

THE SPANISH COLONIAL TRADITION

In 1521, when the Spaniards arrived at the archipelago that they were later to call Filipinas, they found that the inhabitants lived in small and autonomous communities, except in big centers ruled by the likes of the Sultan of Sulu or the Rajah of Manila. Spanish conquest beginning in 1565 led to the consolidation of the people through the following process: first, *reduccion* (reduction of the people to submission) by means of military invasion; second, the resettlement of the people into *pueblos* (towns) organized *bajo las campanas* (under the church bells); third, the conversion of the people to Christianity and consequently, their acculturation into Spanish-European thought. Beneath this layer of hispanized culture, however, the people's native spirit persisted in their folkways and in their religious beliefs and practices.

The entry into the country of the spirit of the European Medieval Period (12th century) and the Golden Age of Spanish Literature (17th century) contributed to the acculturation process. The early missionary poets seemed to have been more familiar with the poetry of the Medieval Period and found it more useful for their missionary purposes. The friars who came later continued to use the same models for the same reason.

By the 18th century, Spanish reduction of the people was clearly evident in both the prose and poetry of the period until the emergence of such independent spirits as Francisco Baltazar and the writers of the Reform Movement of the 1880s.

Poetry

Religious poetry is exemplified by the complimentary verses, the *dalit*, and the *pasyon*; secular poetry, by the *awit* and *korido* (metrical romances) and the lyric poems.

In 17th-century Spain, a poem in sonnet form, called complimentary verses, usually appeared in a book in order to encourage people to read it. In the Philippines, the first printed book, the *Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala* (Guidelines for the Christian Life in the Tagalog Language), 1605, by Dominican friar Francisco Blancas de San Jose, included Fernando Bagongbanta's *ladino* or bilingual complimentary poem now known by its first line: "Salamat nang Ualang Hanga" (Unending Thanks). The fusion of the indigenous and Spanish poetic traditions are evident in this poem, which consists of lines alternating between Spanish and the Tagalog translation. Significantly, even the poet's name itself, Fernando Bagongbanta, is *ladino*. Included in the same book is the first known poem written solely in Tagalog, also a complimentary poem now known by its first line "May Bagyo Ma't May Rilim" (Though It Is Stormy and Dark), by an anonymous author. San Jose called these poems *awit*.

Notable among the ladino writers was Tomas Pinpin, whose six *awit* (songs) in his book *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang Uicang Castila* (A Book for the Tagalog to Study the Spanish Language), 1610, may have been the beginnings of “that restructuring of the native’s mental world with the intrusion of a new medium, language, and complex of symbols” (Mojares 1983: 50). It has been observed that Pinpin’s Spanish translation of the Tagalog lines in his *awit* is concerned more with rhythm and rime than with semantic accuracy (Rafael 1988: 60-61). A sample of Pinpin’s ladino poem and Rafael’s English translation illustrates this:

*Anong dico toua, Como no he de holgarme;
Con hapot, omaga, la mañana y tarde;*

*dili napahamac, que no salio en balde;
itong gaua co, aqueste mi lance;
madla ang naalaman; y a mil cossas saben;
nitong aquing alagad, los mis escolares;
sucat magcatoua, justo es alegrarse;
ang manga ama nila, sus padres y madres;
at ang di camuc-ha, pues son de otro talle;
na di ngani baliu, no brutos salvages.*

Oh, how happy I am, why shouldn’t I make merry,
when afternoon and morning, morning and afternoon,

no danger occurs, it was not in vain,
this work of mine, this my transaction.
So much will be known, and a thousand
things will be known
by my followers, those my students.

Such is their joy, they do right to rejoice,
their parents, their fathers and mothers, and even those not
like them, for they are of another kind,
they are not crazy, not savage brutes.

Explicacion de la doctrine cristiana en lengua tagala (An Explication of the Christian Doctrine in the Tagalog Language), 1628, by Alonso de Santa Ana, included the complimentary poem in Tagalog, “Salamat nang Ualang Hoyang” (Unending Thanks), by Pedro Suarez Ossorio. Santa Ana called Ossorio’s poem, which consisted of monoriming octosyllabic quatrains, a *dalit*. However, unlike folk poetry whose stanzas are independent units, this poem is composed of interdependent stanzas. Gaspar de San Agustin, in *Compendio del arte de la lengua tagala* (A Compendium of the Grammar of the Tagalog Language), 1703, further describes the *dalit* as “solemn and sententious, in the style of what the Greeks and Latins called dithyrambic epic.” In the 18th century, Felipe de Jesus wrote a complimentary poem, “Dalit na Pamucao sa Tauong Babasa Nitong Libro” (Song to Awaken the Reader of This Book), 1712, for Antonio de Borja’s

Tagalog version of the legend of Barlaan and Josaphat.

The *dalit* was transformed into religious lyric poetry, such as those contained in the book *Meditaciones, cun manga Mahal na Pagninilay na Sadia sa Santong Pag Eexercisios* (Meditations, or Holy Reflections Proper to the Spiritual Exercises), 1645, a Tagalog translation by Augustinian friars, Pedro de Herrera and Juan Serrano, of the Spanish *Meditaciones* (Meditations) by Jesuit priest Francisco de Salazar. Said to contain the biggest collection of 17th-century poems by a single writer, the book is divided into five chapters, each called a *dalit* on a particular theme. The titles of the five chapters are “*Dalit sa Caloualhatian sa Langit na Cararatnan nang mga Banal*” (Song for the Heavenly Glory That Will Come to the Holy), “*Dalit sa Pagsisisi sa Casalanan*” (Song for Repentance for One’s Sin), “*Dalit sa Camatayan*” (Song for Death), “*Dalit sa Paghohocom nang Ating Panginoong Jesu Christo*” (Song for the Judgment of Our Lord Jesus Christ), and “*Dalit sa Ualang Catapusang Hirap at Saquit sa Infierno*” (Song for the Eternal Suffering and Pain in Hell). Another example of the *dalit* is “*Purihin ng Sansinukob*” (Let the Whole World Praise), 1712, by Felipe de Jesus. Thus, the *dalit* came to refer to meditative poetic pieces attached to religious works like *novenas*, catechisms, and books of meditations.

The *pasyon* is an account of the life of Christ, particularly his passion and crucifixion. It consists of octosyllabic quintillas, or five-line stanzas with eight syllables per line. The earliest known Filipino *pasyon* is the Tagalog *Ang Mahal na Passion ni Jesu Christong Panginoon Natin na Tola* (The Holy Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Verse), 1704. However, the most popular was *Casaysayan nang Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon Natin na Sucat Ipag-alab nang Puso nang Sinomang Babasa* (The Story of the Holy Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ That Should Inflamm the Heart of the Reader), 1814, aka *Pasyong Genesis* or *Pasyong Pilapil*. This was criticized by Fr. Aniceto de la Merced who then wrote his own version, *El libro de la vida* (The Book of Life), first published 1852, aka *Pasyong Candaba*. According to literary historian Nicanor G. Tiongson (1982), these three *pasyon* paralleled the three stages of the Spanish colonization process: indigenization, standardization, and erudition.

The *Pasyong Genesis* was meant to correct errors in doctrine committed by de Belen, to make the language more familiar to the 19th-century Filipino, and to open the narrative with Genesis, or the story of the Creation. About half of it, however, was copied directly from de Belen. Nevertheless, folk beliefs still found their way into this *pasyon*: for instance, the three women who went to visit Christ’s tomb intended to *suob* (“smoke”) the body, in the manner of folk burial rites.

The *Pasyong Candaba* continued the missionary zeal for “correctness,” both in subject matter and in literary technique. The result was a language that was utilitarian, discursive or explanatory rather than metaphorical or expressive. This was to prove useful in the 1890s, however, for discursive verse became the

language of the Reform and Revolutionary Movements of the 1890s.

As the *pasyon* settled in the popular consciousness, it moved toward secularization and was appropriated by the Filipino people for anticolonial purposes. Marcelo H. del Pilar's "Pasyong Dapat Ipagalab nang Puso nang Tauong Baba sa Kalupitan nang Fraile" (Passion That Should Inflamm the Heart of the Person Who Suffers the Cruelty of the Friars), circa 1885, which exposes the abuses of the friars, is a parody of the *Pasyong Genesis*. Reynaldo Iletto, in his study of the relations between the *pasyon* and revolutionary movements, points to the equation between the people's faith in redemption and in their freedom through revolution.

There are other versions of the *pasyon*: in Visayan, 1717, in Pangasinan, 1855, in Bicol, 1866, in Pampango, 1876, in Cebuano, 1884, in Ilongo, 1892, in Waray, 1916, in Sambal, 1929, and in Ibanag, 1948. Many of these were translations of the *Pasyong Genesis*.

The Spanish romance or ballad and the *libros de caballeria* or metrical romance, were two very popular forms during the Spanish medieval period. These had evolved from long narrative folk poems called the *cantares de gesta* or songs of heroic deeds. The Spanish ballad may have been brought to the Philippines through the Mexican *corrido*. Unlike the Philippine *korido*/*awit* (or metrical romance), however, the Mexican *corrido* is a narrative about actual persons and events in the locale; its Filipino parallel is the Ilongo *composo*. On the other hand, the Tagalog, Ilongo, Cebuano *korido*, also called *kuriru* in Pampango, *panagbiag* in Ilocano, *impanbilay* in Pangasinan, and *versos/plosa* in Bicol, generally derive from the *libros de caballeria*, which are drawn from European history and legend. The *libros de caballeria* in Spain were stories about war and the adventures of legendary heroes, princes, and knights. But these were set against the backdrop of the European wars against the African Moors. Hence, they were created by the specific historical circumstances of Spain. By the 17th century the *libros de caballeria* had become obsolete in Europe, a fact signified by Miguel de Cervantes' burlesque of the deeds of chivalric heroes in his novel *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. In the Philippines, however, their popularity began to rise only at the turn of the 18th century.

The Filipinos' first acquaintance with the European romances was probably through the soldiers of Legazpi at the close of the 16th century or the Spanish friars, who may have written them down in the various Philippine languages. The first known printed Philippine metrical romance, however, is dated 1815.

The metrical romance with 12 syllables per line was called an *awit*, whereas that with 8 syllables per line was called a *korido*. The dodecasyllabic quatrain, which was the verse form of the *awit*, was called the *plosa*.

The octosyllabic quatrain, which characterized the Spanish romance, came to be

called romance or *hakira* in the Philippines, the last from the Spanish word *jacara*.

Most of the awit and korido were adaptations of European metrical romances. From the French Charlemagne cycle came the awit/korido *Doce Pares*, *Baldovino*, and *Conde Irlos*; from the British legends of the Round Table, *Tablante de Ricamonte* (about a little known knight called Jofre Donason); and from Greece and Rome, *Ang Pagkaguhong ng Troya* (The Destruction of Troy). Spanish history and folk literature produced *Bernardo Carpio*, *Siete Infantes de Lara*, *Rodrigo de Villas*, and *Gonzalo de Cordoba*. One korido, *Dama Ines*, comes from Portuguese history. Other Philippine awit/korido adapted from European romances were *Roberto el Diablo*; *Erastro* from *The Seven Sages of Rome*; *Si Floristo at Blanca Flora* from *Floris and Blancheflur*; and *Si Haring Villarba* from *Sir Isumbras*.

Some awit/korido, were also conduct books in verse form, such as Joaquin Tuason's *Patnubay nang Cabataan o Talinhagang Buhay ni Eliseo at ni Hortensio* (Guide for the Youth or the Symbolic Life of Eliseo and Hortensio), 1872, *Ang Marauhal na Pamumuhay ni Bertong Lasing at Quicong Manunugal* (The Despicable Life of Berto the Drunk and Quico the Gambler), 1878; and Padre Juan Dilag's *Caaua-auang Buhay nang Magsusugal at Nacamumuhing Asal ng Lasing* (The Pitiful Life of a Gambler and the Detestable Manners of a Drunkard). There were awit/korido about saints and Biblical characters, such as Isabela, Margarita de Crotona, Maria Magdalena, Santa Elena, San Ignacio de Loyola, Adam and Eve, the martyr of Golgotha, Queen Esther, Judith, King Solomon, and the three Kings.

An awit that repudiated the escapist content of the metrical romance and used the form instead as an expression of protest against Spanish abuses was *Pinagdaanang Buhay ni Florante at ni Laura sa Cahariang Albania-Quinuha sa Madlang Cuadro Historico o Pinturang Nagsasabi nang manga Nangyayari Nang Unang Panahon sa Imperio nang Grecia—at Tinula nang Isang Matouain sa Versong Tagalog* (The Life Experienced by Florante and Laura in the Kingdom of Albania—Taken From a Historical Painting Depicting Ancient Events About the Greek Empire—and Written in Poetic Form by One Who Delights in Tagalog Verse), circa 1838, by Balagtas. As a metrical romance, it makes allusions to its European models, including Greek and Roman mythology, but its plot, characters, and themes are original.

Balagtas' poetic skill also demonstrated the musicality and emotional intensity of his lyric poems. Philippine lyric poetry followed certain fixed conventions: the apostrophe (e.g., to the heavenly bodies), personification (e.g., of Death), an impossible love, and the description rather than dramatization of sentiment. These were derived from the conventions of medieval Spanish poetry, which expressed a veneration for the Virgin Mary, the concept of Platonic love, and the codes of courtly love.

Balagtas' poem "Labindalawang Sugat ng Puso" (Twelve Wounds of the Heart), which comes from his play *Abdal y Miserena* (Abdal and Miserena), 1859, became the quintessence of the poem of courtly love and served as the model for subsequent poets. Its rhetoric consists solely of the description of abject suffering, as the following excerpt (Lumbera 1986:110) illustrates:

*Hirap, Kalumbayan, Dalita't Hinagpis
Pighati at Dusa, Dalamhati't Sakit,
Panibugho't Sindak, Bagabag, Ligalig,
Umiiwang lahat sa aba kong dibdib.*

*Ang pagkaapi koy di-kawang hirap,
Nasayang ang pagod, suyo at pagliyag;
Pag-asa'y napatid, ang tuwa'y kumupas,
Mata'y naging batis sa luhang nanatak!*

Weariness, Melancholy, Suffering and Dejection
Grief and Sorrow, Depression and Affliction,
Jealousy and Fear, Worry, Anxiety,
All these stab my miserable heart.

My oppression is at once hardship,
Wasted labor, courtship and love;
Hope was dashed, joy faded,
Eyes became pools of falling tears!

The poem, consisting of dodecasyllabic quatrains, has the following features: the structure of an argumentation, divided into thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; an apostrophe to heaven in the last stanza; and the repetition of ideas through the use of synonyms in the description of the lover's suffering.

Other significant poets of courtly love were Balagtas' teacher Jose de la Cruz, aka Huseng Sisiw, and Leona Florentino (1849-1884), who was not averse to writing erotic poetry. The visual themes of secular lyric poetry is found in the first anthology of Tagalog poems, entitled *Pinagsalit-salit na manga Bulaclac, o Sarisaring Tula tuncol sa manga Historia nang Bayan Bayan sa Filipinas, Causalang nang manga Tagalog, manga Cahatulang Paquinabangan at Iba't, Iba Pang Calulugdan nang Babasa* (A Garland of Flowers, or Various Poems About the History of Towns in the Philippines, Habits and Customs of the Tagalog, Some Useful Advice, and Other Forms of Enjoyment for the Reader), 1889. These were characterized by brevity and didacticism, as the titles of some of the poems indicate: "Sa May mañga Anak na Dalaga" (To Those Who Have Marriagable Daughters), "Hatol Capatid" (Sibling's Advice), "Tuncol sa Pagbasa nang mañga Libro" (On the Reading of Books). The poets were Marcelino Manguiat, Iñigo C. Regalado Sr., Diego Moxica, Modesto Santiago, Irineo Cabañero, Teodoro Velasquez, Lope Blas Hucapte, aka Pascual Poblete, Fr. Andres Caguicla, Pedro O. Alejo, and Patricio N. Pastor.

Poets of the Propaganda Movement used the conventions of courtly love to write their protest poems. Hermenegildo Flores' "Hibik ng Pilipinas sa Inang España" (Filipinas' Lamentation to Mother Spain), 1888, apostrophizes Mother Spain in its attempt to convince her that Filipinas is suffering in the hands of the friars. The style is discursive, the form is argumentative, and the characters are allegorical. Concrete examples of the various forms of oppression committed by the friars make up most of the 66-stanza poem.

Flores and Marcelo H. del Pilar had agreed that the latter would write a reply to the former's poem; thus came del Pilar's "Sagot ng España sa Hibik ng Filipinas" (Spain's Reply to Filipinas' Lament), 1889. Its dramatic form is patterned after the *loa* and its discursiveness harks back to that of the early missionary poets. Both poems, relying on irony to depict Spain's negligence of the Philippines, typified the political ambivalence that was characteristic of the Propaganda Movement.

On the other hand, Andres Bonifacio's "Katapusang Hibik ng Pilipinas" (The Last Lamentation of Filipinas), 1896, was the poetic expression of the spirit of the Philippine Revolution. Bonifacio does not take recourse in the subtle literary devices of the Propaganda Movement; in straightforward language he accuses Spain of being "inang pabaya't sukaban" (a negligent and malevolent mother) and "inang kuhila" (treacherous mother). The poem ends with daughter Filipinas dismissing her pitiless mother with a final goodbye:

*Di na kailangan sa iyo ang awa ng mga Tagalog, O Inang kuhila paraíso
namin ang kami'y mapuksa, langit mo naman ang kami'y madusta.*

The Tagalog no longer need your pity, O treacherous Mother, to be killed
is paradise for us, to oppress us is heaven for you.

Another poem by Bonifacio, "Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa" (Love for the Native Land), 1896, is a call to arms premised on the people's defense of their honor. The discursive, argumentative, and didactic literature that the missionary poets had propagated for their own colonizing ends now served the Filipino intellectuals well, for it was this kind of literature that would effectively consolidate the whole archipelago into one nation with a common enemy, Spain.

Significant patriotic poems in Spanish were Jose Rizal's "Mi Ultimo Adios" (My Last Farewell), 1896; Fernando Ma. Guerrero's "Mi patria" (My Fatherland), 1898; and Cecilio Apostol's "Al 'Yankee'" (To the Yankee), 1899.

Prose

Almost as soon as Spanish conquest began in the latter half of the 16th century, Spanish missionaries were publishing meditations, translations, studies on the Philippine languages, and explanations of Christian tenets. The Doctrina Christiana

en lengua española y tagala (Christian Doctrine in the Spanish and Tagalog Languages), 1593, was one of the first three books printed in the Philippines. Doctrines of a similar content and format appeared in various Philippine languages, and later were expanded into the *caton*.

Books were written in either the Philippine languages or in the Spanish language. The first book explaining the principles of the Tagalog language is *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (The Art and Rules of the Tagalog Language), 1610. Tomas Pinpin's *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila* (A Book for the Tagalog to Study the Spanish Language), 1610, is the first published work by a Filipino and contains a preface that is probably the first essay written by a Filipino. It exhorts the Tagalog to be like the Spaniards by learning their language and practising the Catholic religion. Filipinos who learned the Spanish language through the grammar and vocabulary manuals eventually wrote their own expository forms: the *memorias* (memoirs), *reseñas* (resumes), *informes* (accounts), *memoriales* (reports to evoke response from the authorities), and the *pagninilay* (reflective discussion following didactic-narratives used in novenas). In 1864, Fr. Modesto de Castro collected 25 of his sermons in *Platicas doctrinales* (Sermons on Doctrines).

The gradual assimilation of the European tradition into secular narrative prose is seen in the development of conduct books during the 19th century. The romantic-escapist element of the *awit/korido* and the didactic element in religious lyric poetry fused in the conduct book. Said to be the first Tagalog prose narrative, Antonio de Borja's Tagalog *Aral na Tunay na Totoong Pag Aacay sa Tauo nang manga Cabanalang Gaua nang manga Maloualhating Santos na sina Barlaan at Josaphat na Ipinangalan sa Sulat ni S. Juan Damasceno* (Actual Lesson in Guiding People to Truth Based on the Holy Works of the Glorious Saints Barlaan and Josaphat Contained in the Writings of Saint John of Damascus), 1712, recounts the Christian conversion of a prince and his subjects by an elderly priest. It is, however, actually an adaptation of a popular legend that had spread through Spain as a metrical romance in the 14th century, and, in 1618, was dramatized by Lope de Vega.

Joaquin Tuason's *Ang Bagong Robinson, Historiang Nagtuturo nang Mabuting Cagalian, na Guinauang Tanungan* (The New Robinson, a Story That Teaches Good Conduct, Done in Primer Form), 1879, is an extended *halimbawa/pananglitan/exemplum*, or exemplary tale, which is an anecdote with a moral. It is a Tagalog translation and adaptation of Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*. Father Modesto de Castro's "educational moral novel," the conduct book, *Pag susulatan nang Dalawang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza na Nagtuturo ng Mabuting Kaugalian* (Letters Between Two Maidens Urbana and Feliza, That Teach Good Conduct), 1864, is a Filipinized adaptation of the *manual de urbanidad* (guide to urbanity), its two settings being Manila and Paombong, Bulacan.

The Cebuano conduct book, *La Teresa; Dialogo cun Pagpolong-polong sa Usa ca Familia cun Banay sa maong Guinicanan, nga Nagatudlo sa Daghanan nga Catungdanan nga Uala Maila sa Daghanan nga mga Bisayang Cristianos* (The Teresa; Dialogue or Conversation of One Family or Brood of the Same Parents, That Teaches the Many Duties Which Are Not Known by Many Visayan Christians), 1852, by Fr. Antonio Ubeda de la Santisima Trinidad is in dialogue form and is, in fact, called a *sugilanon/novela* (novel) in the preface to the 1906 edition. In Fr. Miguel Lucio y Bustamante's conduct book *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* (Old Basio Macunat), 1885, social reality and a distinct narrative line begin to surface.

Despite Spanish attempts to keep Filipinas as “a cloistered colony,” several factors contributed to the entry of European liberalism into the country. These were the following. First, the French Revolution of 1789, which was inspired by the thoughts of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Locke. Second, the opening of the country to global trade in 1834 and the opening of the Suez Canal, which accelerated the entry of liberal ideas into the country. Third, the liberal policies of Governor General Carlos Maria de la Torre during his term from 1869 to 1871. Fourth, the secularization campaign of the Filipino priests; the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, which led to the martyrdom of the three priests Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora; and the self-exile into Spain of the Filipino intellectuals accused of being *filibustero* (defined by Rizal as “a dangerous patriot who will soon be hanged”). And fifth, the Spanish Revolution of 1868, which awakened the Filipino intellectuals to the fact that even in Mother Spain there was discontent among her own citizens.

These factors eventually paved the way for the Reform Movement, which in turn led to the Revolutionary Movement. The Reform Movement may be said to have benefited from the discursive, argumentative, and didactic tradition that the missionary writers had established in the Philippine literary tradition. An early advocate of reform was Luis Rodriguez Varela, who produced three books: *Año dorado* (Golden Year), *Siglo ilustrado* (Age of Enlightenment), and *Fin de la centuria* (End of the Century), which expressed the liberal ideas that he had learned as a student in Spain. In his prologue to his collection of poems, *El parnaso Filipino* (The Filipino Parnassus), 1813, he defended the new constitution of Spain for its liberalism and expressed his nationalistic ideas.

The 19th-century writers of the Propaganda Movement, especially Graciano Lopez Jaena and Marcelo H. del Pilar, subverted religious tradition in Philippine literature by using it for their anticlerical satires. Lopez Jaena was forced to flee to Spain because he had brought the wrath of the friars upon his head with his satirical piece, which was in dialogue form, *Fray Botod* (Friar Potbelly), circa 1889. A satire on the friar's hypocrisy, greed, and licentiousness is Del Pilar's *Dasalan at Tocsohan* (Manual of Prayers and Jokes/Temptations), circa 1888, which consists of parodies of the Sign of the Cross, the Act of Contrition, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the catechism. Similarly, the model for Andres

Bonifacio's manifesto " Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog " (What the Tagalog Should Know), 1896, is the pasyon.

La Solidaridad, the Movement's newspaper founded by Lopez Jaena and his friends in Barcelona, 1889, contained editorials, columns, feature articles, letters, and speeches written by such intellectuals as Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. Del Pilar, Eduardo de Lete, Antonio and Juan Luna, Jose Panganiban, Mariano Ponce, Isabelo de los Reyes, Dominador Gomez, and Pedro Paterno. Not only was the paper a source of information on the political, social, and economic conditions of the Philippines; it was also a means by which the Propagandists refuted the allegations of such anti-Filipinos as Vicente Barrantes and Pablo Feced.

Gregorio Sancianco's treatise on Philippine problems ***El progreso de Filipinas*** (The Progress of Filipinas), 1881, inspired Jose Rizal to write "Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos" (On the Indolence of the Filipinos), 1889, which defended the Filipinos' "laziness" in the face of Spanish exploitation. Rizal's satirical wit is evident in the essays that he published in ***La Solidaridad*** between 1889 and 1890: "Por telefono" (By Telephone), "La vision de Fray Rodriguez" (The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez), and "Una visita del Señor a las Filipinas" (First Visit of Our Lord to the Philippines). His versatility is shown in the various styles he adopted in the essays, "La verdad para todos" (The Truth for Everybody), "Ingratitudes" (Ingratitudes), and " Filipinas dentro de cien años " (The Philippines Within a Century). Marcelo H. del Pilar, besides his parodies, also wrote straightforward political tracts that characterized the friars as exploitative and repressive in his ***La soberania monacal en Filipinas*** (The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippines), 1888, and ***La frailocracia Filipina*** (The Philippine Friarcacy), 1889. The Romantic temper, however, is exhibited in his essay "Ang cadaquilaan ng Diyos" (God's Noble Character), which glorifies God's presence in nature.

Emilio The Reform Movement also gave birth to the *costumbrista* and later the realist tradition in the novel. Costumbrismo in 19th-century Spain emphasized local color, mores, and manners. Philippine costumbrismo represented the colony as possessing a cultural identity of its own, distinct from and as interesting as that of Mother Spain. The costumbres depicted were the manners, solemn and festive traditions, social habits, courtship and marriage rites, banquets, clothes, religious faith, beliefs and aspirations, and the poetic charms of the colonial setting. Costumbrismo is evident in de Castro's ***Urbana at Feliza***; Pedro Alejandro Paterno's ***Ninay***, 1885, also considered the first Filipino novel; and Jose Rizal's ***Noli me tangere*** (Touch Me Not), 1887. Paterno's data for ***Ninay*** were taken from the history and descriptive anthropological books of writers, like Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, Victor Jacquemont, Raimundo Geler, and Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio.

Literary scholar Resil Mojares (1983:137) emphasizes the significance of Rizal's ***Noli*** and ***El filibusterismo*** (Subversion), 1891, in the Philippine literary tradition when he writes that these two novels are "the most important literary works

produced by a Filipino writer, animating Filipino consciousness to this day, setting standards no Filipino writer can ignore.” Realism being the basis of Rizal’s world view and literary technique, his aim in writing these two novels was to present the conditions of his time objectively, to identify and define the problems then prevailing, and to analyze the causes and effects of such conditions. Rizal wrote at a time when the institutions and class interests of a colonial society had already been firmly established and the forces of revolution were just beginning to emerge. Hence, his novels depict enlightened heroes struggling for civil rights and social reform in the face of the selfishness and ambivalence of the bourgeoisie, the hypocrisy and corruption of Spanish officials and friars, and the displaced loyalty of Filipinos in the grip of a Spanish feudal culture. In the end, they are defeated by the totality of political forces at work within Spanish rule (Mojares 1983: 137-150).

The Spanish colonial regime ended in 1898, with its defeat by the Filipino revolutionary forces. However, Philippine independence lasted all too briefly, as America soon invaded its shores.

Epilogue

Despite the end of the Spanish colonial period, the elements and conventions of Spanish-European literature continued to permeate the Philippine literary tradition, as it still does to this day. Resistance to Americanization was waged in newspapers through the *tudling* (editorial columns) and the *dagli* (vignettes), which echoed the satiric style of the Propagandists.

The pasyon has metamorphosed according to the demands of social and political conditions. A contemporary pasyon that exposes the destructive effect of the Americanized political system on the Philippines is Joaquin Mañibo’s *Pasion ng Bayan sa Kahapo’t Ngayon* (Passion of the People Yesterday and Today), 1934, which presents Quezon, Osmeña, and Roxas as the fraudulent magi. The Pampango *Pasion ding Talapagobra* (Passion of the Workers), aka *Pulang Pasyon* (The Red Passion), 1936, by Lino Gopez Dizon, depicts a radical Christ, whose poverty and persecution are used as metaphor for the peasants’ own oppression.

The belief in Rizal as a reincarnation of Christ is asserted in *Pasiong Pilipino: Ang Buhay at Hiras nang Dakilang Martir na si Doctor Jose Mercado Rizal* (The Filipino Passion: The Life and Sufferings of the Noble Martyr Doctor Jose Mercado Rizal), 1968. This tradition of political protest is extended further by Francisco “Soc” Rodrigo’s *Si Kristo Ay Rebelde* (Christ Was a Rebel), 1970, which characterizes Christ as a seeker of justice, and *Pasyon sa Kamatayan ng Ating Kalayaan*, (Passion on the Death of Our Freedom), 1975, a thinly veiled diatribe on Marcos’ Martial Law. Jose Lacaba’s three-stanza poem, “Pasyong Mahal ni San Jose,” (Beloved Passion of Saint Joseph), 1979, expresses rebellion

against the attitude of passive resignation advocated by the *pasyon*.

The existence of the *awit/korido* in the various Philippine languages and up to the present time attests to their continuing popularity, especially *Ibong Adarna*, *Siete Infantes de Lara*, *Don Juan Tiñoso*, and *Florante at Laura*. Moreover, features of this genre intercalate to this day with the Philippine poetry and novel traditions. Various adaptations of *Ibong Adarna* are a comic book, a musical play, a film, and two ballets.

At the turn of the 20th century, the realist tradition entered the *awit/korido*, especially as it was in the nature of this genre to allow for the use of historical persons and events as its subject matter. The brief period during which the Philippines celebrated its independence from Spain saw the production of revolutionary *awit/korido*, such as the anonymous *Casunod nang Buhay na Pinagdaanan ng Ating manga Capatid* (Lives of Our Brothers and Sisters), circa 1899, Honorio M. Lopez's *Ang Buhay ni Doctor Jose Rizal* (The Life of Doctor Jose Rizal), 1898, and *Ang Tunay na Buhay ni Padre Doctor Jose Burgos* (The True Story of Fr. Doctor Jose Burgos), 1901. An *Ilocano* *awit* on Philippine history was written by Justo Claudio y Fojas and a Tagalog *awit* on the life of Diego Silang by an anonymous author.

The *awit/korido* tradition recurs in various genres even as new literary forms emerge to meet the demands of new social and historical realities. Examples of works written in the *awit* form but expressing unconventional themes are: Aurelio Tolentino's *Kasulatang Guintu* (Gold Contract), 1914, and *Napun, Ngeni, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow), 1914, political allegories; Lope K. Santos' *Ang Pangginggera* (The Pangginggera Card Player), 1912, which warns against pangginggera, the card game; Jose Corazon de Jesus' *Sa Dakong Silangan* (In the East), 1928, which advocates the struggle for independence. Patricio Mariano's *Mga Anak-Dalita* (The Destitute Children), 1911, is a sentimental novel in dodecasyllabic quatrains.

Some novels are "modernized" *awit/korido*, because they follow the same conventions, such as a convoluted plot, a host of minor characters, accidental meetings, and magical elements. Writers who used this formula in their popular novels were Gaudencio Alcazar, Nemesio Caravana, Zoilo Galang, Susana de Guzman, Magdalena Jalandoni, Hilaria Labog, Jose N. Sevilla, and Florentino Suico. Isabelo de los Reyes' novel *Ang Singing nang Dalagang Marmol* (The Ring of the Marble Maiden), 1912, uses the *awit/korido* convention of alluding to Greek mythology in the description of the heroine *Liwayway*; the political allegory in presenting the love triangle of *Liwayway*, *Puso*, and *America*; and the historical novel in its allusions to *Antonio Luna* and *Emilio Aguinaldo*. On the other hand, the strong didactic tradition in the novel can be traced to the conduct book.

In 1924, the *balagtasan* or debate in verse revived the rhetorical style popularized

by Balagtas in the 19th century. This was followed in 1926 by the Ilocano *bukanegan* (named after Ilocano poet Pedro Bukaneg) and the Pampango *crissotan* (after Juan Crisostomo Soto). Such a move was one of the period's expressions of resistance to Americanization.

Vernacular poetry, even to this day, is characterized by the elements and devices of the poetry of courtly love. The dodecasyllabic line, considered in Spain to be "the standard verse for elevated poetry," and Spanish metrics, called *rima perfecta*, rather than the Tagalog assonantal rime, are used. Twentieth century poets in this tradition were Flavio Zaragoza Cano, Delfin Gumban, and Serapion C. Torre, who were known as the Trinidad Poetica Ilonga (The Triumvirate of Ilongo Poets); Magdalena Jalandoni, Ariston Em. Echevarria, Emilio R. Severino, Joaquin Sola, Isidro Escare Abeto, and Jose B. Magalona.

Other novels still belong in the Balagtas tradition because they use courtly love and family relations for plot complications that would depict the theme of good versus evil; and characters function as symbols of conflicting forces. Some of the early 20th-century novelists of this school are Gregorio Coching, Rosalia Aguinaldo, Jovita Martinez, Roman Reyes, Teodoro Virrey, and Teofilo Sauco.

Many popular novels combine elements of the awit/korido and those of the conduct book with the codes of courtly love. Magdalena Jalandoni's novel *Ang Mga Tunuc sang Isa ca Bulac* (A Flower's Thorns), 1907, draws from the conduct book, as does Angel Magahum's *Benjamin*, 1907. Valeriano Hernandez Peña's *Ang Kasaysayan ng Magkaibigang si Nena at si Neneng* (The Story of the Friends Nena at Neneng), 1903, combines the features of a novel of manners, a conduct book in dialogue form, and an exemplum.

However, it is probably Rizal's two novels that have most inspired fictionists of the 20th century. The anticlerical satire, the twists and turns of the romantic plot, and the motif of a young man's return from abroad and his immersion in his country's social and political problems have been used by novelists since Rizal.

Lope K. Santos was a transitional figure in that his novels were influenced by the romantic sarswela and the European romantic novels, as well as social and political tracts. In Patricio Mariano's novels, the historical element was sometimes overshadowed by the romantic tendency. *Ang Bunga ng Nalantang Bulaklak* (The Fruit of the Withered Flower), 1908, used the revolution merely as a backdrop for a melodramatic situation that echoes Matthew Arnold's narrative poem *Sohrab and Rustum*. However, growing dismay at Americanization, which was equated with modernization, was expressed in his novel *Ang Tala sa Panghulo* (The Star at Panghulo), 1913, a love story based on the conflict between urban and rural values, represented by the arrogant urban woman and the simple barrio maiden.

A recurring character derived from Dumas' *Camille* is the golden-hearted

bailarina (cabaret dancer) who commits a noble sacrifice for a lover belonging to the aristocratic class, and dies of consumption. This is often used by Fausto Galauran and Iñigo Ed. Regalado. A novel bearing this motif is Rosaura Almario's *Ang Mananayaw* (The Dancer), 1910. However, as a mixed bag of various traditions, it aptly illustrates the syncretic character of Philippine literature. The novel bears traces of naturalism more than Dumas' sentimental realism, but it harks back to the awit/korido in its allusions to classical mythology and its use of the *prosa rimada* (prose poem), which is prose with a lyrical quality.

Indeed, the institutions of 19th-century Filipino colonial society have so entrenched themselves that they, even now, constitute the foundations of Filipino contemporary life, in spite of its overlay of American cosmopolitanism. • R.C. Lucero with notes from R. Mojares, D.M. Reyes, E. Tiamson, and F. Hornedo.

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