previous national anthem. Then when, faced with a tribunal, De Leon presented this evidence and was found “not guilty” of collaboration (when most of the leaders never saw a conviction). As an act of commemoration, this story contains three important elements: (1) it speaks to the patriotism of De Leon; (2) it depicts the Japanese occupation as a time of terror; (3) it upholds the work of this tribunal (and the legitimating forces that called for such action). It also allows for a multivalent consideration of De Leon's place in history – he is a hero like those who rebelled against the Japanese, but he is also “above” the murky politics of the oligarchy. This story allows us to interpolate the fictions of a tribunal setting (like the ones faced by the politicians)

⁵⁴ See Goodman (1996) for an account of artists accused of collaboration during the Japanese occupation. In Europe, artists accused of collaboration are recounted in Kater (1997), Monod (2005), and Kaplan (2007).

but it dissociates De Leon (and the pure nationalism of his music) with those who skirted the letter of the law. De Leon didn't need a declaration of amnesty. Unlike the oligarchs, he faced the courts and won.

No informant of mine, no text that I have read, and no one that I've interviewed has ever referred to Felipe De Leon Sr. as a collaborator. But the question remains: how do we interpret a life event or a set of actions when we are given so little information – in this case, only a brief story with no material evidence? I propose that the work of commemoration scholars can help us to sort out these myths in favor of giving meaning to De Leon's composition of "Song for the Creation of the New Philippines." In *How Society Remembers* (1989), Paul Connerton provides a rubric for understanding memory across generations. He wrote:

In successfully identifying and understanding what someone else is doing we set a particular event or episode or way of behaving in the context of a number of narrative histories. Thus we identify a particular action by recalling at least two types of context for that action. We situate the agents' behaviour with reference to its place in their life history; and we situate that behaviour also with reference to its place in the history of the social settings to which they belong (Connerton 1989: 4).

Furthering this argument, situating a single behavior or action outside of the temporal context is a grave error. Situating the composition of "Song for the Creation of the New Philippines" within Felipe De Leon Sr.'s life history (career), I see him as a young man trying to protect his young family. By luck of the draw, he was chosen for a fraught honor, and if he had not composed this music, somebody else would have. This is was no different from other acts in his compositional career, such as creating music that celebrated America's place in the Philippines during the commonwealth and post-

independence eras or that hailed Marcos's New Republic in the 1970s.

The more difficult question is the second half of Connerton's formulation – how do we situate this event, this behavior in De Leon's social setting? Much is known about the trials of Laurel, Vargas, and Roxas (the leaders) but very little is known about the people in the middle – the composers, the journalists, and the poets who were tried by Filipina/o tribunals adjudicating war crimes accusations. Their actions, motives, and consequences are placed upon a continuum of analogous situations with Big Men – they were more like Laurel (collaborator), somewhere in the middle like Roxas (cooperator) or more like the rebels (boldly resistant).⁵⁵ I agree with Nakano (1999b) that a more informed spectrum might place “appeasement” at one extreme and “coerced activity” at the other for the political elite. But for the activities of De Leon and countless others accused and tried by the people's courts, I propose a spectrum of interpretation with “compliance” and “acquiescence” at either end.

Although many would argue that the Japanese occupation of the Philippines is a time that is better left forgotten (and easily so, considering the destruction of so many records during the Battle of Manila), I feel that exclusion of De Leon's trial materials was a disservice to the *De Leon* exhibit. It was a missed opportunity to discuss the sacrifices of many in service of survival during a nightmarish time in Philippine history. And, more importantly, it is a story that has far-reaching effects: it challenges dominant historical

⁵⁵ In historical accounts of the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, rebels are characterized in much popular literature as noble and selfless patriots who sacrificed for the greater good. However, as revealed in McCoy (1980), those who took arms against the Japanese occupation did so for a number of reasons such as maintaining alliances in small-scale political affairs.

narratives of amnesty for questionable motives and consequences.

VIII. Conclusion

The *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit is an early twenty-first-century performance of the memory of Felipe De Leon Sr. It reflects the changing representational narratives through which artists are judged, and constantly re-judged, by the governing bodies of artistic excellence in the Philippines (the CCP and the NCCA). However, the sole authorship of this memory doesn't rest with the CCP and the NCCA. While they control funding, space, and logistics associated with this De Leon commemoration, the work of memory is shared by many performers, museum workers, publicists, and many others with a financial or professional stake in these events. And, most importantly for this work, the children of Felipe De Leon Sr. are present and involved in this commemoration with aims similar to the CCP and the NCCA: a hagiographic portrayal of De Leon. In one sense they are protecting his memory from unwanted interpretations. In another, they are infusing his story with early twenty-first century concerns – the concerns of those faced with the constant re-historicization of the Philippines and legitimizing narratives of Philippine sovereignty.

The exhibit ran from May 28 to July 16, 2012, and by the time you are reading this, another exhibit, informed by a different set of eyes and ears, sits in the NCCA exhibit space. The commemorative centennial year of National Artist for Music, Felipe De Leon Sr. (May 1, 2012 through April 30, 2013) has also passed. The centennial nature of this observance leaves me to wonder how De Leon will be characterized for his bicentennial – will he be a model for class mobility (given his humble beginnings in

Nueva Ecijia) or will his works as a cultural entrepreneur--self-publishing a journal and writing countless essays on music with little support from the major universities in the Philippines--take center stage? Or, will the focus be on Felipe De Leon Sr. and Iluminada as heads of an artistic family that worked through multiple channels to dignify not only the Filipina/o nation but also the Philippine diaspora, through art, music, criticism and education?

I didn't tell you earlier that Uncle Pi has a patriotic name, too. It's "Tagumpay," the Filipino word for "victory." He shares that name with many who were born in 1945, the year that Manila was destroyed and the occupying Japanese forces left the Philippines.

Conclusion

Through each change in government and through each new administration, the artists kept making art. Some of these artists were granted prestige by the government, some were commemorated by their families, and some were commemorated by their protégés or educational institutions. But with each act of prestige and commemoration, new meanings were presented by refiguring the life of an artist in new ways (reconsidering under-theorized aspects of the artist's work) or subjecting the same portrayal of the artist to modern criticism (challenging hagiographic representations). In the Philippines, displays of historical recognition and commemoration are ubiquitous. But aside from their performative value, I pause to consider justifications for commemorative acts and question their purpose.

The simple explanation for commemorating famous composers, directors, writers, or filmmakers by national organizations in the Philippines (e.g. the CCP or the NCCA) is that, by remembering the artist, the Filipina/o people can take pride in “one of their own.” But in a country where 33% of the population live below the poverty line, which concerns should take priority: acts of remembering great artists, better education, social services (now, non-existent), or accountability mechanisms for government spending? Or as one remarked about the *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit, “How can they justify committing that [exhibit] space to a composer with the population density in Manila? The cost of providing air conditioning in that single [exhibit] room for one hour could've fed that family across the street for a week.” Psychologists point to the efficacy of “exemplar studies” in which children, adults, adolescents are inspired by

reading the personal accounts of moral and ethical exemplars.¹ It is no surprise that the moral and ethical exemplars are also significantly regarded figures: famous artists, politicians, and the like. Commemoration leads to exemplar status, whether ascribed or achieved.

In this work, I aimed to create counter narratives of commemoration by analyzing the processes of prestige-granting as the well as the product of these acts. In this manner, I read with and against the grain of performative commemorative acts (national awards), aural commemorative acts (concerts and reenactments), and material commemorative acts (exhibits and composer collections). But instead of only critiquing existing practices, in this chapter I offer observations on alternative modes of commemoration that I observed during my time in Philippines.

I. Alternative Strategies of Commemoration

To discuss alternative strategies, I differentiate between two forms of memory described by nineteenth-century sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs: historical and autobiographical memory. The historical memory of actors is derived from photos, textbooks, written records; and performed in commemorative events and other celebrations (Coser 1992: 23). This memory is only afforded to actors in a mediated fashion, with a significant span of time between actor and object. Autobiographical memory is experienced firsthand by actors, it is memory that "...we have personally experienced in the past" (Coser 1992: 24). Autobiographical memory inevitably fades and must be maintained through commemorative events. Therefore, autobiographical

¹ See Matsuba, King, and Bronk, eds. (2013).

memory and historical memory are inexorably linked and both social in nature. Coser writes:

When it comes to historical memory, the person does not remember events directly; it can only be stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions when people gather together to remember in common the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group. In this case, the past is stored and interpreted by social institutions (1992: 24).

Historical memory is social in nature and must be reinforced through social means.

Autobiographical memory is social as well since memories disappear without the social institutions that govern them.²

This everyday practice of combining (and confusing) historical and autobiographical memory was common when recounting the distant past with my informants. For instance, when discussing the Japanese occupation period of the Philippines with interviewees who did not witness this era themselves, variations on two different stories enter the conversation. The first is a description of the cruelty of Korean soldiers during the Japanese occupation. This is a common myth among even scholars of the Philippines: the atrocities committed upon Filipinas/os were not the fault of Japanese soldiers, but Koreans serving in the Japanese army. The second is a recollection of exceptional Japanese soldiers who helped Filipinas/os during the occupation. The accounts of starvation and violence are tempered by stories of one Japanese soldier who “warned my family when it was time to leave town before the village was attacked” or “snuck food to us in the evening when no one was around.” Historian Ricardo T. José

² Coser rarefies the statements of Halbwachs regarding historical and autobiographical memory. Halbwach’s description can be found in the “Collective Memory of the Family” chapter of Halbwachs 1992 [1952].

agreed that these sentiments are ever-present in personal narratives about the Japanese occupation, but are most likely survivals of a promotional campaign by the Japanese government to rehabilitate their image in the Philippines for the purpose of improving business relations between the two nations.³ With no autobiographical memory of these events, my respondents are recounting these stories from older relatives as well as common myths that circulated after the Japanese occupation of the Philippines.

Within this discussion of autobiographical and historical memory, I return to a theme proposed in many areas of this work: commemoration is an everyday occurrence among national, artistic and scholarly elites in the Philippines. During the time of my research (2009-2013), I encountered commemorative celebrations for a number of significant figures and events in Philippine history (such as the thirty year anniversary of the Ninoy Aquino assassination on August 21, 1983) existing in the same geographical and temporal space as memorials for late National Artists and other figures in the arts and the academe. The justifications for these acts were the same: remembering is intrinsically important for the nation. At this point, I consider two acts of commemoration in which the interplay between autobiographical and historical memory served to complicate meanings for the benefit of audiences with no firsthand knowledge of the commemorative subject: the *Never Again: Isang Paggunita Sa Batas Militar (One Martial Law Remembrance)* (2012) and *Maceda Projects 2013 Listen to My Music* exhibits. Both were present on the UP Campus and challenged memory structures

³ Interview with Ricardo T. Jose, September 6, 2013, UP Center for Third World Studies, Palma Hall, University of the Philippines campus, Quezon City, Philippines.

associated with late twentieth-century Philippines state and art.



Figure 7 – *Never Again* and *Reflections 1081* exhibit displays, September 25, 2012.

Many Filipinos, ages forty and older, lament the fact that a growing population of younger people will have no memory of the Martial Law era and will not learn from the triumph of People Power. From September 20, 2012 (the fortieth anniversary of Ferdinand Marcos's declaration of martial law) to September 28, the exhibit *Never Again: Isang Paggunita Sa Batas Militar (One Martial Law Remembrance)* was displayed in the lobby of UP Palma Hall and attended by UP undergraduate and graduate students (Figure 7). The visual component of the exhibit, *ReCollection 1081: Clear and Present Danger (Visual Dissent on Martial Rule)*, featured paintings and photographs

depicting the brutality, the financial excesses, and protest activities of the Marcos regime. The display at the entrance of Palma hall described *1081* collection as “...an exhibit that takes cognizance of that period when the phrase ‘clear and present danger’ was used to justify an autocratic rule.” In addition to the powerful images, exhibit organizers provided an aural component. In a listening booth at the rear of the Palma Hall lobby, exhibit visitors could don headphones and listen to sound recordings of victims’ accounts of torture and abuse during the Martial Law period (Figure 8, below). Outside of the booth, exhibit visitors were asked to volunteer their own voices. They could go to a small recording studio down the hall and read from one of 10,000 affidavits of Marcos-era human rights abuse cases. Once recorded, these testimonies would be featured in the listening booth for future visitors.



Figure 8 - *Never Again* exhibit, September 25, 2012. Comments board and two spectators at the listening booth.

I argue that the *Never Again* exhibit is an alternative strategy of commemoration because it adds oppositional voices to other forms of everyday Marcos-era commemoration (the Marcos Highway or the UP Cesar E. A. Virata School of Business, named for a Marcos crony). With no autobiographical memory of the Martial Law era, the attendees at the *Never Again* exhibit had the opportunity to enact (see, hear, and vocalize) the tragic nature of this time by engaging with the narratives of those who suffered. The performers/listeners at *Ugnayan* 2010 (who were encouraged to move around and socialize) reenacted an exceptional moment during the Martial Law era, a time of physical and social restriction. Conversely, the volunteer voice actors at the *Never*

Again exhibit were countering the silences of the Marcos era with the words of the victims, describing everyday violence enacted upon ordinary citizens.

Another alternative commemorative strategy was the *Maceda Projects 2013 Listen to My Music* exhibit (June 6 – July 26), housed in the UP Vargas Museum. This was a tribute to José Maceda, but not solely devoted to Maceda or his compositions. The *Listen* exhibit honored the music of Maceda and other composers (protégés, colleagues, and those inspired by Maceda’s compositions). Ethnomusicological fieldwork in the Philippines was also a central subject in this exhibit. Field notes, research summaries, a photographic field essay in multiple parts, and interactive computer programs lined the 3rd floor gallery rooms of the Vargas Museum. Also, the *Listen* exhibit featured individual audio stations (iPods with headphones) playing works by Maceda as well as the creations of young composers who prepared compositions based on Maceda’s musical interests such as space, time, and timbral interaction. In one section of the exhibit, visitors were encouraged to play and listen at interactive media installations of various shapes and sizes. At one installation (“Sounds from the Coconut Village” by Cris Garcimo), the visitor could manipulate sampled sounds amplified by coconut shells; on another (“Sammy and the Sandworms” by Tad Emitaño), the visitor could use a touch screen to lead digital worms in various directions, producing different sounds whenever the worms touched. My sentimental favorite was “30 Sounds in a Filing Cabinet” by Tengal. It was the old Center for Ethnomusicology card catalog filing cabinet. I used it frequently at the Center in 2009 and 2010, before the file system was organized on a computer database. In the *Listen* exhibit, the cabinet served as a musical instrument. Every time I opened a

drawer, I activated a gong, bamboo flute, voice, and a drum loop. Opening the drawers at different intervals created a mosaic of timbral, rhythmic and melodic combinations.

The *José Maceda Listen* exhibit was an alternative strategy of commemoration because participation and appreciation relied on no previous historical or autobiographical memory of José Maceda or Philippine composition. If commemorative acts serve to reinforce historical and autobiographical memory, and if the participant has no autobiographical or historical memory of the subject, then participation in the commemorative event is an empty performance. Participants only venerate a “great man” or institution with little or no context. For example, consider the limited appreciative value of the *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon* exhibit: only those with knowledge of De Leon’s musical works possessed the autobiographical or historical memory to interpret the materials on display. Simultaneously, the message of the *De Leon* exhibit was stated plainly and authoritatively in language that was simultaneously too general and hagiographic to hold any specific meaning and too specific (regarding a single composer) to resonate with anyone outside of the national music community. On the other hand, the participant could appreciate the *Listen* exhibit without knowledge of José Maceda or his career. The *Listen* exhibit was composed of multiple voices and creators interpreting Maceda’s musical philosophies by creating works experienced through active participation in the process of commemoration – through making music.

II. Epilogue – Listening to the National Artist from Riverside, California (May 2014)

At 1:18 a.m. (UTC -08:00, early in the morning of May 7, 2014, in California) and 4:18 p.m. (UTC +08:00, late in the afternoon of May 7, 2014 in the Philippines),

Tunog at Tinig posted the following Facebook:

“Today at 5 pm:

**Excerpts from the UP Symphonic Band's Extreme Makeover concert
and**

**Jose Maceda's Music for 12 Pianos and 4 Percussion Groups (in commemoration of
his 10th death anniversary)**

Tunog at Tinig

DZUP1602”⁴

During the final stages of writing this dissertation, I found that chatting online in the late evening (or early morning) from my home in Riverside, California was an effective means of asking last minute questions to my friends in the Philippines (in their afternoon). “When I mention you and Raffy in the acknowledgements, which first name do you want me to use, ‘Veronica’ or ‘Chiari’?” and “Roselle, are you indeed the same ‘Roselle Pineda’ who publishes under the name ‘Roselle V. Pineda’?” I would also watch as the daily news unfolded on social media sites, eager to see my friends’ reactions to the current government scandal, the latest Republic of China incursion into Philippine waters, or the newest gesture of Janus-faced American help for their former colony.

Tunog at Tinig (Sound and Voice) is a weekly radio program created and hosted by ethnomusicologist and UP College of Music professor Verne dela Peña for DZUP 1602 AM, the UP College of Mass Communication’s radio station. *Tunog at Tinig* features a variety of Filipina/o art, popular, and folk music, probably from dela Peña’s massive collection of recordings. In February 2012, dela Peña invited me to accompany him to a *Tunog at Tinig* broadcast where he interviewed his colleague, composer and ethnomusicologist Jonas Baes. Baes discussed his brother, a protest singer during the

⁴ Tunog at Tinig’s Facebook page, accessed May 7, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/tunogattinig>.

Martial Law era. While living on the UP Campus, I looked forward to hearing the many interesting musical surprises on *Tunog at Tinig* every Thursday.

Neal Matherne: Tunog - Is there a possibility for online listening? Any websites for listening?

15 mins · Like

Tunog At Tinig: Try here - <http://www.radio.org.ph/dzup/> or here - <http://www.dzup.org/>

12 mins · Like

Neal Matherne Salamat po!

12 mins · Like

I asked **Tunog at Tinig** if I could listen from home since I had already returned to Riverside, California, far outside of the small DZUP AM broadcast area. Then I replied “thank you.” By May 2014, I had been away from the Philippines for eight months, missing my weekly broadcast of *Tunog at Tinig*. It never occurred to me that I could access the program online. I opened another window on Mozilla Firefox, went to the website, and started listening. It was streaming audio, so I had to wait another thirty minutes for *Tunog at Tinig* to begin. In progress was another radio program, *Patas sa Batas (Unfair Law* – a rhyming play on words). The show featured three UP Law students discussing their current education and future prospects in the legal field.

Tunog At Tinig: Gusto mong batiin kita, Neal Matherne?

6 mins · Like

Was this Verne dela Peña posting as **Tunog at Tinig**? Who else from his program might be posting under this Facebook username? I couldn't understand what he (or she) was asking me; the root word "*bati*" means "greeting" "congratulations" and "remembrance." Was he asking me to remember him? Was he asking us to remember each other? Was he simply teasing me because he knows that my dissertation is on commemoration? Did he want me to greet him (the other meaning of *bati*)? Why did I have to show off by posting in Filipino if I couldn't understand what he was asking me! The blind, impersonal nature of social media was no substitute for "being there" to ask these questions in person as I had done for three years. Chatting with Professor de la Peña (or "Sir Verne" as the students call him) online was a far less interesting experience than bumping into him in the College of Music and getting the latest updates on his research.

Neal Matherne: Opo! Paano?

5 mins · Like

I answered, safely, in Filipino: "Yes! How?"

Tunog At Tinig: Just listen - I'll give you a shout out.

4 mins · Like · 1

A shout out! I knew what that was. He would greet me on air. As the time approached (5 p.m. in the Philippines, 2:00 a.m. in California), I prepared for the broadcast of Maceda's *Music for 12 Pianos and 4 Percussion Groups*. I began searching through my notes from the José Maceda Collection to find any description of the composition. None of those documents mentioned *Music for 12 Pianos and 4 Percussion Groups*. Did I miss a Maceda composition in my research?

After playing three recorded performances by the UP Symphonic Band, dela Peña greeted me on air in English ("Neal Matherne from Riverside, California, who's writing his dissertation..."). Although I was listening alone, I was slightly embarrassed that other listeners (possibly people I knew) might interpret this endorsement of my work as a shameless request. Then, dela Peña reminded listeners that May 5, 2014, was the ten-year death anniversary of "National Artist for Music José Maceda." I wondered about the upcoming centennial birth anniversary of José Maceda in three years. Would the next president of the Philippines deem 2017 as the commemorative year for José Maceda?

Finally, the broadcast began: Maceda's *Music for 12 Pianos and 4 Percussion Groups*, one of the few Maceda works I had not previously encountered. I heard dissonance, measured silences, and clanking pianos stopping and starting. I tried to imagine the score and wondered if the workers at the Center had digitized that document yet. Then, I envisioned the recording session, possibly a live concert in Abelardo Hall in the UP College of Music. I knew that José Maceda was forward-thinking in his use of new technology in musical composition and performance, as demonstrated by his experiments with nontraditional media such as cassettes and radio in the 1960s and

1970s. I quickly scanned my notes from the José Maceda Collection to find any indication of Maceda's plans for online broadcasts in the later years of his life. I should've asked Ramón Santos or Marialita Tamanio Yraola about Maceda's opinions regarding the musical possibilities for the internet and new media. During my 2009-2013 research period, I inquired at the Center for Ethnomusicology about other proposed realizations for *Ugnayan* (portable listening devices and speakers, maybe) and was told that none of those interesting ideas could preserve the aspects of collective social musical engagement, timbral interaction, and mass participation that were crucial to the original. I wonder what Maceda thought of that.

In this work, I have only briefly mentioned sound and music. Instead of focusing on "notes," I discussed other aspects of musicking in the Philippines: the recognition of musicians (and artists) by the state, the execution of a technologically challenging re-performance, or the arrangement of a composer's exhibit. I spoke at length to musicians and artists but we rarely discussed "creativity," "art," or "aesthetics." In one respect, these concepts were always under the surface as we allowed our artistic sensibilities to inform our conversations without acknowledging them. In another respect, I think my informants could sense my appreciation for filmmakers like Lino Brocka (National Artist for Film, 1997), writers like Nick Joaquin or composers like José Maceda and Felipe De Leon Sr. But the creation of these nationally recognized artists are only a small percentage of the wealth of art in Philippines. The rest of the musicians in Manila – a singer at a protest rally, a violinist in a school orchestra, a young composer rushing to make a deadline, a DJ in a Makati nightclub, or a guitarist at a late night drinking session

– will never get an award, an exhibit, or a commemorative concert. You'll have to listen very closely to hear them, but it's worth it.

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Sound Recordings

- Maceda, José. *Ugnayan* by Nita Abrogar, Josefina Arrieta, Ruben Federizon, José Maceda, Arsenio Nicolas Jr., Fabian Obispo, Felicidad Prudente, and Antonio Regalario. ©2009 by Tzadik. 8068. Compact Disk.

Appendix A – List of Filipino Language Terms¹

Ate - older sister. It is both a common term of address and a term of endearment for women slightly older than the speaker.

Apelyido – last name.

Bati, Pagbati – greetings, remembrance.

Baboy – pig, hog, pork.

Bansa, Pambansa(ng) – nation, national.

Barangay - the smallest administrative division for areas in the Philippines; also the native Filipino term for a village, district or ward.

Batas – law.

Bayan – nation, community.

Bayani – hero.

Bitin – unsatisfied, unrequited anticipation.

Buhay – life.

Di ba? – Enclitic, possibly from “hindi ba.” The addition of “di ba” transforms a declarative statement into an interrogative. “Pumunta ka sa sari sari, di ba?” means “You’re going to the market, right?”

Dos – two.

Gawad – award.

Kuya - older brother. It is both a common term of address and a term of endearment for women slightly older than the speaker.

Likasan – exodus, evacuation.

Lolo – grandfather.

Luningning – sparkle.

Ma ganon – “it’s like that” or “it’s that way.”

¹ All translations by the author with suggestions from Charm Guevara and Dayang Yraola.

Magdangal – honor.

Mahal kong – salutation used in correspondence, equivalent to “dear.”

Malalim – deep.

Meron – multiple meanings as an existential verb and a verb of possession (“may” and “mayroon”). In the context of this work, it is a conversational marker meaning “that’s the way this goes” or “it’s like that.”

Naman – enclitic indicating shift in role or viewpoint, contrast between situations, or “really,” “truly,” or “indeed. In this work, “oo, naman” means “yes indeed.”

Pancit – noodles. Pancit bihon is a thin variety of noodle.

Pasko – Christmas.

Patas – unfair.

Pikit – to close your eyes.

Polo barong – short-sleeved linen version of the barong tagalog (embroidered formal shirt made of silk or other fine fabrics).

Sari sari – assorted, various.

Samba, pagsamba – ritual.

Sining – art.

Taglish – informal spoken mixture of Filipino (Tagalog) and English.

Tagumpay – victory.

Tinig – voice.

Tres – three.

Tsimis – gossip, from the Spanish, *chismis*.

Tunog – sound.

Ugnayan (or kaugnayan) – connection; interconnection; interlocking.

Walang hiya – shameless (without shame).

Appendix B – List of Historical and Contemporary Figures

- Alejandro G. Abadilla (1906-1969): Poet, fiction-writer, and lyricist. Abadilla contributed lyrics to a number of Felipe De Leon Sr. compositions
- Eufrazio Abaya Jr.: Educational and medical anthropologist; professor in the UP Diliman College of Education. Abaya conducted field research with José Maceda in the 1980s and continues to serve on the advisory board at the Center for Ethnomusicology.
- Napoleon Abueva: Sculptor and National Artist for Visual Arts (1976).
- Reuel Aguila: Poet, dramatist, and professor of Filipino and Philippine Literature at the UP College of Arts and Letters.
- Federico Aguilar Alcuaz (1932-2011): Filipino filmmaker and National Artist for Visual Arts (2009). Alcuaz was part of the committee-chosen nominee list during the 2009 National Artist Award controversy.
- Virgilio Almario: Poet, language scholar, and National Artist for Literature (2003).
- Fernando Amorsolo (1892-1972): Painter and the first National Artist of the Philippines (1972).
- Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino Jr. (1932-1983): former Philippine senator and governor of Tarlac; slain political opponent of Ferdinand Marcos; husband of President Corazon Aquino and father of President Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino.
- Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino III: Philippine president (2010) and former senator and representative of Tarlac (2nd District); son of Ninoy and Cory Aquino.
- Corazon “Cory” Aquino (1933-2009): former Philippine president (1986-1992); wife of Ninoy Aquino and mother of Noynoy Aquino. Cory Aquino became the Philippine president after the “EDSA” People Power Revolution in 1986.
- Francisca Reyes Aquino (1912-1983): Choreographer, folklorist, and National Artist for Dance (1973).
- Gloria Macapagal Arroyo: Former Philippine president (2001-2010), vice president, and senator; current representative of Pampanga (2nd District). Arroyo is the daughter of the former Philippine president, Diosdado Macapagal.

Lamberto V. Avellana (1915-1991): Film and stage director; National Artist for Theater and Film (1976).

Jonas Baes: Ethnomusicologist, composer and UP College of Music professor of composition.

Salvador Bernal (1945-2011): CCP production designer and National Artist for Theater and Film (2003). Bernal was the first to win the Award for the sub-category "Production Design."

Jorge Bocobo (1886-1965): Scholar and influential UP Diliman president.

Andrés Bonifacio (1863-1897): Filipino revolutionary and national hero. Bonifacio was a co-founder and leader of the Katipunan, anti-Spanish secret society and revolutionary movement.

José Buenconsejo: Music scholar and dean of the UP College of Music.

Carlo J. Caparas (Carlo Magno Jose Caparas): Philippine comic writer and film director. Caparas's name was added by the office of the Philippine president to the list of committee-chosen National Artists in 2009. In 2013, Caparas's National Artist Award was nullified by the Philippine Supreme Court.

Levi Celerio (1910-2002): Musician, lyricist, and National Artist for Music and Literature (1997). Celerio provided lyrics for many of Felipe De Leon Sr.'s compositions, including the "*Bagong Lipunan*" ("New Society") theme for the Marcos presidency.

Manuel Conde (1915-1985): Filipino filmmaker and posthumous National Artist for Film (2009). Conde was part of the committee-chosen nominee list of the 2009 National Artist Award controversy.

Ernani Cuenco (1936-1988): Orchestral and film composer; posthumously named National Artist for Music (1999).

Fides Cuyugan-Asensio: Opera and musical theatre vocalist, composer, and educator. Cuyugan-Asensio is notable for her performance as "Sisa" in the Felipe De Leon Sr. opera *Noli Me Tángere*.

Verne dela Peña: Ethnomusicologist and professor at the UP College of Music. De la Peña hosts a weekly radio program, *Tunog at Tinig (Sound and Voice)*, for the UP College of Mass Communications radio station, DZUP 1602 AM.

Gerardo “Gerry” De Leon (1913-1981): Filmmaker and posthumous National Artist for Cinema (1982).

Bayani Mendoza De Leon (1942-2013): Composer and musician; son of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. and Iluminada Mendoza De Leon.

Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. (1912-1992): Composer and posthumous National Artist for Music (1997); father of Bayani, Felipe Jr., Magdangal, and Tagumpay De Leon and husband of Iluminada Mendoza De Leon.

Felipe “Jun” Mendoza De Leon Jr.: NCCA chairman, professor, composer, and arts scholar; son of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. Jun De Leon is the son of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. and Iluminada Mendoza De Leon.

Iluminada Mendoza De Leon (1912-1999): Concert pianist and piano teacher; mother of Bayani, Felipe Jr., Magdangal, and Tagumpay De Leon and wife of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr.

Magdangal Mendoza De Leon: Philippine Court of Appeals judge, vocalist, musical arranger and composer; son of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. and Iluminada Mendoza De Leon.

Tagumpay Mendoza De Leon: Retired engineer, musician and rondalla instructor; son of Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. and Iluminada Mendoza De Leon.

Dolphy (Rodolfo Vera Quizon Sr., 1928-2012): Popular film comedian with hundreds of films to his credit. Nicanor Tongson criticized Dolphy in the summer of 2012 for his stereotypical portrayals of gay men and the poor.

José “Erap” Estrada: Former Philippine president (1998-2001) and current mayor of Manila; former action film star. Estrada was unseated from the presidency because of corruption and graft charges and later convicted. He was succeeded in office by Vice President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. .

Patrick Flores: Curator, art scholar, and Vargas Museum director; served on multiple National Artist Award committees.

Carlos “Botong” Francisco (1912-1970): Mural painter and posthumous National Artist for Visual Arts (1973).

Lazaro Francisco (1898-1980): Tagalog-language novelist and posthumous National Artist for Literature (2009). Francisco was part of the committee-chosen nominee list of the 2009 National Artist Award controversy.

Jovita Fuentes (1895-1976): Filipina opera performer, famous for her portrayal of Cio-Cio San in Verdi's *Madama Butterfly*. Fuentes was named National Artist for Music in 1976.

David Guadalupe: Technical assistant for audio collection digitization at the Center for Ethnomusicology.

Cecile Guidote-Alvarez: Theatre director and former NCCA leader. Guidote-Alvarez's name was added by the office of the Philippine president to the list of committee-chosen National Artists in 2009. In 2013, Guidote-Alvarez's National Artist Award was nullified by the Philippine Supreme Court.

Amado V. Hernandez (1903-1970): Filipino poet, playwright novelist and posthumous National Artist for Literature (1973)

Nick Joaquin (1917-2004): English-language Filipino writer and National Artist for Literature (1976).

F. Sionil José: English-language Filipino novelist and National Artist for Literature (2001).

Ricardo T. José: Historian of the Japanese occupation period in the Philippines and professor at the UP Department of History and UP Third World Studies Center.

Lucrecia Kasilag (1917-2008): Composer, folklorist, and former president of the Cultural Center of the Philippines. Kasilag was named National Artist for Music in 1989.

José "Pete" Lacaba: Poet, film producer, journalist, and Martial Law era critic.

José P. Laurel (1891-1959): President of the Philippine sovereign state (Philippine Republic) during the Japanese Occupation.

Bienvenido Lumbera: Poet, playwright, literary critic, UP professor of Filipino and Philippine Literature (College of Arts and Letters) and National Artist for Literature (2006).

Arturo Luz: Painter, sculptor, designer and National Artist for Visual Arts (1997).

Diosdado Macapagal (1910-1997): Former Philippine president (1961-1965) and father of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

José Montserrat Maceda (1917-2004): Composer, ethnomusicologist, and National Artist for Music (1997).

Francisco Mañosa: Philippine architect. Mañosa's name was added by the office of the Philippine president to the list of committee-chosen National Artists in 2009. In 2013, Mañosa's National Artist Award was nullified by the Philippine Supreme Court.

Ferdinand Marcos (1917-1989): Philippine President (1965-1986); husband of Imelda Romualdez Marcos; father of Ferdinand Marcos Jr., Imee Marcos, and Irene Marcos-Araneta. President Marcos declared martial law in 1972 (Proclamation 1081), suppressing press freedom and suspending the writ of *habeus corpus*. He was deposed in a 1986 snap election in which Corazon Aquino won the popular vote and assumed the Presidency.

Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr.: Philippine senator and former representative of Ilocos Norte (2nd District); son of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

Imee Marcos: Governor of Ilocos Norte and former representative of Ilocos Norte (2nd District); daughter of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

Imelda Romualdez Marcos: Former first lady of the Philippines (1965-1986) and governor of Manila (1975-1986); current representative of Ilocos Norte (2nd District); wife of Ferdinand Marcos, mother of Ferdinand Marcos Jr., Imee Marcos, and Irene Marcos-Araneta.

Irene Marcos-Araneta: Musician and daughter of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

Elena Rivera Mirano: Arts scholar, choral director, and dean of the UP College of Arts and Letters.

Antonio Molina (1894-1980): Composer, conductor, and dean of the Central Escolar University Conservatory of Music. Molina was named National Artist for Music in 1973.

José "Pitoy" Moreno: Philippine fashion designer. Moreno's name was added by the office of the Philippine president to the list of committee-chosen National Artists in 2009. In 2013, Moreno's National Artist Award was nullified by the Philippine Supreme Court.

Juan Napkil (1899-1996): National Artist for Architecture (1973).

Sergio Osmeña (1878-1961): President of the Philippine Commonwealth (1944-1946) in exile after the death of Manuel Quezon.

Roselle V. Pineda: Performer, artist, activist and professor at the UP College of Arts and Letters.

Ronald Allan K. Poe, Jr. (1939-2004): Film actor (“Fernando Poe Jr.”) and Philippine presidential candidate in 2004, challenging Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. Poe was conferred the Order of National Artist in 2006, but his family refused to accept the award from his political rival, Arroyo. President Noynoy Aquino presented the Award to Poe’s family in 2012.

Manuel Quezon (1878-1944): First president of the Philippine Commonwealth (1935-1944). During the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines, Quezon died in exile in the United States.

Carlos Quirino (1910-1999): Biographer and historian. President Fidel V. Ramos created the National Artist Award category of Historical Literature for Quirino in 1997.

Fidel V. Ramos: Former president of the Philippines (1992-1998); former Secretary of Defense under President Corazon Aquino; former Armed Forces of the Philippines chief of staff and Philippine Constabulary chief under President Ferdinand Marcos.

Jose Rizal (1861-1896): Philippine national hero, novelist, ophthalmologist, poet. Rizal criticized the Spanish colonial order in the novels *Noli Me Tangere* (*Touch Me Not*) (1887) and *El Filibusterismo* (*The Filibustering*) (1871).

Alejandro Roces (1924-2011): Short-story writer, essayist, dramatist, and National Artist for Literature (2003). Roces served as Secretary of Education for President Diosdado Macapagal.

Manuel Roxas (1892-1948): Philippine president (1946-1948) during the end of the Commonwealth Era and the first sovereign post-Commonwealth Philippine Republic.

Epifanio San Juan Jr.: literary academic, civic intellectual, activist, writer, essayist, video/film maker, editor, and poet.

Ramón Pagayon Santos: Music scholar, composer, and executive director of the Center for Ethnomusicology. During the 2009 National Artist Award controversy, Ramón Santos's name was dropped from the Award list by the office of President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

William Howard Taft (1857-1930): Governor-general of the Philippines (1901-1903) during the American Colonial era and president of the United States (1909-1913).

Rolando Tolentino: Dean of Mass Communications at UP Diliman, scholar of film and media, and critic of neoliberal Philippine economy and society.

Nicanor Tiongson: Film professor, critic, theater scholar, and former vice-president of the CCP. Tiongson re-envisioned the National Artist Award as a committee-chosen honor and served on multiple National Artist Award committees. Tiongson was a leading force in the creation of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts in the 1980s and 1990s.

Guillermo Tolentino (1890-1976): Sculptor, opera librettist, and National Artist for Visual Arts (1973). Tolentino wrote the libretto for Felipe De Leon Sr.'s nationalist opera *Noli Me Tángere* (1957).

Ramón Valera (1912-1972): Posthumously named National Artist for Fashion Design (2006) by President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

Jorge P. Vargas (1890-1980): Mayor of Manila and head of the Philippine Executive Committee during the Japanese Occupation.

Andrea Veneracion (1928-2013): Director of the UP Madrigal Singers and National Artist for Music (1999).

José Garcia Villa (1912-1997): Poet, literary critic, short story writer, and National Artist for Literature (1971).

Esteban Villaruiz: Choreographer, dance scholar, and UP College of Music professor. Villaruiz served on multiple National Artist Award committees.

Clod "Yayo" Yambao: Professor of Art Studies at the UP College of Arts and Letters.

Dayang Yraola: Manager of the Center for Ethnomusicology, independent curator, writer, and cultural resource manager. Dayang is the daughter of Marialita Tamamio Yraola.

Marialita Tamano Yraola: Former Center for Ethnomusicology administrator and music ethnographer.

Appendix C – List of Petitioners and Respondents in *National Artist for Literature Virgilio Almario et al v. The Executive Secretary et al, Republic of the Philippines, G.R. 189028 (2012)* from Chapter 1¹

Petitioners:

1. National Artist for Literature Virgilio Almario²
2. National Artist for Literature Bienvenido Lumbera
3. National Artist for Visual Arts (Painting) Benedicto Cabrera
4. National Artist for Visual Arts (Sculpture) Napoleon Abueva,
5. National Artist for Visual Arts (Painting And Sculpture) Arturo Luz
6. National Artist for Production Design Salvador Bernal
7. University Professor Emeritus Gemino Abad
8. Dean Marvic M.V.F. Leonen (UP College Of Law)
9. Dean Danilo Silvestre (UP College Of Architecture)
10. Dean Roland Tolentino (UP College Of Mass Communication)
11. Prof. Jose Dalisay
12. Dr. Anton Juan
13. Dr. Alexander Cortez
14. Dr. Jose Neil Garcia
15. Dr. Pedro Jun Cruz Reyes
16. Prof. Jose Claudio Guerrero
17. Prof. Michael M. Coroza
18. Prof. Gerard Lico
19. Prof. Verne de la Peña
20. Prof. Marian Abuan
21. Prof. Theodore O. Te
22. Dr. Cristina Pantoja-Hidalgo
23. Prof. Jose Wendell Capili
24. Prof. Sir Anrial Tiatco
25. Prof. Nicolo Del Castillo
26. Prof. Horacio Dumanlig
27. Prof. Danton Remoto
28. Prof. Priscelina Patajo-Legasto
29. Prof. Belen Calingacion

¹ As referenced in *Chapter 1 – Forgetting the Nation: The 2009 National Artist Award Controversy*. Source: Supreme Court of the Philippines website, accessed October 6, 2013, <http://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/jurisprudence/2013/toc/july.php>.

² Numbering added by the author for reference; not present in court document.

30. Prof. Amiel Y. Leonardia
31. Prof. Vim Nadera
32. Prof. Marilyn Canta
33. Prof. Cecilia De la Paz
34. Prof. Charlson Ong
35. Prof. Clod Marlon Yambao
36. Prof. Kenneth Jamandre
37. Prof. Jethro Joaquin
38. Atty. F.D. Nicolas B. Pichay
39. Atty. Rose Beatrix Angeles
40. Mr. Fernando Josef
41. Ms. Susan S. Lara
42. Mr. Alfred Yuson
43. Ms. Jing Panganiban-Mendoza
44. Mr. Romulo Baquiran, Jr.
45. Mr. Carljoe Javier
46. Ms. Rebecca T. Anonuevo
47. Mr. JP Anthony D. Cunada
48. Ms. Leah Navarro
49. Mr. Mark Meilly
50. Mr. Vergel O. Santos
51. Mr. Gil Olea Mendoza
52. Mr. Edgar C. Samar
53. Ms. Christine Bellen
54. Mr. Angelo R. Lacuesta
55. Ms. Anna Maria Katigbak-Lacuesta
56. Mr. Lex Ledesma
57. Ms. Kelly Periquet
58. Ms. Carla Pacis
59. Mr. J. Albert Gamboa
60. Mr. Cesar Evangelista Buendia
61. Mr. Paolo Alcazaren
62. Mr. Alwyn C. Javier
63. Mr. Raymond Magno Garlitos
64. Ms. Gang Badoy
65. Mr. Leslie Bocobo
66. Ms. Frances Bretana
67. Ms. Judith Torres

68. Ms. Jannette Pinzon
69. Ms. June Poticar-Dalisay
70. Ms. Camille de la Rosa
71. Mr. James Ladoray
72. Mr. Renato Constantino, Jr.
73. Concerned Artists Of The Philippines

vs.

Respondents:

1. The Executive Secretary
2. The Secretary of the Department of Budget and Management
3. The Cultural Center of the Philippines
4. The National Commission on Culture and the Arts
5. Ms. Cecile Guidote-Alvarez,
6. Mr. Carlo Magno Jose Caparas
7. Mr. Jose Moreno
8. Mr. Francisco Mañosa
9. And all persons, public and private, acting under their instructions, direction, control and supervision in relation to the conferment of the Order of the National Artist and the release of funds in relation to the conferment of the honors and privileges of the Order of National Artists on respondents Guidote-Alvarez, Caparas, Moreno and Mañosa.

Appendix D – Listening Chart for José Maceda’s *Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations* (1974) from Chapter 2¹

Time	Description
0:00	Forty kolitong zithers in different tunings begin short melodic motives; texture becomes increasingly dense.
3:04	Balinging buzzers (100 in various combinations) enter sparsely and the texture quickly becomes dense over the continuing kolitong background.
3:34	Bungbung (low pitched bamboo horns) begin in groups of two and three with single notes, while balingbing and kolitong continue.
5:38	Balingbing buzzers increase in speed and density. Bungbung and kolitong continue.
8:13	Balinging and bungbung textures become sparse. Combinations of kolitong zithers grow dense with the introduction of other various single-pitch brass and wooden percussion instruments.
10:46	Bungbung bamboo horns reenter with single notes while kolitong zithers continue.
13:26	The speed and density of kolitong zithers increases while bungbung horns continue single notes.
14:57	Bungbung horn density decreases then grow quiet. Kolitong zithers decrease in density until distinguishable melodic motives are audible.
16:04	Kolitong pattern changes to single-pitch repeated motives echoed between differently tuned zithers as frequency and density increases.
17:26	Ongiyong whistle flutes enter with high-pitched short repeated single- and dual-note patterns over the kolitong zither echo pattern.
18:56	Ongiyong flutes grow louder with high pitched single notes in rapid succession as kolitong zither speeds decrease.
23:38	Ongiyong flutes gradually cease as kolitong continues echoing pattern while other single pitched percussion instruments enter.
26:26	Ongiyong flutes reenter playing single notes in short durations.
29:43	Ongiyong flutes cease as bungbung horns return with previous one-note patterns over kolitong and single pitched percussion. Bangibang yoke-shaped wooden bars begin loud strikes becoming increasingly dense over kolitong zither patterns.
31:15	Bungbung horns cease as bangibang bar patterns grow louder and faster.
36:25	Bangibang bar patterns become less dense over kolitong zithers.

¹ As referenced in *Chapter 2 – Remembering Maceda: Ugnayan 1974 and Ugnayan Fest 2010*. The listening chart is based on the 2009 compact disk, *Ugnayan* (Tzadik). The recording is a stereo reduction of the original twenty individual *Ugnayan* tracks. Since this is a simplification of the original twenty-track multispatial performance, conceptions of dynamics and musical density are relative to the two-track stereo reduction.

Time	Description
37:04	Agung wide rimmed gongs play low pitches. Groups of male and female-bodied voices sing “yaaaaaa” (C# or di) at longer and shorter durations with non-metered staggering entrances.
38:20	While agung gongs continue, more groups of voices enter singing “yaaaaaa” at a different pitch (D) while other voice groups sing “yaaaa” at the first pitch (C#) creating a harmonic minor second interval between groups of voices. Kolutong zither patterns become sparse.
40:03	Density of voice groups varies, while returning to first pitch (C#). Wooden and brass percussion becomes sparse as another group of voices enters singing “yaaaaaa” at a higher pitch (G) creating a harmonic tritone.
41:49	Kolutong zithers and bangibang wooden bar groups reenter and voices cease.
42:52	Over kolutong and bangibang, balingbing buzzers begin as single notes. A variety of single note gongs enter and the mass of sounds coalesces in a dense loud formation with crashes and swishes from various percussion instruments.
46:08	Density of all instruments ceases as Chinese cymbal crashes grow louder.
46:33	All previous instruments reenter with human voices murmuring indiscernible language. Then, voices sing “yaaaaaa” at various octaves (C). Another group of voices enter singing “yaaaaaa” at another pitch (F) creating a perfect fourth harmonic interval. Additional voices sing “oooooh” at sweeping variable pitches.
51:01	All instruments cease as Ugnayan ends with ongiyong flutes whistles.

Appendix E – “*Ang Pambansa/The National*” Label from Chapter 3¹

“Ang Pambansa” (Filipino Version)”	“The National” (English Version):
<p>“<i>Umugit sa kanyang mga kaklase sa komposisyon ang lagi niyang katanungan: “Paano lalaya ang bayan kung ang inyong mga awit ay panay na wikang dayuhan ang titik?” Mula rito, isinalin ni de Leon ang ilang awitin mula sa kanluran tulad ng “Happy Birthday” (“Maligayan Kaarawan”), “Home Sweet Home” (“Tahanan Ma’y Dukha”), “He’s a Jolly Good Fellow” (“Siya ay Mabuting Tao”), at “Auld Lang Syne” (“Awit Sa Paghihiwalay”).</i></p> <p><i>Dagdag pa, ipinagkalooban ni de Leon ang mga anyo mula sa kanluran ng isang mayabong na buhay lampas sa kanilang pinagmulan. Itinanghal niya ang mga ito sa saliw ng nangungulilang at marubdob na damdamin ng lunan, isang modernistang kumpas na malay sa posibilidad ng muli’t muting pag-unawa at pagpapasya hinggil sa pananagutan na impamalas ang isang anyong post-kolonyal. May tiwala sa diwa na ang mga pagpapahayag ng karaniwang tao ay nagbubunyag ng bukod-tanging katauhan ng Pilipino at ng kanyang paligid, masinsin niyang binago ang repertoryo ng musika ng katutubo. Naisulat niya na ang nililikha</i></p>	<p>[Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr.] admonished his classmates in composition with the question: “<i>Paano lalaya ang ating bayan kung ang inyong mga awit ay panay na wikang dayuhan ang mga titik?</i>”² Henceforth, de Leon translated western songs, including “Happy Birthday” (“<i>Maligayang Kaarawan</i>”), “Home, Sweet Home” (“<i>Tahanan Ma’y Dukha</i>”), “He’s a Jolly Good Fellow” (“<i>Siya ay Mabuting Tao</i>”), and “Auld Lang Syne” (“<i>Awit sa Pahihwalay</i>”).</p> <p>Moreover, de Leon offered western genres with a robust afterlife beyond their origins. He rendered them with a wistful and stirring local sentiment, a modernist gesture that was aware of the possibility of reinterpretation and decisive about the responsibility to evoke a post-colonial form. He consistently reworked the native musical repertoire, secure in the thought that these expressions of the common people revealed aspects of the Filipino character and its milieu. He wrote that the Filipino composer creates compelling Filipino music if “his roots are in his native culture and nurtures the aspirations peculiar to his people.” No Philippine Christmas</p>

¹As referenced in *Chapter 3 – Restoring the National: The Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. Centennial Exhibit*. National Commission for Culture of the Arts, author. From *Sining sa Buhay/Art In Life: Felipe Padilla De Leon exhibit*, May 28, 2012, at NCCA Building, 633 General Luna Street, Intramuros, Manila, Republic of the Philippines.

² I translate this quote as, “How liberated is our country if its songs only have foreign lyrics?” In the Filipino language, speakers use one of two first-person plural formations for subject, object, and possessive pronouns: (1) “*tayo/natin/atin*” or “we/us/our inclusive” (the speaker, others, and you, the listener) or (2) “*kami/namin/amin*” or “we/us/our exclusive” (or only the speaker and others but not you, the listener). For this Felipe Padilla De Leon Sr. quote, “our country” (ating bayan) is “our inclusive” – he is speaking to his classmates about songs and this is *their* discussion about *their* country. The included “you” is a Filipina/o “you.”

ng kompositor na Pilipino ay lubos na masidhing uri ng musika kung “ang kanyang ugat at nasa katutubong kultura at nililinang nito ang adhikaing natatangi sa kanyang bayan.” Kulang ang isang Paskong Pilipino kung walang “Pasko na Naman” at “Payapang Daigdig,” mga panalangin para sa kasiyahan at kapayapaan.

Naghain siya ng pagninilay hinggil sa musika bilang “pambansa,” ipinangatwiran na ang Musikang Pilipino ay mayroong sariling kasaysayan at estetika na humihingi ng paglinang, pagtuturo, panuntunan mula sa estado para ito ay kalingain, at ang pagmamahal ng taumbayan.

Kolektibo ang Pilipino, natitipon bilang bayan

would be complete without “*Pasko na Naman*” and *Payapang Daigdig*,” prayers for joy and peace.

He offered reflections on this music as “national,” arguing for a Philippine Music with its own history and aesthetics that deserved cultivation, inculcation, a policy from the government to nurture it, and a cherishing from the people.

The Filipino is collective, gathered as nation.