Yesterday, today, and tomorrow: a study of Aurelio Tolentino's articulation of nationalism and identity through theatre in the Philippines during the American colonial period

Lily Ann Bolo Villaraza

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This dissertation centers on the importance of cultural production to the process of creating a coherent national identity and a unified political state in the Philippines. More specifically, I will examine role of theatre in relation to the general development of the nation and the state through Aurelio Tolentino’s plays *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*.

The Philippines and Filipino people pose a unique case study in the formation of both a specific and coherent national identity and an independent political state space because of geography, varied cultural influences, linguistic diversity, and colonial past. Because of these factors, it is a wonder that a coherent Philippine state exists, much less the generally accepted notion of a Filipino national identity. I argue that cultural production, particularly theatre, actively championed the broader acceptance of a singular Filipino national identity and individual belonging to a collective state at one of the most critical moment in Philippine history; the exit of Spanish colonial rule, the entrance of American imperial rule, and active assertion of political independence of the Philippine Islands by and for the Filipino people. The knowledge formation and critical dialogue occurring through theatre nurtured the notion of a Filipino national identity and buoyed the possibility of a Philippine state across the diverse linguistic and geographic terrain of the archipelago in opposition to the emerging American empire.
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YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW: A STUDY OF AURELIO TOLENTINO’S ARTICULATION OF NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY THROUGH THEATRE IN THE PHILIPPINES DURING THE AMERICAN COLONIAL PERIOD

BY
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Doctoral Director:
Dr. Trude Jacobsen
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DEDICATION

Ginang Evangeline Lopez-Delute
For catalyzing this journey.

Ronald Wilson
Your heart was too big for this world.
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INTRODUCTION

HAMiLTON PROLOGUE

Hamilton, Lin Manuel Miranda’s Pulitzer-Prize winning musical, has been on repeat the last few months in my car. A run-away success, this sung-through musical presents an alternative narrative of American history that appeals to a larger, younger audience.¹ Miranda’s production humanizes and reimagines the founding fathers, portraying the tensions that simmered between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton through the years deliciously exploding in jealousy and drama rivaling current reality TV. The birth of the state – the United States – was not an impersonal or mechanical process. It was a passionate struggle, a clash of personalities and desire, an ongoing tête-à-tête between men who desired the same thing: a strong state that would nurture and support the nation (people). Suddenly history not dead for a new generation: it is alive and dynamic, even if in an imagined, anachronistic, historically semi-inaccurate fashion. In those 120+ minutes, history becomes exciting to a whole new generation.

In the second week of Hamilton on repeat I had an epiphany: Hamilton is a sarsuwela.² A sarsuwela was the Filipinized form of the Spanish zarzuela, a genre of theatre that incorporated music and, at times, dance, as integral parts of the narrative. The sarsuwela became an umbrella

¹Not all musical theatre productions are sung through; productions with both sung and spoken narration are still considered Musical Theatre, and typically have more than 10 songs. A “sung-through” musical is when the entire production is sung. Examples of ‘sung-through’ musicals include Les Miserables, Miss Saigon, Evita and Wicked.
²There are a number of Tagalog and Spanish terms used throughout this dissertation. With the exception of bayan and bansa, I will italicize the first instance of the term and then leave those terms non-italicized through the rest of the work.
term for theatre works that explored themes of independence and identity the people of the Philippine archipelago were wrestling with at the turn of the twentieth century. These works were performed in the vernacular, featured characters from lower classes and local settings, and leaned more on the wit and humor of the dialogue rather than the plot to buoy the performance. The story was often presented in the context of a love triangle, another characteristic of the Philippine drama. Most importantly, sarsuwela had wide appeal; they played to audiences in grand opera houses in Metro Manila and in plazas of provincial towns. John A. Metzger, a medical doctor in the Philippines at the turn of the century, observed:

Sunday in the Philippines, as in all Spanish countries, is the great theater day and all the large towns of the islands have their various play-houses. The dramatic composition is always in native dialect and usually melodramatic in character. To the European the plays are highly ludicrous and extremely tiresome, as the several parts not memorized by the actors but are repeated after a prompter, who is seated in front of the stage and not infrequently in full view of the audience.3

Theatre played a vital role in Philippine society across class strata; it was entertainment, but it was also a space for learning, sharing, and negotiating in community. There were a few playwrights, particularly those with ties to the revolution and/or progressive organizations, who utilized the sarsuwela and other popular theatrical genres to orate the story of revolution in the hopes that resistance against the new colonizing entity, the United States, would continue.

For this work, I examined the socio-political, socio-emotional, and cultural conditions that informed the articulation of a Filipino identity and nation through theatre. These contexts of nation-building are often set to the periphery in favor of crafting a state narrative. The state narrative

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largely highlights the accomplishments of big men, big battles, and big policies that manifested imagined borders, crafted citizenship as markers of non/belonging, and developed infrastructures of control. War is often at the forefront of that narrative because it is finite and binary; there is a beginning and an end, a winner and a loser.

On the other hand, questions about identity, belonging, loyalty, and justice are often oversimplified because they require nuanced and engaged dialogue. That dialogue is essential to understanding the formation of the nation. Unfortunately, the narrative of state often consumed the concept of the “nation-state,” centering the narrative of the state and silencing the nation. *Hamilton* and its Filipino counterpart, the sarsuwela, center the messiness and nuance of history in a way that demands that the nation not be ignored nor consigned to the periphery.

Perhaps what is most brilliant about *Hamilton* is its relevance to the current political and social climate. There are undeniable comparisons that can be made between the social, political, and cultural tensions present at the birth of the United States and the climate we currently find ourselves in. The show demands that the audience member consider Alexander’s stake, as an immigrant, in the formation of the United States. It asks its audience to problematize notions of loyalty, patriotism, and belonging by comparing Burr’s caution with Hamilton’s audacity. And, through casting choices and musical score, it forces the audience to consider alternative “realities” as mainstream, “normal,” and, most importantly, American.

Playwrights writing seditious theatre works at the turn of the twentieth century addressed questions of belonging, loyalty, and justice in ways that more than likely emboldened people to sit up and consider the nuance of the narrative. They asked similar questions; How does one insert oneself into the process of defining the nation and/or state? What factors determined treason or
patriotism? Who gets to belong – and who does not? In the face of stronger foreign entities, how
does one demand a seat at the proverbial table? The work of these playwrights allowed the people
to relive and re-imagine the revolution, the plays reflected an ongoing struggle for self-
determination.

The Project

This dissertation examines the articulation of Filipino nationalism and identity through
theatre during the American colonial period in the Philippines. Theatre was an important creative
outlet through which former Katipuneros (revolutionary fighters) and others who supported
independence and self-governance worked to keep that possibility alive. A small but influential
group of playwrights utilized theatre to explore ideas of independence, freedom, and self-
determination collectively with the masses. They wrote in a variety of theatre genres; sarsuwela,
drama simboliko, lyric plays (dula sa mga berso or drama lyrico), opera grande, opera chico,
sainete, and moro-moros (komedya). Each of these theatrical forms had specific characteristics,
though many of the works were categorized as either sarsuwelas or moro-moros. Sarsuwelas
largely presented non-secular themes while the Moro-Moro tradition continued to present works
with religious overtones. As such, the sarswela became a “catch-all” term for works that were
actually drama simboliko, opera grande, dula sa mga berso, etc.

The theatre productions under the sarsuwela genre, ranging in length of one to five acts,
provided opportunities for engaged dialogue among the people to formulate, negotiate, and
articulate their understanding of belonging to the bayan, the Filipino nation. But how did these
works foster a sense of belonging among their audience? How did their works encourage people to claim their ownership of being Filipino? Do these works provide evidence of the people being active agents in defining their collective Filipino identity – or just a select few nationalist elite?

Central to the discussion of belonging and identity development in the Filipino context is the idea of the bayan. There are two terms in the Tagalog language that refer to Philippines as a state – bansa and bayan. Bayan and bansa are often treated as synonyms – much like nation and state. Both terms are used to refer to “country,” “nation,” “state,” and “people.” However, bansa is most often used in official and infrastructural capacities – Pambansang Museo (National Museum of the Philippines), Pambansang Awit (National Anthem), etc. The term bayan is used to articulate the socio-emotional relationship that the people have with their imagined community, Ang Bayang Pilipinas, the Filipino nation. The bayan, I argue, is the living entity within the bansa that the latter attempts to control, shape, and mold to mirror the external forces that colonized the archipelago. I further argue that it is the bayan that has resisted and served as the life force for the long history of rebellion and revolution that defines Philippine history.

To examine questions of nation building, nationalism, identity, and belonging I analyzed two works by playwright Aurelio Tolentino. He composed theatrical works in various genres, including sarsuwelas, and often incorporated some music into his works. Tolentino’s most (in)famous work Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas (1903) is considered an exemplar of the seditious theatrical tradition. His work Luhang Tagalog (1902), once thought lost, was considered even more aggressive and dangerous in its message of resistance than Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas. Both works were lyrical dramas, rather than sarsuwelas, meaning that they did not rely upon music to
carry the narrative forward. While Tolentino was neither the only playwright producing this sort of work, nor the only playwright pushing the envelope in regard to questions of nation, identity, and belonging, his personal experiences and politics have been documented well enough to provide greater context for his works.

Aurelio Tolentino’s *Luhang Tagalog* (Tagalog Tears) and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow) challenged audiences to consider the parallels and lessons that could be drawn from the history of the archipelago; to question who has been and should be articulating what it means to be “Filipino,” and to take control over the narrative that others were trying to shape and formulate for them. Tolentino was one of several playwrights whose works the colonial regime tagged as “seditious,” deemed dangerous enough to the American imperial project to be prosecuted despite the freedom of speech and expression that Americans enjoyed. In the quest to define what it meant to be Filipino for themselves, these writers were demanding a place at the table, to be in the room where it was happening, every night the curtain rose.

**Major Arguments**

Theatre provided a critical space for the *bayan* to present, examine, and challenge the external conditions (social, political, intellectual, environmental) determined by the American colonial process that shaped the Philippine state. It provided crucial space for the developing collective ownership of the idea of being Filipino, for dialogue among the people to formulate, negotiate, and articulate belonging to this new identity, and active participation in the formation of the *bayan*. By setting the stage for an alternative to the *bansa* emerging under the new colonial
hegemony of the United States, the potential remained for the development of the bayan within and according to the local, or emerging Filipino, context.⁴

Theatre also established space to assert local control over knowledge production and formation. The writing, performance, and consumption of these plays presented the possibility of a “bottom-up” articulation of knowledge according to familiar socio-cultural contexts. Sarsuwelas were performed in the local language by local actors, utilized local surroundings as the backdrop of the story, and emphasized the importance of the Philippines and the Filipino in the narrative of nation or state formation. It created an important voice with which to assert control over knowledge production by, for, and about the Filipino. Audience members could imagine themselves in the conditions and situations being performed onstage. And, if those conditions and situations countered the American colonial project in the Philippines at that moment in history, the plays were deemed subversive, the playwrights dangerous.

Theatre also challenged the United States’ policy of Benevolent Assimilation, shining light on overt and covert modes of violence toward a local articulation of Filipino identity and belonging. Some policies implemented in the archipelago were explicit acts of violence toward an independent Filipino sense of being and belonging; reconcentrado of provincial populations, censorship laws, the imprisonment of revolutionaries. Covert acts of violence, however, proved to be far more destructive to the development of a local understanding of Filipino identity; these included the use of English as the primary mode of instruction, the ethnographic categorization and compartmentalization of the people for the census, and the gradual Filipinization of civil service. While blood was not necessarily shed because of these covert acts, they facilitated greater

⁴ The term “local” will refer to
stratification of the population based on class, race, even regional/provincial identities instead of encouraging the idea of being Filipino within the appropriate cultural and social contexts. Thus, the greatest danger to the bayan was not necessarily foreign; it was the traitor who colluded with the foreign power for their personal gain. In theatre, we see this character over and over in these works – and they are the most reviled in these narratives.

Existing scholarship characterized these plays as reactions to American colonization at the turn of the twentieth century. These works were indeed a reaction to the American presence in the Philippines in the early 1900’s, but they also reflected an active and persistent dialogue concerning the cultural and social shifts happening to the population of the archipelago as they wrestled with the idea of being Filipino. This is the aspect that is largely lost on western scholars who do not have a grasp of the cultural complexities that inform the bayan. In other words, the people of the archipelago were negotiating amongst themselves a localized understanding of what it meant to be Filipinos at the moment of American colonization. The entrance of the United States as a colonizing force in the Philippines disrupted that process.

Moreover, I argue that the reaction toward these productions emanated from the anxieties of the American community in the Philippines charged with carrying out the American imperial experiment, rather than the local population. Again, the people were trying to figure out what it meant to be Filipino for themselves before the Americans defined it for them within the tumult of colonial transition. If the United States was going to establish the bansa, the state, in the likeness of their choosing, the bayan, the nation, was going to fight like hell to assert who they understood themselves to be, not what someone else needed them to be.
Limitations

The original intention of this study was to analyze the theatrical works of three playwrights – Juan Abad, Juan Matapang Cruz, and Aurelio Tolentino – most identified with the development and production of seditious theatre. Their work best exemplified the continuation of the struggle for self-determination and independence among the people despite the formal announcement of the end of the Philippine insurrection in 1902. Both Juan Abad’s *Tanikalang Guinto* and Juan Matapang Cruz’s *Hindi Ako Patay* involved a love triangle between a young woman, a rich but compromised suitor, and a poor but principled true beloved of the young woman. In both plays the male characters embodied the political tension that defined Philippine society at the turn of the twentieth century; there were those willing to compromise their allegiance to the emerging Philippine state and the Filipino nation that populated them in return for material gain, and then those patriotic sons who were not willing to turn their back on their beloved mother country.

As this dissertation evolved, time constraints and limited resources made it necessary to limit my analysis to the work of one playwright. The lack of personal resources was the most significant roadblock in pursuing several important sources that could have informed this research. The generosity of friends and family allowed me to conduct research in the Philippines for two successive summers. However, the search lead me to conclude that the some of the most important materials – trial transcripts and evidence – are most likely archived in the Bureau of Insular Affairs papers at the National Archives of the United States. Lack of funds and the need to work prohibited me from doing that important work. The hope is to expand this dissertation into a more comparative discussion for later publication.
Another limitation to this work was the existence of, and access to, extant manuscripts that included production and/or director’s notes, as well as the full music scores for the productions in their original language. Few sarsuwela manuscripts were published with the musical score, if at all; for some reason these were kept separate. Other manuscripts of the works discussed here were cleaned up publications, devoid of any production notes that the directors or playwrights would have scribbled in the margins. Plays located that were original text with production and author notes were located too late in the research process to allow for the necessary and careful transcription to preserve those notes for further analysis and discussion. These works could not be photocopied due to the fragility of the paper. Again, this provides materials for later scholarly research.

Translation also presented a limitation; while Arthur Riggs’ text was invaluable to my study of early twentieth century Philippine theatre and theatrical production, the translations are problematic for at least two reasons:1) the author admits that the English translations are based on Spanish translations of original Tagalog manuscripts. In a footnote, Riggs admitted that the manuscript preserved was a “free translation” of sorts, stating:

There were two object[ives] in making the translation free: first, to show the contrast between the play as it might appear if written originally in English, and the almost exact literal government translations of other dramas; second, to introduce the reader and student to native periphrasis and syllopes by easy stages, making the other plays thus clearer.5

2) The Tagalog translations in the appendix of the book were either modern re-translations of the English text, as it was the case for Luhang Tagalog, or were borrowed from other sources that

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were not necessarily original manuscripts either, as it was the case for *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*. Many of Aurelio Tolentino’s personal notebooks and writings were lost in a series of unfortunate fires in various family homes over the years. Despite this situation however, an analysis of *Luhang Tagalog* with *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* are long overdue since the relationship between the two plays has been widely recognized and accepted as fact. No one, to my knowledge, has yet managed a textual analysis *Luhang Tagalog*.

Examination of seditious works in other dialects and languages in the Philippines is part of future research. Resource limitations and lack of language skills in other Philippine based language prohibited me from utilizing those scripts in this particular work.

Notes on Language and Terminology

“Theatre” versus “Theater”

There are two ways to spell the most central term of this dissertation: “theatre” and “theater.” While some may think that this is a matter of linguistic hair-splicing, these two terms do refer to two different things in Theatre Studies. “Theater” spelled with “-er” refers to the physical space where performances occur. “theatre” spelled with “-re” refers to the artform and culture of performance in general. Unfortunately, that distinction is grossly overlooked in everyday vernacular; the spelling of “theater” has largely consumed its counterpart among those not familiar with Theatre Studies, and is erroneously used to refer to both space and artform. As a scholar of theatre history, the distinction is important to my work. It is reflected in the literature reviewed in this dissertation from Theatre Studies, and it creates a clear distinction between the discussion of
the material culture of theater and the process of theatrical production and its foundations that drove the development of the artform at the turn of the twentieth century in the Philippines. As such, I use the “re” spelling through much of this dissertation, as the focus of my research the artform and its evolution in the context of Philippine history. The use of “theater” will denote reference to specific physical space where performance occurs.

Tagalog language embedded in the text

Tagalog, and some Spanish, terms are utilized throughout the text to provide the appropriate cultural and historical contexts. Those terms are italicized the first time they appear in the dissertation; the rest of the time they are unitalicized, except bayan and bansa. Because bayan and bansa are central terms to this discussion, they will be italicized throughout. Names of characters will be treated as normal text and will not be italicized. The use of quotes or excerpts of plays in Tagalog will be accompanied by English translations. Names of plays will be italicized throughout the dissertation.

Filipinos, on the most part, do not utilize common diacritical marks from the Spanish language in the writing of their names. In reviewing the scholarship to determine the common usage of accent or other diacritical marks in the writing of names or other Spanish-derived terms, most persons mentioned in this research did not utilize them. As such, most Philippine scholars do not mark the names of Filipinos as one would in the Spanish language. The name of Jose Rizal, for instance, does not have the common accent mark over the “e” in Philippine scholarship, though many non-Philippine based scholars do articulate the accent mark over the “e” in his first
name. Out of respect for the work of other Filipino scholars who have written on theatre, I do not utilize any Spanish language diacritical marks in this work unless it is a common practice in Philippine scholarship.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Taking an interdisciplinary approach to the textual analysis of Aurelio Tolentino’s plays, this work is informed by scholarship of performance studies, cultural studies, ethnic studies, and Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Scholarship that addressed questions of knowledge formation and production, nationalism and identity, state formation, “history from below,” and the use of the arts as a vehicle for resistance manifested in colonial and neo-colonial spaces were especially useful in the study and critique of these theatre works within their historical contexts.

The Philippines presents a peculiar case study in the study of state building and national identity formation. Being twice colonized, Filipinos have been long accused of having little to no “authentic” culture or history prior to the appearance of western powers. If we base that sentiment on the notion of imagined political borders and accompanying official state histories, or even surface observations of the archipelago’s diverse culture, then that is correct. However, if we take a wider lens and consider the idea of a history from below from a local perspective, the people who have inhabited the archipelago possess a rich history of resistance and localizing of foreign customs and culture. It is important to understand of these works within that context and process of localization to see their contribution to the narrative of the Filipino nation and the tensions they articulated facing the emerging Philippine state.
Knowledge Formation and Ways of Knowing

Knowledge formation and production have been a mechanism of colonial and imperial rule; it has also been used as a form of resistance. This can be manifested in various ways, including performance, language, and translation. We see the genesis of this idea through the works of Bernard Cohn, Edward Said, Agosto Boal, Benedict Anderson, Reynaldo Ileto, and Vicente Rafael.

Bernard Cohn’s anthology *Colonialism and its forms of Knowledge: The British in India*\(^1\) explored the relationship between the acquisition of knowledge and the persistence of colonial rule. Through the tools of the travelogue, census, survey, museum, surveillance (policing practices), and investigation (education), the British shaped the contours of local and global understanding of India and its population. In doing so, they established Western ways of knowing as more legitimate than local ways of knowing. This is instructive as we think about how we understand the development of national identities from an outsider (or colonial) perspective.

Ways of knowing are essentially discussions of power – who gets to decide what is deemed to be valuable knowledge, who is allowed to have it, who gets to articulate that narrative. Benedict Anderson’s article “The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture” is instructive to our understanding of how power was perceived, exercised, and valued differently in Southeast Asia versus the West – which influenced the way in which both the local and foreign populations understood their interactions.\(^2\) Anderson posited that the perception and manifestation of power between these two

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regions of the world as incongruous. In the West, power is abstract, infinite, limitless, cultivated from any number of things perceived to be sources of power. This incongruity is important to acknowledge because it informs our understanding of local and foreign perceptions, particularly in how Western conceptions and manifestations of power is privileged in academic analyses of non-West spaces. It is also important to acknowledge because one of the things that we will attempt through this work is to reinterpret the formation of Filipino identity and nationalism from a non-West perspective.

Clifford Geertz’ work *Negara: The Theater State in 19th Century Bali* examined the demonstration of political power in Southeast Asia. He argued that performance legitimized the centralization of power through means familiar to the people. But these performances were not only a display of authority; they were a space for exchange and reciprocity. Geertz’s work is particularly useful in our understanding of the role of theatre as a vehicle for displaying and seeking validation for local power dynamics.

Edward Said’s seminal text *Orientalism* discussed the process of objectifying and “othering” those who were not of European descent as an integral part of colonial knowledge formation. Said’s work catalyzed a consciousness about the colonial perceptions and historical perspectives within academia. He proposed the unmaking and revision of those perspectives are a fundamental responsibility of the academic; moving away from the use of reductive binaries to interpret relationships among people actively engaged in the colonial process, while ignoring the conscious and unconscious cultural, social, and material exchanges that occurred between the Near

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East and West was not enough. These intersectional conditions needed to be addressed simultaneously in order for the process of othering to be erased.

While Said’s work pointed to a history articulated from below, the work of James C. Scott analysis of mechanisms of physical resistance – foot dragging, destruction of property, etc. – designed to disrupt but not destroy colonial processes is instructive in understanding a history from below. His book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, while addressing the power dynamic between subordinate and superior, is instructive to our understanding of hidden transcripts as the language exchanged between subordinates in the presence of their superiors.5 According to Scott, “hidden transcripts are specific to a give social site and a particular set of actors,” that “it does not only contain speech acts but a whole range of practices,” and that the “frontier between the public and the hidden transcript is a zone of constant struggle between dominant and subordinate.”6 In other words, hidden transcripts are localized, articulated through various means, and fed an uneasy tension between the colonizer and colonized. The theater provided the literal space to transmit hidden transcripts through word and language play, locally understood symbols and double meanings, and the memory of the collective experience of Spanish rule in the archipelago.

On the other side of this discourse was the public transcript of abrupt violence against the persons involved in these productions served as a distraction; it catalyzed ongoing discussions and interest in hidden transcripts of these productions – their content and message, the symbols that flashed onstage as a result of human formation or technical trickery. The use of the vernacular

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further confused the colonial powers as the understanding of the Tagalog language among Americans was still in its infancy, heightening anxieties and suspicion of the local population.

Theatre was the space where Filipinos manifested the covert physical and intellectual resistance indicative of a history from below. To understand these works from a “Filipino” perspective, there are several Filipino scholars whose works are instructive. Many of these scholars who champion the idea of a “Filipino” perspective have been accused of being too “nationalist” or not objective. However, these scholars accepting responsibility to contribute to the dialogue of defining Filipino is central to understanding the formation of a Filipino perspective.

Reynaldo Ileto’s *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines 1840-1910* analyzed the use of familiar religious imagery, scripture, and ritual by popular millenarian movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. He demonstrated that the historical narrative of the masses articulating their discontent with the colonial powers and the *Ilustrado* class. The nationalist narrative was informed by the movement of the masses through groups like the Katipunan, not just the Ilustrados as much of western histories of the Philippines suggest. Ileto argued that it was through popular movements that notions of a unified Filipino identity and nationalism reached the people.

In the mid-twentieth century, an intellectual movement to intentionally and purposefully generate scholarship with a Filipino audience in mind emerged. Filipino scholars in history, philosophy, and psychology developed work in their respective fields, writing in Tagalog. This movement had two purposes: 1) to catalyze the notion of decolonization in Philippine academia by not privileging the writing and/or reading of English as a mark of intellectual work, and 2) make

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their work accessible to a larger Filipino audience by writing in Tagalog. It was also a move to challenge non-Filipino speakers to engage in the linguistic work necessary to have a deeper understanding of the work they are engaged in.

Katrin De Guia’s nuanced analysis of Kapwa, and Virgilio Enriquez’s Sikolohiyang Pilipino highlighted the importance of understanding how relationships define Philippine history. Particularly instructive is the notion of “I-centered” vs. “We-centered” constructions of identity, as they inform the manifestations of loyalty and betrayal in these works. Understanding this tension is important to uncovering the hidden transcripts within these play manuscripts.

Vicente Rafael’s work pioneered scholarship on the evolution of Filipino identity and nationalism as it filtered through the process of translation. His first text, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under early Spanish Rule* extended both James C. Scott and Benedict Anderson’s work on the relationship between power, language, and the weapons of the weak. Demonstrating that language was simultaneously a tool for empowerment and control, Rafael’s work is instructive in the consideration of a historical perspective. While the Spanish could control a narrative through translation, there remained aspects of Tagalog society and culture that were “untranslatable” – social concepts and relationships with specific names proved to be sites of resistance. His other work, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* considers issues of colonialism, nationalism, and national identity.

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8 Katrin De Guia, *Kapwa: The Self in the Other.* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2005) and Virgilio Enriquez, *From Colonial to Liberation Psychology: The Philippine Experience,* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1992). Kapwa has been identified as a core cultural and psycho-social value for Filipinos; it is the term that used to express the “we-centeredness” and the importance of defining the social relationships that one carries. Kapwa has been defined as “fellow beings” and “others,” but this does not capture the importance of social relationship in defining the self. A phrase used to articulate the essence of Kapwa is “I see you in me” or “Shared inner-self.” Enriquez, 52

through the analysis of “non-traditional” historical resources – namely theatre production, photographs, and, again, the evolution of language – as sites for expression of Filipino nationalism.10

Nationalism

The evolution of the nation-state speaks to more fundamental questions of identity and belonging. Our understanding of belonging within the context of a nation or a state are girded by two very different things; relationships and documentation. The idea of nation, nationality, and nationalism is largely informed by external perceptions of physical and cultural markers – and has largely been conflated with “ethnic” identity. You identify as Filipino (or belong to the Filipino community) because you speak the language, dress a certain way, or engage in “traditional” cultural practices. This can be deceiving and can shift dependent upon one’s experiences. The idea of belonging to a state is defined by citizenship and, more importantly, documentation of the citizenship.

The formation of the Philippine nation-state is inherently informed by the experience of successive colonialism, Spain and the United States. The conception of these 7,107 islands as a singular political entity was forcibly manufactured by the West. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that people from the archipelago would engage that conversation; and it wasn’t until the latter part of the 1890’s where we see people other than those from the Ilustrado class able to

participate more fully in those conversations through their involvement in the Katipunan and the Philippine Revolution.

Delineating the differences between the nation and the state and exploring why the nation-state exists is at the heart of understanding nationalism. The nation-state is a relatively young political construct, organizing the world in ‘us vs. them’ binaries designed to maintain a sense of socio-cultural unity based on imagined state boundaries defined by political and economic interests. This was important in maintaining colonial relationships in a post-colonial global society.

Defining the state, nation, and modern nation-state in relation to the rise of nationalism has been the work of many scholars since the early twentieth century. For this dissertation, it suffices to draw from Hugh Seton-Watson’s assertions in *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* for definitions of nation and state;

States can exist without a nation, or with several nations; and a nation can be coterminous with the population of one state, or be included together with other nations within one state, or be divided between several states. The belief that every state is a nation, or that all sovereign states are national states, has done much to obfuscate human understanding of political realities. **A state is a legal and political organisation, with the power to require obedience and loyalty from its citizens. A nation is a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness.**

As the terms “nation” and “state” became synonymous, a gross misunderstanding of the differences between the two has emerged. The state is an infrastructure, framed by legal processes and geo-political boundaries designed to define nexuses of power. In other words, the reach of a state, it can be argued, is felt most powerfully by the people within borders. The nation is an organization – or, more appropriately, an organism – made up of living beings capable of traversing

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geo-political boundaries and deciding how legal processes should bend to lived experiences and conditions. The nation is held together by emotional and social bonds that gird the relationships among people. Thus, the nation is borderless. Indeed, Seton-Watson lamented, as quoted by Benedict Anderson in his seminal work *Imagined Communities*, “…I am driven to the conclusion that no ‘scientific definition’ of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists.”

Why this sits so uneasy for Seton-Watson confounds me, as it indicates a desire to determine a clear (and bounded) definition for the “nation” as there is for the “state.”

The naming of nations and nationalities is – and has been – a process and product of history that has largely (and unfortunately) aligned notions of national identity with state identity through the construction of citizenship. So, as we discuss the formation of a distinctive Filipino national identity, it must be acknowledged that it was birthed during a time when the people of the archipelago were simultaneously attempting to determine belonging in the form of citizenship to a sovereign Philippine state.

If nationalism is the sentiment distilled from the nation, it can be argued that nationalism is, essentially, a feeling. It is a loyalty that one harbors, a connection that one nurtures. Those connections can be defined by a number of external processes and experiences. Some identify ethnic identity or affiliation as core to one’s national identity; others associate geographic origin, or static notions of “culture,” “heritage,” or even history; still others strongly correlate language as a defining factor of nationalism. Some point to shared economic and social interests as crucial elements of national identity.

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In a speech delivered at the Sorbonne in 1882, Ernest Renan, considered a number of potential characteristics of the nation.\textsuperscript{13} He argued that the development of modern nationalism is a collective endeavor, one which exercised the process of remembering and forgetting, as well as defining that which is included and excluded. Renan asserted that race, language, and religion are poor indications of a collective national identity; indeed, he asked, “can’t one have the same sentiments and thoughts and love the same things in different languages?”\textsuperscript{14} One of the most important exercises in establishing nationalist sentiment is protecting a past perceived as glorious and shared through present rhetoric. This indicates an acknowledgment of commonality; which then defines the nation.

Rudolf Rocker’s \textit{Nationalism and Culture} is a dense treatise analyzing the origins of nationalism as a tool to facilitate individual gain and perpetuate class divisions that support exploitative capitalist economic infrastructures. Commenting upon the use of foreign labor, Rocker wrote, “whether his own people are thereby injured does not concern him in the least; the personal profit is the deciding factor…and so-called national interests are only considered when they are not in conflict with personal ones.”\textsuperscript{15} In other words, the idea of the nation was but a mechanism to otherize and “them” those not seen as part of “us” and, therefore, open to exploitation of “them” for the benefit of “us.”

Most significant to this study, however, is Rocker’s refutation of Karl Weber’s assertion that “in nothing does the national character, the imprint of mental and spiritual power of a people, express itself so clearly as in its language.” Rocker argued that asserting the importance of

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Rudolf Rocker, \textit{Nationalism and Culture}, (Los Angeles: Rocker Publications Committee, 1937), 269.
language in nation-building negated the reality that languages, national or otherwise, are in constant states of flux and absorb “foreign elements in spite of all the noise of the purification fanatics.” The idea that a “common” or “national” language as a primary identifier of belonging is counterintuitive to state formation unless it was facilitated to be as such. And those who mark language as an integral part of nationalism and national identity are those who have the political, economic, educational, and social capital to do so. In other words, it was the educated elite who correlated the articulation of the nation with the building of the state.

No western scholar is more lauded for their work on the articulation of nationalism than the late Benedict Anderson. In his seminal text *Imagined Communities*, he argued that nation-states imagined political constructs held together by an espoused emotional legitimacy. That emotional legitimacy was articulated and disseminated through modern means of communication, particularly print capitalism and the development (and acceptance) of a national language within the imagined political borders of the state. In this sense, national identity and the emotional belonging to a nation becomes restricted to the space of particular geo-political states. The merging of the nation and the state into the nation-state undermined the nuanced distinctions between the two, and girded the importance of a singularly defined historical narrative through a common language. Building upon both Renan and Rocker’s work, Anderson asserted that the imagined characteristic of the nation allowed for, “a deep, horizontal comradeship…regardless of the actual

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16 Ibid, 277.
inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each.” In other words, nationalist sentiments superseded unequal political, social, and economic infrastructure within the imagine borders of the state.

Post-Andersonian scholars expounded upon his work, exploring the possibility of multiple types of nationalism. Ronald Beiner examined the usefulness of “ethnic” and “civic” nationalism, wondering whether their distinction would cause increased conflict. Beiner argued that a civic nationalism is key in understanding the development of the emotional linkage among peoples that come from diverse backgrounds. Michael Brown suggested that ethnocultural (or cultural) nationalism, supported Anderson’s notion of horizontal comradeship, even in the face of political, social, and economic inequality within the state. Brown identified a different type of ethnocultural nationalism recognized as a legitimate pillar of the state infrastructure: multicultural nationalism. This form of nationalism aligned (or perhaps co-opts) the interests of particular ethno-national groups with the interests of the larger state. This is where lines blur between citizenship and nationalism as valuable markers of belonging. Examples of this include Singapore, Malaysia, and Canada.

What these scholars do seem to agree upon is that nationalism and notions of belonging to a particular nation have been and are determined among the masses, the people. However, in the development of the state or nation-state, markers of national belonging were co-opted by the elite to cultivate a sense of belonging to the state – culturally, socially, emotionally. It is in this capacity

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19 Michael Brown, 2001, “Why might constructed nationalist and ethnic ideologies come into confrontation with each other? Southeast Asia Research Centre Working Paper Series, No. 17, November, (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong).
that the nation becomes an integral aspect of the state; however, again, the nation does not necessarily belong to the state.

Nationalism and the Nation-State in Southeast Asia

The development of nationalism in Southeast Asia falls squarely into Seton-Watson’s category of new nationalism. Earlier scholarship on nationalism was grounded in the development of European nations (and then nation-states). “Southeast Asia” developed in the mid-twentieth century as a geo-political military designation, each nation and state’s development is complicated by centuries of colonialism. In the wake of the collapse of the global colonial economic infrastructure in the mid-twentieth century, questions of how nationalist sentiments and loyalties could be harnessed to guide the development of new emerging states became of interest. Rupert Emerson, echoed Seton-Watson’s assertion that the educated elite would facilitate the tremendous change demanded by the modern state. The underlying question is in what form would this exist; would it be one recognizable to the West or would it be something completely foreign.

Emerson wrote another article on the development of nationalism in Southeast Asia twenty-five years later, offering the observation that the nationalism that has developed in post-colonial Southeast Asia, while able to cultivate a healthy sense of belonging and loyalty to the new state, also nurtured a “unhealthy, retrogressive, reactionary, and expansionist, look[ing] with greedy eyes

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on other countries, as did those countries against which it fought for its freedom.”

In other words, the political realities of these new nation-states have usually mirrored the behaviors of their former colonial masters. Historically, this observation seems appropriate given, for example, that victories over western powers during the Vietnam War emboldened fringe groups, such as the Khmer Rouge, to rise to power in Cambodia. The author also makes an interesting and specific observation about the maintenance of colonially defined political boundaries.

Thongchai Winichakul’s *Siam Mapped* offers an answer to Emerson’s query, suggesting that the physical representation of the Thai geo-political body in the form of maps had inescapable and powerful ramifications upon the Thai conception of nation and state. Maps, by making “real” the imagined state boundaries, reinforced the idea that a nation and the state occupies a specific geographic and politically defined space. This wed the notion of the nation to the modern state even further. The author suggests that more attention must be paid to the cultural and social implications of blindly accepting the demarcation of imagined boundaries. His examination of Thailand was particularly significant because it was the only political state never colonized by a western power – although, as Winichakul points out, the space of the kingdom was subject to what was occurring in neighboring colonial states.

Other scholars of Southeast Asia argued that the articulation of nationalism occurred in reaction to their historical colonial condition while creating cohesive, unified conceptions of national belonging recognizable to the former colonizer. Hence, as Seton-Watson established a difference between new and old nationalism; as Beiner suggested the delineation of ethnic and

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civic nationalism; as Brown further offers the concepts of multicultural nationalism; and as Anderson posited that a linguistic nationalism as a necessary feature to the establishment of a coherent modern nation-state in Southeast Asia, we must consider how these discussions occurred from a perspective of the outsider looking in.

Anderson’s 2001 article contested the existence of an “eastern” or “western” form of nationalism. Building upon his suggestion of linguistic nationalism, he articulates the existence of creole (or popular) and official nationalism – both facilitated by language. Creole nationalism emerged when a significant number of a particular national community migrates and stays in a different space, creating ways to maintain their collective identity distinct from what they perceive as the local identity. This could occur as a mode of resistance, or perhaps xenophobia, or even racism. As a powerful elite emerged, their understandings of belonging and the state morphed into what would be an official nationalism, one which “emanated from the state, not the people, and thought in terms of territorial control, not popular liberation.”

One of the things that Anderson contended was that the Philippines, along with India, failed to create a generally accepted national language. Moreover, it is the language of the colonizer – in the Philippines’ case, English – that has been the vehicle through which the state emerged. Seeing that Anderson believed a national language to be the foundation of the nation-state, is it acceptable to conclude that he believed the Philippines – and India – are failed nation-states?

Another form of nationalism that Anderson ponders is the development of long-distance nationalism, wherein the nation “no longer depends as it once did on territorial location in a home

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24 Ibid, pg 4.
country.” This is quite useful to consider in relation to the emergence of a distinctly Filipino nationalism at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even though Anderson posits that it is more characteristic of the late twentieth century.

**Filipino Nationalism**

If we turn our attention to scholars focused on the development of nationalism in the Philippines, a particular narrative emerges; one clearly influenced by the opportunities, positive and negative, brought to the archipelago. One of the first texts to explore Philippine nationalism was Bonifacio Salamanca’s *Filipino Reaction to American Rule.* A largely historical discussion of the roots of Filipino nationalism, Salamanca credits the Ilustrado, the racial, social, and economic elite, with the formation of a particularly Filipino national sensibility. He cited their understanding of Enlightenment concepts of independence, individual freedom, and representation – and their recognition of the fact that these conditions would be unattainable under Spanish rule.

Usha Mahajani’s *Philippine Nationalism: External Challenges and Filipino Response* was organized according to the three colonial periods of the archipelago – Spanish, American, and Japanese – and then proceeded to demonstrate the importance of resistance in the national narrative of the Philippines. In this work, however, the author asserted relatively new constructs as truths with long historical trajectories (i.e. that all people in the archipelago are understood to be

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“Filipino” so as to not offend modern sensibilities of political correctness). That suggested, if unintentionally, a coherent and uniform dialogue surrounding the development of Filipino nationalism and identity.

In contrast, Teodoro Agoncillo’s *Filipino Nationalism 1872 - 1970* acknowledged the naming of the “Filipino” was and is the direct result of Spanish colonizaton; however, he characterized the nationalism that emerged from Spanish colonization to be

…generally defensive: defensive in the sense that it is used by people to keep and to protect what they have achieved, such as unity, culture, prosperity, national dignity, freedom, and independence. Nationalism is militant or on the offensive when it is used by colonized peoples to achieve unity and independence in defiance of the colonizing country.  

In other words, understanding nationalism from the perspective of those who expressed such sentiments is different from that of those primarily observing it. Nationalism was no longer a reaction; it was an exercise in self-preservation, a manifestation of the right of the masses to actively articulate and contribute to process of defining a collective Filipino identity.

But Randolf David’s 1978 paper, “National Consciousness in a Dependent Country: A Brief Sociological Note on Philippine Consciousness” agreed with Mahajani and Salamanca and takes their arguments that Filipino nationalism is the result of external catalysts – colonialism, imperialism – and that the Ilustrado elite of the late nineteenth century were primarily responsible for moving that dialogue forward. David suggested that the “sense of nationhood is as glaringly lacking in the Filipino, as it come so easily and naturally to members of [other] national communities, like the Japanese, the German, or the Irish.” He argued there was little time to

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30 Ibid, 3.
manifest a Filipino identity through cultural activities, and even less to sit and think about what all of it meant due to lack of resources. The author argued that the articulation of Filipino identity would only be shored up by a stronger economy. In suggesting so, however, David was operating within the notion of developing a particular kind of nationalism; an official nationalism.

Father John Schumacher’s collection of essays was an interesting counter to the revolutionary narrative of Filipino nationalism. Though he agreed with scholars like Ileto and Agoncillo in their charge that history “must see the Filipino people as the primary agents of their history – not just as objects repressed by theocracy or oppressed by exploitative colonial policies,” Schumacher’s work largely pointed to a more tempered, evolutionary development of this notion of collective self among the population of the archipelago through the processes of politics, hero-making, education and knowledge-formation, economics, and history. 31 In his assessment of the Propaganda Movement and nation-building, Schumacher pointed out that the Ilustrados were:

“not content with being Asian Spaniards, [and they] tried to develop a specifically Filipino national culture, one particularly theirs. Whether or not they opted for immediate independence, these men thought of themselves first as Filipinos and insisted on a distinct Filipino character, culture, and national identity.”32

In other words, it was the formation of identity, the solidification of the socio-emotional relationship that would gird the manifestation of the state later. The development of infrastructures (state), a solidly recognizable Filipino social and political order, would be all the stronger if the nation was also solid.

32 Ibid, 120.
Fernando Zialcita’s article, “State formation, Colonialism, and National identity in Vietnam and the Philippines” argued that the development of a “Filipino culture” was in response to the process of state formation in the Philippines. The complexity and diversity of the Filipino people would focus the articulation of a distinct Filipino nationalism inward rather than placing greater emphasis on external Western influences. Resil Mojares’s “The Formation of Filipino Nationality under US Colonial Rule” echoed the idea that Filipino national identity and nationalism was birthed as in reaction to colonial rule. His observation was that nationalism emerged in different forms during the Philippine Revolution, but ultimately saw its movement forward through a socio-cultural lens.

One of the more interesting discussions on Philippine nationalism is Floro Quibuyen’s 1999 treatise A Nation Aborted: Rizal, Hegemony, and Philippine Nationalism. Quibuyen challenged the reading of Rizal as an Ilustrado reformist primarily interested in determining how the Philippines could be better represented in the Spanish Cortes. The author contended that Rizal’s true sentiments were conflated with the development of the modern nation-state under American colonial rule, and co-opted by the Americans as a more moderate counter to the revolutionary figure Andres Bonifacio. While Rizal was undoubtedly part of the Ilustrado elite, his understanding of the notions of nation and nationalism were, according to Quibuyen, anti-statist, asserting that

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“it is the existence of the national community that will prevent any government policy or measure that is inimical to the common welfare from being carried out.” In other words, Rizal was against the infrastructures impeding the development of the Filipino nation as it seemed that this was occurring in lieu of, rather than in tandem with the Philippine state. He argued for the need to separate our understanding of the nation from the state to understand the formation of nationalism on terms determined by the people. Moreover, Quibuyen asserted that Rizal’s call for self-determination and responsibility was at the core of determining a strong sense of collective self, the foundation of a national identity.

The anthology From Wilderness to Nation: Interrogating Bayan edited by Damon Woods presented articulations of Filipino-centered constructions of nationalism, the nation, and the state. This work explored the idea of the bayan as a culturally and linguistically appropriate counter to the Western idea of nationalism, wholly flexible in the contexts of local needs, use, and understanding. The essays included in this text also suggested an unbreakable relationship between humanity and nation. In the West, the nation feels abstract; in Southeast Asia, and particularly the Philippines, the nation feels like a living, breathing entity. Translated, bayan can refer to several things, including country, nation, village, town, community; it can also be conjugated to mean countryman (Kababayan), people who inhabit a particular place (Taong Bayan), or hero (Bayani) – essentially putting a face to an abstract conception of collective self. Again, this is in contrast to the idea of the state, or bansa.

36 Ibid, 181.
In his essay, “Writing Early Philippine History: The Growing Gulf,” Damon Woods articulates a periodization of identity development in the Philippines. The first is the Sinaunang Pamayanang Pilipino, or early Filipino Community, from 250,000 BC to 1565 AD; the second is the formation of the bayan, from 1565-1913; and the bansa is dated from 1913-present. Woods asserted that it was through the Philippine Revolution that the bayan publicly manifested in 1896 during the Cry of Balintawak. He marked 1913 as the end of the bayan as a result of the cooptation of the revolution’s leadership by the Ilustrado elite who became fully engaged in the development of an American political infrastructure. These are important points for two reasons; 1) this analysis of seditious theatre at the turn of the twentieth century immediately followed these first public acknowledgments of the bayan, and 2) it was – and continues to be – theatre and the arts that hold the bayan at the forefront as a living, breathing entity for which we are responsible.

Several narratives regarding the development of Filipino nationalism emerge from this review: First, the nationalism that developed in the Philippines was a direct by-product of the colonial experience. Without the exposure to the West, the Philippines would be nothing more than a cluster of islands without a unified geo-political identity. Another way to read this is that an underlying, and perhaps unconscious, ingratitude on the part of the Filipinos toward their colonial masters for providing some semblance of unity to the islands. Second, Filipino nationalism is inherently reactionary; the people of the archipelago developed a collective sense of self solely in reaction to the colonial and imperial experience. Again, Filipinos would not have cultivated a collective sense of self without the intervention of the West because there would have been nothing to react to. However, accompanying that reactionary condition was a collective sense

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of self-doubt and deficit; the internalized thought that Filipinos are incapable of conjuring a collective sense of self that is uniquely and identifiably “Filipino.” As Benedict Anderson has pointed out, the project of cultivating nationalist sentiments has largely been hampered by the archipelago’s linguistic diversity and lack of (or perhaps resistance to) national language.

What if we did not accept these analyses of Filipino nationalism and do what Rizal suggested: examine the possibility of the formation of the nation away from the state, analyze the formulation and articulation of Filipino nationalism as a defense of the people’s development of a collective sense of self based on shared experiences? What if we explore what Woods and his colleagues suggested in their anthology; that the nation is not an abstract, imagined community as the nation-state is suggested to be, but a living entity better understood in the socio-cultural contexts of the Philippines and, more broadly, Southeast Asia? Finally, what if we consider the opposite of what Benedict Anderson suggested in relation to language; that linguistic diversity was not a hindrance but a mechanism to negotiate ideas of nationality and nationalism on their own terms. I emphasize this point because the idea of requiring a national language mostly serves to validate an official nationalism wedded to the strengthening of the state rather than defining a nation.

While these may be moot or irrelevant questions for those already rooted in the academe, they do generate quite a bit of dialogue among the people, particularly youth, who are still developing their own understandings of identity, community, nation, citizenship, and the state. It also opens more questions, in particular about notions of perspective and how one’s perspective is rooted in individual and collective historical experience. It is not the discount of “outsider”
analyses that this line of questioning encourages; rather it points to the need to pay attention to “insider” voice rather than labeling it exclusive, ethno-centric, or subjective.

Theatre and Cultural Production: Staging Resistance and Nationalism

A number of late twentieth century scholars and cultural workers produced some marvelous scholarship examining the relationship between theatre and other forms of cultural production as important sites for articulating resistance, the nation, nationalism and national identity apart from the state. Particularly after World War II and in response to the collapse of the global colonial infrastructure, scholars from several national communities (within and without states) began to explore, express and write about the importance of theatre to not only present these ideas, but also create and provide the space to have a broader dialogue with more people.

Work by S.E. Wilmer and Steve Tillis pointed to the growing scholarship on the use of theatre to articulate nationalism and rewrite history from a non-colonial/non-imperial lens in our post-colonial world.39 Specifically, they examined how theatre was used as a mode of education, information dissemination, of entertainment; for a vehicle for critique and call for action. Agosto Boal’s Theatre of the Oppressed spoke to the responsibility of cultural work and production to be responsive to the social conditions of its audience, utilizing techniques devised by Bertholdt Brecht to disrupt the distance between audience and actor.40 Boal’s work was – and is – central to the work of organizations around the world struggling against the vestiges of colonialism and

imperialism. Jan Cohen-Cruz’s scholarship on theatre as a space for addressing social issues around the world is discussed in several texts including *Radical Street Performance, An International Anthology, Remapping Performance: Common Ground, Uncommon Partners*, and *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response* that bring together scholars and scholarship on the use of performance as a vehicle to combat oppression, speak to justice, and contribute to revolution.

In Southeast Asia, scholarship on theatre abounds, particularly concerning the insular part of the region. Eugene Van Erven’s text *The International People’s Theater Movement* traced the development of various projects around the world that utilized theatre as the medium to address local and regional social justice issues. His earlier work, “Stages of People Power: the Philippine Educational Theater Association,” was an important examination of the work of the Philippine Educational Theater Association in developing and nurturing community theatre in the Philippines and other parts of Southeast Asia. Barbara Hatley’s work in Indonesia echoed the work of Geertz and examined the use of performance as a vehicle for politics as well as community building. Andrew Weintraub’s work on the traditional puppet theatre practice of Wayang Golek discussed the art form’s role in defining and negotiating questions of identity, community, culture, and citizenship. Similarly, Michael Bodden’s *Resistance on the National Stage: Theater and Politics in Late New Order Indonesia* examined the role of theatre in protest movements against President Suharto beginning in the mid-1980s. Catherine Diamond’s work on theatre in Southeast Asia

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examined its use for the on-going negotiation of identity and the relationship of the nation to the state. One of her first articles analyzed the use of theatre to explore the formation of cultural identity in the Philippines. Her most recent text, *Communities of Imagination: Contemporary Southeast Asian Theatres*, Diamond demonstrates how social issues continue to inform the work of theatre artists all over the region.

**Philippine Theatre History**

Theatre history in the Philippines is still a relatively young field. There are few texts that provide a detailed analysis and overview of the development of theatre in the Philippines. Isagani Cruz’s edited volume, *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, written with the blessing of Imelda Marcos as part of the proceedings of the Third World Theater Festival held in Manila in 1971, chronicled the development of theatre in the Philippines up through the mid-twentieth century. Nicanor Tiongson’s 1983 monograph entitled “What is Philippine Drama?” was a compilation of several essays and speeches outlining a general trajectory of theatre in the Philippines since time immemorial. This work has become the basis for popular understanding of the scope of Philippine theatre. Similarly, Doreen Fernandez’s important anthology, *Palabas: Essays on Philippine Theater History* brings together her seminal essays on the various periods of Philippine theatre.

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46 Isagani Cruz, *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1971).
Other published works on theatre focused on specific genres, eras, or personalities deemed important to the development of theatre culture in the Philippines. There have been texts published on theatre in the Philippines since the early twentieth century. This includes Raymundo Bañas’ *The Music and Theatre of the Filipino People* that offered brief biographies of several well-known playwrights from the early twentieth century, or Antonio Manuud’s *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition and Literature* that analyzed the Philippine theatre’s relationship to several colonial policies implemented at the turn of the twentieth century.\(^4^9\) *The Theater in Manila, 1846-1946* by Cristina Laconico-Buenaventura provided a grand overview of Manila’s theater history focused on the evolution of theater as spaces, what type of entertainment they housed, and the theatrical genres presented in Manila in this 100-year span.\(^5^0\) The founder of the Philippine Educational Theater Association, or PETA, Cecile Guidote-Alvarez eventually published her 1967 thesis *Theatre for the Nation*, outlining history and trajectories for a national theatre culture and community in the Philippines.\(^5^1\)

A number of unpublished theses and dissertations concerning various playwrights from the turn of the twentieth century also emerged after Philippine independence. Jose Lukban’s unpublished 1952 master’s thesis, “The Motivating Influences in the Plays of Severino Reyes,” presented a deeper analysis of the work of the prolific and, at times, controversial, playwright. Lukban’s doctoral dissertation, completed 10 years later, examined the “The Present State of the

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Filipino Theatre” examined the historical trajectory of Philippine theatre. 52 Tomas Hernandez’s dissertation entitled, “The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines (1898-1912)” paid attention to socio-political and aesthetic development of theatre as a result of the Philippine Revolution.53

Scholarship analyzing the role of theatre during the American occupation flourished after the declaration of Martial Law in 1972. Amelia Lapena-Bonifacio’s groundbreaking work The “Seditious” Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation reintroduced the works of several playwrights to the Filipino public, Aurelio Tolentino among them.54 Her work was important because it contained important source material, including four full scripts she categorized as “seditious sarsuwelas.”

One of the most important texts concerning the articulation of nationalism and Filipino identity through theatre is Arthur Stanley Riggs’s The Filipino Drama.55 Riggs’ text provided two valuable things; 1) complete translated scripts of several seditious plays, one of which was thought lost, and 2) the author’s insight and analysis of the cultural, political, and social conditions in which these plays were being produced from a colonial perspective. His biases as a colonial officer are clearly present; his scholarship indicated a palpable concern about the role of theatre in stirring up the masses. Published in 1981 through Imelda Marcos’ Ministry of Human Settlements, the book was a found document. Where Riggs’ text was possibly meant to be a warning to the people of the

United States at the turn of the century, the preservation of these scripts (and subsequent re-
translation to Tagalog by Bonifacio Ilagan) demonstrate that ideas of independence and freedom
were not lost on the local population; in fact, they were being disseminated and discussed among
the people.

There was also a greater focus given to the revolutionary foundations of theatre from the
early twentieth century up to the present. The second most influential work examining the
development and depth of Philippine theatre during the American colonial period has yet to be
mga Anyo at Paksa” (Tagalog Drama 1899-1944: A Textual Analysis), summarized and analyzed
more than 50 works written within this time period, determining that many contained themes of
independence, revolution, and nationalism. 56 Scholars once involved in the production of street
and protest theatre are now producing dissertations specifically examining the influence of socio-
political conditions in the Philippines on theatre.

As Filipinos look toward the history of the Philippine Revolution for cultural and social
inspiration in their continued negotiation of identity, nationalism, and culture in the growing
diaspora, my work here is but a small offering to this growing body of knowledge about the
intersection of revolution, nationalism, and belonging that fuels the ongoing dialogue of identity.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Resistance defines Philippine history from a Filipino perspective. The people of the archipelago, long before they were Filipino, raised arms against entities demanding rapid social and cultural shifts. From 1521, when Ferdinand Magellan and many of his sailors were massacred on the beaches of Mactan island by Datu Lapu-Lapu, to 1763 and Gabriela Silang lead her fallen husband’s army against the Spanish, armed rebellions and skirmishes are a ubiquitous feature in the archipelago’s regional histories. Some scholars would point out that many of these rebellions happened in isolation, and for different reasons. Even so, the most rebellions shared a common enemy: the presence of an exploitative entity, both foreign and local.

Several catalysts catapulted the local population toward a different understanding of Filipino national identity by the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to this, a well-established social hierarchy based on race, ancestry, religious affiliation existed among the people. This hierarchy determined taxation rates as well. Geography and place were also an important marker of status; those born in Spain set themselves on the highest rung; those of Aeta heritage born in the archipelago who lived far from the Plaza were deemed the lowest.

Proto-national identities and taxation were intrinsically tied to race under Spanish rule; those marked as blanco, including the insulares or Filipinos, were not required to pay taxes, while the Chinese whether full blooded or Mesitso de Sangley were required to pay more than the base
tax. The Chinese and their mestizo and their mestizo offspring were made to pay more because they were the primary go-betweens in the local barter and the larger Spanish global economy. (see Table 1).

Table 1
Social and Political Hierarchy in Spanish Philippines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Naming</th>
<th>Ancestry/ lineage / birthplace</th>
<th>Racial categorization. Social and Economic characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peninsulares</td>
<td>Full blooded Spanish from Spain</td>
<td><em>Blanco.</em> Held highest colonial offices, granted <em>Encomienda</em> titles. Paid no tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insulares (or Filipinos)</td>
<td>Full blooded Spanish born in the Philippines</td>
<td><em>Blanco.</em> Enjoyed higher levels of privilege, access to inheritance, high positions in government and the Church. They faced discrimination from the Peninsulares. Paid no tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizo de Espanol</td>
<td>Mixed heritage: Spanish blood and Indio</td>
<td><em>Blanco.</em> Access to positions in government, the Church. Paid no tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tornatras</td>
<td>Mixed heritage: Austronesian (Indio), Chinese, Spanish</td>
<td><em>Blanco.</em> Those with Indio lineage in this class were most likely descended from the <em>Principalia</em> class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizo de Sangley</td>
<td>Chinese and Indio Ancestry</td>
<td>Segregated to Binondo (if baptized Catholic). They were the only persons of non-Spanish descent allowed to work in Intramuros. Paid double tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangley</td>
<td>Full Chinese Ancestry</td>
<td>Segregated to Binondo (if baptized Catholic) or Parian (if not Catholic). Paid quadruple tax.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indio</td>
<td>Full Indio (Austronesian, Malay) Ancestry</td>
<td>The local population who part of the <em>Principalia</em> class. The Indio was also baptized Catholic and lived near a Spanish settlement. Paid a base tax.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued on next page)
As intermarriage occurred particularly between full-blooded Spanish and members of the *Principalia* class and the mestizo population grew, these stratifications became complicated. ¹

Where did these populations belong? Those who were considered Filipino were classified as *Blanco*, but were still looked down upon and not considered “as Spanish” as their Spain-born or even Mexico-born counterparts. Those who were *Mestizo de Espanol* did not have to pay tax, but one of their parents – the *Indio* one – was required to. If *Filipinos* identified those born in the archipelago, could that designation not be extended to all who were born in *Las Islas Filipinas*? Or were they to be foreigners on their own soil?

The Philippines’ economic, political, social, and cultural connection to Spain was interrupted in 1821 after Mexico gained its independence. This destroyed the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade, Spain’s most important economic lifeline, diminished Spanish influence in the

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¹ The *Principalia* Class were those who considered royalty or the social and political leaders in pre-colonial Philippine communities. Even though they were technically considered *Indio*, retained their high status positions in the new social order of the Philippines, apart from being seen as “below” those who were full or half Spanish, and maintained their statuses as leaders of their communities. Those of the principia class were most likely to intermarry with the *Peninsulares* or *Insulares*.
Western Hemisphere, and signaled the beginning of the end of Spain’s global empire. But the Suez Canal opened in 1869, drastically reducing travel time to Spain, which meant that people could move between the archipelago and the Iberia was less expensive and and at a much quicker pace; more goods and raw materials were also moving between the colony and crown as well. This also allowed more of the middle class, even those of mixed heritage, to send their sons to the “motherland” to study. While this new development did not save the Spanish empire from its final demise, it provided the intellectual foundations to argue for, at the least, reform and better representation for the archipelago.

Many of the landed middle class sent their sons to Europe to escape the political unrest brewing in the archipelago, especially those who had direct ties to any of the three priests. These exiled sons became exposed to notions of representative government, democracy, and self-determination, and recognized that they were not only being discriminated against based on their lineage but by their birthplace as well. The archipelago, disdained by many of their full-blooded Spanish brethren, unified this cross section of, and the identification of being Filipino became a source of strength for them. Forming the Propaganda Movement, they wrote newspapers and novels, excoriating the way Spanish priests and political officers in the archipelago treated of their people. They lobbied for representation in the Cortes Generales, to speak to the needs of the people back home – the Los Indios Bravos, Los Filipinos – preferably someone who born in the islands. Neither of these endeavors sat well with colonial administrators or the religious orders in the islands, so much so that they banned the propaganda making its way back to the archipelago.

Jose Rizal (1861-1896), perhaps the most famous of these exiled sons and the Propaganda Movement, returned to the Philippines in 1892. His novels, Noli Me Tangere (1887) and El
Filibusterismo (1891), were considered contraband in the islands, making Rizal a wanted man to colonial officials. He gathered a group of friends upon his return to the archipelago and organized La Liga Filipina to help support the propaganda work of his comrades in Spain. Designed to be a mutual aid society, La Liga Filipina was to provide desperately needed financial support to those still in Europe to support the intellectual work pushing forth a reform agenda.

When it was discovered he had returned to the archipelago, Rizal was almost immediately arrested and exiled to Dapitan on the island of Mindanao. This radicalized those he gathered, many who had not sailed off to experience the salons of Paris and Madrid where they could safely contemplate abstract notions of freedom and democracy. What they did know was that action was now necessary; if the Spanish were willing to arrest and exile Rizal for lobbying for reform and representation, it was clear that they would not listen to their demands of the common Filipino.

The same night Rizal was exiled, July 7, 1892, Andres Bonifacio (1863 – 1897), along with Aurelio Tolentino (1867 – 1915?), Teodoro Plata (1866 – 1897), Deodato Arellano (?1844 – 1899), Ladislao Diwa (1863 – 1930), and several others, created the Kataas-taasang Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang mga Anak nang Bayan – the highest and most respected Society of Children of the Nation – or Katipunan for short. While staying true to the tenets of La Liga Filipina, one aspect set the Katipunan apart from its precursor; they no longer wanted representation, they wanted independence.

The Katipunan operated underground for four years before being discovered. The leadership, which included Aurelio Tolentino, quietly recruited across class lines as they evolved their recruitment strategies during those four years. Guided by fundamental notions of independence and self-determination, and sanctifying loyalty to the group through borrowed
masonic rituals, the leadership were fully committed to the idea of revolution until independence in April 1895 in the Paminitan Caves, they etched their names on the cavern walls along with the message, “Viva la Independencia!” Several oral histories recount it was Tolentino who insisted that it would only be through full revolution that the Philippines would gain independence. The playwright was the first to make the commitment, signing his name on April 10, 1895; the others would do so the next day.²

Their secret society was finally revealed in the throes of jealousy and misunderstanding between two Katipuneros almost a year and a half later. As a result on August 26, 1896, Bonifacio called the local Katipuneros together in the front yard of Juan Ramos where they tore up their cédulas (Tax identification papers), symbolizing their break from their colonial masters and shouting, “Viva la Independencia!”

The tension between the local population and the remaining Spanish colonial entities intensified between 1896 and 1898, erupting in the first phase of the Philippine Revolution. The Katipuneros had a window of opportunity to make their case for self-government, but internal tensions among the leadership of the organization hampered that process. In 1897, after those tensions came to a head at the Tejeros Convention, and Bonifacio was deposed from his position. This angered the founder, who stormed out of the proceedings with his followers. The new leadership, now consisting largely of landed elites, elected the absent Emilio Aguinaldo (1869 – 1964), a general born into one of the most powerful political families in Kawit, Cavite. Alerted on the battlefield that he was now the leader of the revolutionary government, Aguinaldo ordered the

capture of Andres and Procopio Bonifacio on grounds of treason. Upon capture, Aguinaldo was faced with the decision of sparing the life of the founding father of the Katipunan or condemning him to death. Under pressure from advisors, Aguinaldo allowed the execution.

In the same year, Aguinaldo brokered the Pact of Biak-Na-Bato. In exchange for the exile of most of the revolutionary government’s leadership and the surrender of arms by those fighters remaining in the archipelago, the Spanish colonial government promised over 1.7 million pesos in aid to those effected by the ongoing fighting. Unfortunately, while exiled in Hong Kong, the leadership faced internal dissent yet again; some wanted to split the funds evenly amongst themselves and leave the movement, while others wanted to maintain the funds to further the revolution.

An explosion in the harbor of Havana catalyzed the 10-month Spanish-American War in 1898. Spain was in no shape to take on a rising global powerhouse while staving off the katipuneros in the archipelago. Under the orders of then Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, Admiral George Dewey sailed into Manila Harbor, annihilated the surprised Spanish Armada, and anchored the United States’ presence in the Philippine archipelago. While this meant that the Spanish empire was at its end, this situation presented an opportunity for Spain to save some face; rather than capitulating to their soon-to-be former colonial subjects, they surrendered with some honor to a superior power.

Despite this, Filipinos rejoiced and declared independence from Spain on June 12, 1898. Three months later Aguinaldo and the leadership of the Philippine Revolutionary Government convened a constitutional convention to develop an infrastructure for an independent republic. Unfortunately, this was all for naught as the Treaty of Paris, negotiated between the United States
and Spain from August to December of 1898, transferred ownership of the archipelago and all its resources to the United States for twenty million dollars. This established the United States as a legitimate imperial power, extending the young republic’s reach beyond the western hemisphere and into the economically lucrative region of the Far East. It also gave a very clear message to the people of the archipelago; the independence they celebrated was premature for neither the Spanish nor the Americans had any intentions to capitulate to the Filipinos.

The Philippine American War, once labeled the Philippine Insurrection, commenced on February 4, 1899, and dragged on for three years. It was declared officially over in 1902 by President Theodore Roosevelt, even though armed fighting continued well into the 1910’s. After Aguinaldo’s capture and declaration of allegiance to the United States in 1901, a few of his former generals, most notably Macario Sakay (1870-1907), continued the fight for independence. Sakay, along with Julian Montalan (? – 1907) and Cornelio Felizardo (? – 1906?), organized groups in the provinces of Cavite and Batangas and declared the creation of a Tagalog Republic in 1902. The Republic lasted for four years, falling apart after Sakay was betrayed, convicted, and hung for treason.

Despite the fall of the elite controlled Philippine revolutionary government, the spirit of the Katipunan was still very much alive and well, if in different iterations. While the initial drive for revolution was highly concentrated in the Tagalog regions on the island of Luzon, it quickly spread throughout the archipelago – from the northern reaches of the Ilocos regions down into the disparate islands of the Visayas between 1900 and 1910. In the Bicol Region of southern Luzon, two men, Simeón Ola (1865 – 1952) and Lazaro Toledo (?), continued to fight against American troops and their Filipino collaborators between 1901 and 1903. In the provinces of Pangasinan
and Zambales, Roman Manalan (? - 1903) and his men continued guerilla warfare tactics until he was killed in January 1903. General Artemio Ricarte (1866 – 1945), who was codenamed “The Viper” and worked closely with Aguinaldo and Sakay, was deported from the Philippines three times for his activities. He was imprisoned a similar number of times on charges of conspiracy and subversion. Despite this, Ricarte was connected to uprisings and rebellions as late as 1914.

Apart from these movement led by former leadership of the Katipunan, there were many faith-based rebellions occurring simultaneously. These included the Pulajanes of Cebu and Leyte, the Dios-Dios in Samar, a group of babaylans (spiritual leaders) from the Diwa Buhawi group followed Papa Isio (1846? – 1911) in Negros. Each of these movements were not just anti-American or anti-Spanish; they were pro-Filipino. These rebellions were also a part of a critical dialogue concerning issues of collaboration, betrayal, loyalty, identity, and cultural value shift occurring at this time.

Carrots and Sticks: Civil Governance and American Imperialism

As the war raged on, the United States established a military government in the islands and authorized two commissions to assess the archipelago’s resources and suggest policies for the governance of their new territory – and its subjects. The first commission suggested, among other things, an archipelago-wide census to capture the diversity of humanity present in their new colony. They then made suggestions on how to best manage the population, including on how to
fulfill their greatest needs and demands in order to curry favor among the people. If that did not work, they had further suggestions on how they could quell further resistance. The second commission, among other things, created the infrastructure to implement those suggestions.

In 1901, the man who headed the second commission, William H. Taft, was appointed the first civilian governor of the archipelago. He served as Governor-General between 1901 and 1905 and implemented several carrot-and-stick methods to either encourage Filipinos to accept the benevolent intentions of Lady Liberty, and to remind them that they were a colonized people under the thumb of Uncle Sam. Either way, the United States was going to make an indelible mark on the archipelago – minds, hearts, or bodies – and the world.

A total of six policies passed in the early part of the twentieth century were designed to censor nationalist sentiments, quell sedition and insurrection, and redirect knowledge formation among the local population. The “carrot” policies were meant to endear the Americans to their new subjects, offering systemic changes such as universal education to demonstrate their altruistic intentions. The “stick” policies were meant to demonstrate the United States’ strength and intolerance of rebellion against their altruistic measures. It was generally accepted that this was necessary to ensure that American interests – economic, strategic, and otherwise – would be secured in the Philippines.

Two of the acts preceded the Organic Act of 1902, which established the civil government and officially declared the insurrection over, while the remaining three followed it. These policies included: the Sedition Act (1901); Education Act (1901); Brigandage Act (1902); Pensionado Act (1903); Reconcentration Act (1903); and Flag Law (1907).
The Education Act of 1901 was a carrot policy. It established a universal, public education system across the archipelago. It also provided for the importation of white American school teachers who would fan out to the far reaches of the islands. A universal and public education also provided the vehicle to establish English, not Tagalog or any other local language or dialect, as a unifying lingua franca. While this was, in part, necessary since the American teachers only spoke English, it also taught the people not to see local languages as valid or valued. It further perpetuated the regionalism that stymied the broader acceptance of being seen as Filipino from a locally formulated perspective. Even if they had implemented the use of Tagalog as a preferred lingua franca, it would have been, at the very least, a language from within the archipelago. This was not dissimilar to what occurred under Spanish colonialism, but the Americans took it a step further by incorporating it into the infrastructure and system that the Filipinos longed for – education. English was not limited to the Ilustrado or landed elite as Spanish was; it was for everyone. As benevolent masters, they provided a service that the people of the archipelago always desired; they also established the most efficient way to officially indoctrinate the masses into valuing all things American over what things could be seen as Filipino.

The Sedition Act of 1901 was a stick policy. The article restricted the people’s advocacy for independence and sovereignty. Acts of sedition included, but were not limited to, organizing, taking an oath of allegiance, or being a part of groups similar to the Katipunan that advocated rebellion against the United States publicly or privately (Section Three, Nine, Eleven, and Twelve); withholding knowledge of treasonous acts being planned (Section Two); the hindering of American governance in the islands (Section Five); hate crimes aimed at the American government or peoples (Section Five and Six); and the utterance or printing of materials that could
be construed as advocating independence for the Philippine state or armed resistance against the American colonial government (Section Eight and Ten).³ Possible punishments included death, significant fines, and long prison sentences coupled with hard labor. Prison sentences varied from two years to life. Fines ranged from $1000 U.S. dollars to no more than $10,000 U.S. dollars. Section Fifteen deemed this act invalid in areas without an established provincial civil government – namely Batangas, Cebu, and Bohol.

The Reconcentration Act of 1903 allowed for the reorganization of rural communities for easier governance and policing in areas that were still resisting American presence in the Philippines. In other words, people were moved around, forced to move closer to the municipal Plaza, and then nominally “fenced in,” guns turned inward, with the justification that they were being protected. Anyone found outside of the fence was killed, suspected of being rogue revolutionaries, ladrones (bandits). This was reminiscent of the Reconcentrado and Encomienda policies the Spanish implemented to control the local population.

The Pensionado Act of 1903 provided the opportunity of higher education in the United States to men and some women from elite families identified as potential future leaders in Philippine civil society. They were sent to the United States to study economics, education, political science, etc. and then expected to return to the Philippines to take their place in civil service and build the state as part of a gradual Filipinization process. Of course, this was a sweet “carrot” to dangle above the heads of those to whom it was offered. This also deepened the class

³ War Department, Letter from the Secretary of War in Response to Senate Resolution of January 31, 1902, Relative to the punishment of persons under the law passed by the Philippine Commission, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, S. Doc. 172, 2-5.
division and privileged those families and individuals who had already ingratiated themselves to the American colonial infrastructure.

The Flag Law of 1907 barred the display of the Philippine flag and other flags of the Katipunan, popular symbols used in many theatre productions that made audiences erupt in cheers and applause. The Sedition Act of 1902 was very clear about measures used to articulate nationalism – but the display of the flag manifested in so many different covert and subliminal ways that it was difficult to anticipate.

The Sedition Act (Article 292)

The Sedition Act of 1901, otherwise known as Article 292, was passed on November 4, 1901 by the United States Philippine Commission, and then forwarded to the United States Senate for review and printing on February 4, 1902. It defined treason and sedition and then outlined the punishments for committing said acts as defined under the law. There were eighteen sections in this act, some delineated in the previous section. Most provisions of the act were modeled after similar laws in the United States at the time.4

Section Eight and Section Ten were the most troublesome for writers during the American colonial period in the Philippines. Section Eight stated:

Every person who shall utter seditious words or speeches, write, publish, or circulate scurrilous libels against the Government of the United States or the insular government of the Philippine Islands, or which tend to disturb or obstruct any lawful officer in executing his office, or which tend to instigate others to cabal or meet together for unlawful purposes, or which suggest or incite rebellious conspiracies or riots, or which tend to stir up the

4 Division of Insular Affairs, Laws Against Treason, Sedition, Etc. 5-21.
people against the lawful authorities or to disturb the peace of the community, the safety and order of the Government, or who shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.\textsuperscript{5}

Section Ten stipulated,

Until it has been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection against the authority or sovereignty of the United States no longer exists in the Philippine Islands it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate orally, or by writing or printing or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States, whether by peaceable or forcible means, or to print, publish, or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication advocating such independence or separation.\textsuperscript{6}

Thus journalists, authors, actors, playwrights, editors were targeted. Censorship required suspect writers to have their work vetted by a local official before publication or production. Vicente Rafael, quoting Doreen Fernandez’s introduction to Arthur Rigg’s \textit{The Filipino Drama}, concluded that the Supreme Court of the Philippines banned the “nationalist dramas, claiming they tended to ‘incite the people of the Philippine Islands to open and armed resistance to the constituted authorities’ and ‘inculcate a spirit of hatred and enmity against the American people and the Government of the United States in the Philippines.’”\textsuperscript{7} Despite these efforts, nationalist writers circumvented censors and prosecution by blurring their messages through allegory, symbolism, improvisation, and writing in the vernacular. Lucila Hosillos pointed out, “The Sedition Law. . . limited writing in Spanish, but in effect stimulated writing in Philippine Languages, especially Tagalog, which were not readily understood by the censors.”\textsuperscript{8} This allowed Filipino playwrights

\vspace{1cm}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Ibid, 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Lucilla Hosillos, \textit{Philippine-American Relations 1898-1941}, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1969), 33.
\end{itemize}
to challenge of American accusations of sedition on grounds of mistranslation or misunderstanding metaphorical or allegorical symbols.

As specified by Section Ten, the illegality of seditious speech against the American colonial government and the advocacy for independence would only be in effect for the duration of the war. This was contradictory to previous statutes instituted by the former military governor as well as the U.S. Constitution. On May 2, 1902, General Arthur MacArthur gave a statement to the Senate Committee overseeing the affairs of the Philippine Islands regarding his tenure as the military governor of the Philippines from 1900 to 1901. Part of the discussion concerned the issue of sedition and the freedom of speech. General MacArthur stated he was far from concerned about what the Filipinos were saying and was more interested in collecting their weaponry. He stated that during his tenure Filipinos enjoyed all the rights and privileges guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution except two: the right to bear arms and the right to a jury trial. The right to bear arms was restricted due to the war; the denial of the right to a jury trial was largely based on the people’s familiarity with the Spanish judicial system, which did not operate with a grand jury. MacArthur discussed the provisions he put forth to the people of the Philippine Islands. One of those was that “no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the rights of the people, to peacefully assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances.” General MacArthur was questioned three times about his view on the Sedition Act in the Philippines.

Senator Culberson: Now, coming to the essential principles of freedom to which you say we are trying to plant in the Philippines, I will ask you if the Filipinos have freedom of speech.

Gen. MacArthur: In the Philippines?
Senator Culberson: Yes.
General MacArthur: They did during my administration. I told them if they would give me their guns they could have a mass meeting on every corner in Manila whenever they wanted to, where they could utter any sentiments they wished.
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Senator Culberson: Under the Sedition law, passed since you left there, has not their freedom of speech been practically taken away from them?
General MacArthur: The operation of that law would limit the licentiousness of riotous argument, of course, and I would like to make my position clear on that head. I do not object to the Filipinos talking; on the other hand, I rather encourage it; and I made the conditions only that they would give me their guns. ¹²

His first response reflected his military concerns, but his other responses were non-committal and indifferent. ¹³ In his testimony to the committee, MacArthur stated that he “made the assurance in my belief that no action by our government could ever contravene any of those elementary and fundamental principles which, as I have said before, I think embody every constitutional guaranty (sic) that we have for our protection except the trial by jury and the right to bear arms.” The General was not concerned about upholding statutes that contradicted what he instituted as law; more importantly, he was hesitant to contradict the U.S. Constitution.

It was against this backdrop of political turbulence and war in the early twentieth century that theatre increasingly became an integral space for dialogue concerning nationalism, identity, loyalty, and belonging to the bayan and/or the bansa. Theatre offered a space to ask these questions, point fingers, articulate dissent, resist complicity, and assert and affirm the existence of the ongoing resistance present in the archipelago.

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Newspapers were a powerful mechanism for information and engagement at the turn of the twentieth century. They shaped popular opinion in profound ways; they also reflected, despite the desire to be seen as unbiased, the anxieties and underlying fears that informed infrastructural policy decisions. There are several things that newspaper coverage reveals about theatre at the turn of the twentieth century in the Philippines. 1) It was a favored pastime for local populations, a weekly endeavor for many at all social levels. In an article published in 1905, John Metzger noted that “Sunday in the Philippines…is the great theater day and all the large towns of the islands have their various play-houses. The dramatic composition is always in the native dialect and usually melo-dramatic (sic) in character.” Metzger goes on to describe the character of these plays, which we will revisit later in this chapter. 2) These productions were popular, and were performed multiple times in different venues. Several plays, including Hindi Ako Patay, another play identified as a “seditious sarsuwela,” were announced to be playing in various venues in Manila and other neighboring provinces. One play, Malaya, by Tomas Remegio, was reported to have been performed over 160 times. 3) Some Tagalog language papers published serialized play

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15 Hindi Ako Patay was written by Juan Matapang Cruz, another playwright prosecuted for sedition. This was his only known work, and he even denied that it was he who wrote it. There is not much known about Cruz, unlike the other playwrights, who had a well-documented history of being involved with the Katipunan, Spanish or Tagalog language newspapers, etc.
16Testimony of Tomas Remegio given during the Dominador Gomez trial and reported in The Manila Times Aug 26, 1903, p. 4. in Tomas Hernandez, The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines (1898-1912), (PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1976), 91.
manuscripts – but out of order. In other words, they would publish portions of manuscripts not in sequence. I argue they were published in this manner to confuse not only American colonial officials, but also to frustrate collaborators who had the language faculty to understand the meaning and messages being conveyed in the text. Serialized manuscripts in order were published after 1903. Some play manuscripts were published in full, like *Tanikalang Guinto*, in books and pamphlets.

**English Language Newspapers**

English language newspapers published in Manila at the turn of the twentieth century expressed a heightened sensitivity to perceived anti-American sentiments. The more prominent English language newspapers included *The Manila Times*, *Manila Cabelnews*, and *Manila Freedom*. They disparaged the actions that Filipinos took to articulate their freedom and independence, particularly attacking the intellectual capacity of the local population as a primary reason why they were not – yet – fit for self-rule. Filipino vernacular newspapers would counter those claims in Spanish, Tagalog, and other languages and dialects found in provinces and Manila. Both English and Filipino language newspapers published articles about important news and the court trials of playwrights charged with sedition were of real interest to reader and reporter alike. English language newspapers provided space for scathing editorials that attacked theatre as a

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17 The play *Gunaw*, meaning ‘Flood’ or ‘Devastation’ was published in *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan* in late 1903.
“sedition breeder.” Filipino language newspapers provided space to serialize controversial and potentially seditious manuscripts, as well as announce the new ones.

English language newspapers demonstrated America’s collective anxiety over their capacity to maintain the colony guised in pronouncements designed to demean the Filipino. If they were unable to quell or control the articulations of nationalism among the Filipinos, the global perception of the United States would be that of a country unprepared to take its place on the world stage. This self-aggrandizement, fueled by the self-congratulatory notion of exceptionalism, was utilized to justify the suppression of democracy in their new colony and the censorship of free speech on page and stage. Journalists were focused on demonstrating the ineptitude and uncivilized nature of the local population; the Filipino’s lack of respect for the law, and failure to recognize the benevolent nature and intentions of the American endeavor in the archipelago. Short op-eds demonstrated an unmistakable contempt and feeling of superiority, however benevolent from their own perspective. These acts of resistance were not only damning to American self-perceptions of superiority; it threatened their ideological certainty that what they were doing was right, just, and Christian.

Tagalog Newspapers

A few vernacular language newspapers circulated at the turn of the twentieth century as well. In Manila, these were primarily published in Spanish or Tagalog. These news outlets were integral in spreading nationalistic sentiments and encouraging an ongoing dialogue of what being
Filipino meant for the masses. They also became lightning rods for censorship; many were shut down, only to be resurrected under a new name. Newspapers being published at the time included, *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan* (Tagalog - Siblings of the Nation), *La Patria* (Spanish - the Homeland), *La Independencia* (Spanish - The Independence/Independent), *La Republika Filipina* (Pampango - The Philippine Republic), *Laong-Laan* (Tagalog – a reference to a pseudonym used by Jose Rizal), *Dimas Alang* (Tagalog – another reference to a pseudonym used by Jose Rizal), and *Los Obreros* (Spanish and Tagalog – The Workers). Many of the Spanish language newspapers had sister Tagalog or other Philippine language publications, such as *La Patria*.

The Tagalog language newspapers, like the theater, were important spaces to articulate the argument for independence among the masses. They voiced nationalist sentiments and, at times, contained cryptic announcements about new theatrical productions, moving the discussion of nationalism and national identity forward among the people. A number of them were published by men who were affiliated with the former Philippine Revolutionary government, the Katipunan, or the Philippine Revolutionary army. Many had been involved with all three in some capacity since the late nineteenth century, including Pascual Poblete (1857 – 1921), who served as the editor of *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan*, and Aurelio Tolentino, who wrote and edited several papers including *La Patria*. These men were also involved with other progressive movements at the time, such as *Los Obreros*, the first workers’ union to be established in the archipelago.

Vernacular language papers gave space to articles, editorials, and open letters that made suggestions about the direction of their nation. Like theatre, these articles did not only articulate opposition to the U.S. colonialism; but rather an understanding of the hypocrisy of the United States taking a colony given its own revolutionary history, and a desire to work with the U.S. The
emotional pleas were directed to the Tagalog people, to be critical about their social, political, and cultural condition as they stand at the crossroads of establishing a nation, a state, or a nation-state on their localized terms.

Three dominant types of news items concerned theatre; announcements, news articles, and editorials. Most of the announcements examined are from Tagalog language papers; news articles discussed largely come from English language papers; and opinion pieces are gleaned from both English and Tagalog newspapers, though there are fewer Tagalog sources to discuss due to lack of resources.

Newspaper articles concerning the “seditious nature and intent” of the theatre began appearing less than a year after Theodore Roosevelt declared the Philippine American War over. These newspapers also provided valuable and detailed descriptions of several plays, their shutdowns, and the trials of playwrights and actors that followed. The published editorials were provocative and exciting as well, invaluable sources of irony and contradiction that, arguably, defined American colonialism. Of all the identified seditious Tagalog playwrights, Aurelio Tolentino was portrayed through American news outlets in the Philippines as one of the most dangerous. They detailed his past, correlated his plays with all his other activities as a Katipunero and highlighted his affiliation with various revolutionary leaders. From these news articles, we have a rather interesting composite sketch of who Aurelio Tolentino was – and who Americans believed him to be. Much of the time English language newspapers did one of two things when they wrote about local theatre culture; they dismissed the artistic and aesthetic quality of the theatre production, or they expressed their anger over the messages that were being conveyed – how the Filipinos should be grateful for their presence and help.
Announcements

The announcements of various productions demonstrate how integral newspapers in goading people to attend shows. The word play in these announcements in Tagalog newspapers is fascinating. They openly wonder about the quality of the shows they’re advertising, suggesting that it would be best if people watch to make up their own minds. They tell us what shows have been popular in other places – which demonstrates how these productions travel, the number of plays being performed, the frequency of production of particular plays, and what days these productions were staged. They also indicate which theatres catered best to which segments of society as well.

A number of the Tagalog, Spanish, and other Filipino language periodicals were generally supportive of the idea of independence. Just as the theater presented a dangerous space for propaganda, American authorities also saw newspapers as an equal threat. Filipino and Spanish language newspapers advertised several plays and other theatrical productions showing all around Manila and, on occasion, surrounding provinces. A few theaters in the Manila area hosted seditious productions as well. The most notorious, however, was the Teatro Libertad. This included the only performance of *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* in May 1903. Other theaters were also mentioned in different newspapers multiple times, including Teatro Angel, Dulaang (or Teatro) Rizal, Teatro Zorilla, and Teatro Filipino.

One of the striking things about these announcements is the times when the curtains would go up for these productions. Most were later in the evening, 8:00pm or later, when there was an
imposed curfew in the Manila area. Some productions were a marathon of one-act plays that lead up to the main play. Reading through the manuscripts of several plays, in addition to Tolentino’s works, it is clear these were not short productions. Factor in the potential for long, improvised monologues on the importance of nationalism and embracing a unified Filipino identity, one can only imagine how late these would run.

Examining several Tagalog language newspapers, including Ang Kapatid ng Bayan and the Tagalog edition of La Patria, the topic of independence had been an ongoing news item since 1899. Ang Kapatid ng Bayan had published articles about the need for Philippine independence since 1899 as well. Perusing other available materials for mention of identified “seditious” works and/or the names of playwrights whose works needed to be censured by the municipal governments, 1903-1904 were important reporting years. Philippine newspapers from the turn of the twentieth century still extant were flush with announcements of theatre productions, new and ongoing.

La Patria

La Patria was one of the newspapers that Aurelio Tolentino wrote for and eventually served as its editor. It is not clear if he held that position at the time these news items were published, or if he had a hand in writing them. On February 17, a three-act zarzuela entitled Ilang-Ilang was performed by the Samahang Catagalugang Dalisay (Pure Tagalog Organization) to a full house at Teatro Libertad. The paper reported:
Alinsunod sa aming nakita at ang zarzuelang iyon, gayondin ang tugtugin ng iniacma ay naquiqui-ugali na sa iba. Tugamain pa sana ng nagsusulat. ...Marahil cung ilabas na muli, mabubuti ng lahat. (Apparently the play was “adjusted,” performed in a way did not reflect its true message. The thought is that was because there were people in the audience that may have become offended by the production. It would be a good thing for everyone if the production was presented again. Translation mine.)

Without saying it directly, the following things were likely true about the performance. 1) There were Americans in the audience. 2) The actors and prompter, who is usually the playwright himself, changed the tone or altered the characters in some way so that those in the audience would not be offended. 3) The term “Ilang-Ilang” is widely known to refer to a fragrant flower that is indigenous to the Philippines. However, another meaning for “Ilang-Ilang” (or “IlangIlang”) is “soaring” or “arising,” which could be interpreted as trying to encourage the Filipinos in the audience to think about how they could “arise” and become their own nation, determine their own path.

On February 21, at the Teatro Angel, the Tenorio Company put on a three-act Tagalog drama called Hagdaw Nang Camatayan (Gathering the Remnants of the Dead). Hagdaw is a Visayan word meaning ‘to gather that which was left behind. This was a benefit performance for workers on strike in the province of Cavite who were involved with the Union Obrera. The news item does not say this directly; but the article does mention how crowded it was, that everyone seemed to have a “plus one,” and wondered if the members of the Union Obrera were, in fact, in attendance, and what was to be gained by having all of these people attend.

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18 “Sa Teatro Libertad,” La Patria (Edicion Tagalog), February 17, 1903, n.p. (Apparently the play was “adjusted” – performed in a way that was not reflective of its true message. The thought is that was because there were people in the audience that may have become offended by the production. It would be a good thing for everyone if the production was presented again. Translation mine.)

This news item could be seen as musings about an uncomfortable night at the theater – too many people, not being able to get seats, etc. But it could also be interpreted in the following ways:

1) you need to watch this show. Not only because it is a good show – which wasn’t even an issue addressed by the news item – but to show your support for the Union Obrera and for your fellow countrymen. The phrase “At nahan ang nasabing pagcacaisa?” (Where is the patriotism/unity you speak of?) is a jab at those sitting on the fence, or are even continuing to collaborate with the incoming American imperial force, indirectly shaming them in a public forum.

2) The title may refer to the bloody end of the Philippine American War in 1902, when the visible leadership of the revolutionary government retreated.

3) It could also refer, at that historical moment, to the end of the Philippine Revolution as a surrender of the Filipino people and all its land to the United States and that all that there is left to do is to gather up their dead brethren and bury them.

The article concludes with, ‘ISANG ANAK-BAYAN!’ – roughly “We are unified,” though literally, it would be “The Children of the Nation are One.” This, again, is interesting, in that it is either a call for unity, or a reminder that the people have not given up on their desire to achieve independence.

On February 25, La Patria advertised several productions that would be playing at the Libertad Theater over the coming weeks. They included Matibay at Mahinang Puso (The Strong and Weak Heart) staged by Samahang Malaya (Freedom Organization); Imus (A Sharp Point) being performed by a new theatrical troupe; Katacsilang Lihim (The Secret Treachery), though

they do not mention what troupe is responsible for the production\textsuperscript{21}. When they talk about Matibay at Mahinang Puso, the newspaper makes it a point to mention that one of the actors is “Katuiran sa Malaya.” They mentioned the names of the other actors who were parts of other productions; but in the case of “Katuiran,” they do not identify who that is. This, again, could indicate a few things. The newspaper could be referring to the actor who played Katuiran in Tomas Remegio’s Malaya, but did not want to identify him/her, or they meant that “Katuiran,” meaning reason, right, and justice, is an essential character(istic) of the play. Mentioning this also connected Matibay at Mahinang Puso to Malaya, an acknowledged seditious sarsuwela, suggesting that Matibay at Mahinang Puso may be a seditious sarsuwela as well. These sorts of hidden messages were only discernible to those who were familiar with these theatrical works and attuned to the continued whispers of independence among the masses.

These papers were critical of works that did not address contemporary issues, because they believed that to be part of the responsibility of the stage. The stage and theatre were not meant for pure entertainment or escapism. It is comical in the way they provide criticism even before the production in this announcement:

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**SA DULAANG ANGEL**

Sa arao ng sabado, ika-pito ntiong lumalacad na buan, ay mahahayag sa mat at madla ang unang pagsipot ng isang bago na naming Zarzuela Tagalog na may tatlong hati, na sinulat nu bunying Telesfora Bagsik na ardena at inagpangan ng tugtugin ni Tereso Lapata, dating “compositor” na pinamagatang “Ang aking maguiguaing asaua.” ¿Ano caya ang lagay nito? Ito caya ’y may casay-sayang makikita? Baca pa caya paris na lang ng...panoorin natin, at ng huag makibalita, cung totoo.

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(On Saturday, the 7th of next month, we are pleased to announce the arrival of a new three-act Tagalog Zarzuela written by the most respectably Telesfora Bagsik, with music by Tereso Lapata, the composer for the piece “Ang aking maguiguing asaua” (My previous partner). What is this? Will we be witnessing any history? Perhaps just the same storyline…we should watch it, but not report on it if this is the case. Translation mine.)

This short announcement shared basic information about the production, but also gave a verbal side-eye by asking, essentially, “What is this?” Whomever authored this short piece was 1) not a big fan of Telesfora Bagsik and Tereso Lapata, 2) expected this work to essentially be something that they had already seen; or 3) even worse, it will be something that they had already seen from this playwright and composer, or 4) was announcing that, if something did not appear in the paper later about this production, it wasn’t worth seeing.

On March 11, another theatre troupe called Samahang Ratia announced that they would be performing Rizal y los Dioses (Rizal and the Gods), a Tagalog opera. This was written and scored by A. Tolentino and S. Solis. The newspaper wished the authors a successful box office and run. The next day the paper announced the run of two works, Ngitngit ng Diyos (God’s Fury) and Secreta (The Secret), by the Samahang Rizal (The Rizal Players). They praised the production as one of the best produced in Manila at the time – popular and always sold out – and that people should do their best to not miss out. Both titles are suggestive – God’s Fury? The Secret? The manuscripts are no longer extant, as far as we know at this time, but there are many family and institutional archives yet to explore.

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22 This is an incorrect transcription. The mistake does not interrupt the context of the sentence, but I do not have access to the original document. I had transcribed the news article at the Library of Congress from a microfiche record – and did not get a hard copy because of the lack of funds. This will be rectified for later publication.
A second production was advertised on the same day of *Ilang-Ilang* by Samahang Katagalugang Dalisay (The Pure Tagalog Organization) being performed at the Teatro Angel. They had just performed at the Teatro Libertad the month previous. There is a curious sentence in the middle of the paragraph that reads, “*Na pauang beneficio ng mga kilalang tao sa bayan ng Paco,*” (The proceeds of this production will benefit the known people in the town of Paco). Now, this could just mean that there were people in the town of Paco, one of the thirteen districts of the city of Manila. But during the time of the Spanish, the municipal cemetery for Manila – and, oddly enough, several national heroes, including Jose Rizal and the three martyred priests from the Cavite Mutiny collectively known as GomBurZa – were thought to be interred there. If we stretch and read deeper into what this potentially means, it could be that, in an indirect way, that the proceeds of the production would go to the continued struggle against the US colonial endeavors in the archipelago. Both of the productions staged for the benefit of others were characterized as being wildly popular and oversold – perhaps indicating the level of support that the revolutionary leadership still had among the people.

On March 13, *La Patria* published another announcement for multiple shows being staged at Teatro Libertad, starting on the 15th by the Compania Lirico Dramatico (The Lyrical Drama Company) entitled *Rizal.* The production included works by several artists to honor the national hero. Also listed were the following works; *Ngitngit Nang Diyos,* a fantastical drama with three acts by Candido Lopez; *Himaksikan sa Castila* (Rebellion in Spanish); and an encore performance of *Ang Secreta.*

The last two works advertised in *La Patria* before, and their titles suggest seditious content. For *Ang Secreta,* the newspaper suggested that the price for all the shows are worth it if just to see
this particular production. *Ngitngit Nang Diyos*, which was spelled ‘*Ngitngit ng Diyos*’ in a previous article carries a subtle meaning difference. The use of “nang” turns *Ngitngit* into a descriptor; making the translation of the title to be “Dark God,” rather than *Ngitngit ng Diyos*, or “God’s fury.” This may seem like an insignificant shift of meaning, but the production could then either be talking about a particular character and their disposition, or a catalytic incident that would bring about punishment from a supernatural deity (who could be benevolent and protective).

*Himaksikan sa Castila* could suggest that either 1) the struggle will be multilingual (Rebellion in Spanish), 2) referring to the revolution in the Philippines against Spain in the late 1890’s, or 3) the history of resistance and rebellion that defined, from a Filipino perspective, the Spanish colonial period. Since the manuscript is no longer extant (as are many of the works produced as this time, as far as we know), one would venture to guess it either addresses the Philippine revolution against Spain or Filipino resistance against Spanish colonization through the years.

A few days later at the Dulaang Naciente in the town of Pasay in the heart of Manila, *Ang Aking Magiging Asaua* (My Would-be Spouse) played to a large crowd. The last time that *La Patria* reported on this play, they were skeptical. This time they encouraged as many people who attended the first run to attend this staging. Curiously, the announcement mentioned that they hope to show the correct production. I say curious because one of the ways that many of these seditious plays were presented was that the theater would advertise one work but then have a completely different production on stage. This cryptic comment, again, could point to the idea that the theater could be showing something different, whichever the “correct” production could be.
Censorship and Sedition

The issue of sedition, and the policy measures developed to stifle it, became a key issue in the archipelago as the United States established colonial control. In November 1901, Article 292 was to stifle opposition to American presence by censoring the modes used to spread of nationalist sentiments. Newspapers and the theater, particularly, were singled out for censorship because of their perceived access to the masses. By July 1902, with the passage of the Philippine Organic Act, laws established under martial law during wartime should have been annulled, including the Sedition Act of 1901. That did not happen; as a result, three playwrights were prosecuted under this provision, including Aurelio Tolentino.

Sedition was an ongoing issue Americans felt needed to be addressed. In October 1899, an article was published describing the distribution of pamphlets by Eusebio Tolentino that included, “the most vile suggestions and assertions regarding the Americans, and the American representatives in the Philippines.”\(^\text{23}\) In 1903, around the same time as the rash of arrests were being made in the theatre community, a long editorial piece was published in the Manila Times entitled “Theater as a Sedition Breeder.” It asserted that theatre was the most effective vehicle for disseminating sentiments of nationalism among the Filipino people.\(^\text{24}\) The author mentioned that four productions alone had been closed down by American authorities in the two previous weeks – two in Manila, one in Malabon, and one in Batangas – and asserted that “all four cases were plainly seditious in character, and whether or not they were intended to stir up the passions of the


people and breed in them a feeling of antagonism and hostility toward the United States, this was certainly the only effect they could have among the natives who witnessed them.”  

The journalist accused Manila-based playwrights of taking advantage of those in the province, “those who are of a low order of intelligence. This is especially true of the taos (people) out in the provinces whom (sic) seldom, if ever reason and whose feelings can be played upon to, stop the more intelligent hombre from the city.” The article insinuated that the dissemination of nationalist, or seditious, sentiments to the countryside was wholly the fault of the theatre culture – and rebellions and deaths that would result from the Anti-American feelings cultivated by these plays are solely the responsibility of the people who created these works.

Another piece published in the *Manila Freedom* on May 16, 1903, drew parallels between the actions of those present at the Boston Tea Party, a catalyst event for the American Revolution and what happened at *La Libertad*. However, in doing so, the author did not focus on the intention of the Filipino; rather he rationalized American’s negative and violent reaction to the production. Championing the bravery and patriotism of the Americans who stormed the stage because they ‘refused to allow the American flag to be insulted,’ the writer diminishes the violence – the destruction of property, the physical harm inflicted upon a few Filipino actors – by mentioning that no one was killed and that, after the US flag was rescued, the Americans left. The actions of the Americans in the audience are compared to the revolutionary actions of those who threw the tea overboard in 1773; akin to those who were protesting the tax being imposed on tea – and, by extension, an unlawful impediment to the life of Americans. This is ironic, as it

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25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
was now the United States that was the imperial power imposing its might upon a people who had already asserted their sovereignty.

These English language op-ed pieces, along with other regular news articles, articulated a belief in the inferiority of the Filipino when compared to Americans. In contrast to that belief, however, these articles also conveyed worry about the influence of theatre on the masses, particularly as they encounter more productions that seem to have nationalist themes woven into their performance. The author of the “Theater as Sedition Breeder” editorial argued, “Those who are of low order of intelligence and cannot read are, by this method [the theatre], schooled in anti-Americanism as they could be in no other way.”28 In other words, Americans in the Philippines carried a tangible fear that their perceived lower intelligence made them more susceptible to propaganda and, potentially, violence. The theater posed a danger because the “foolish and impetuous youth who attends the theater and sees one of these plays has his imagination and…patriotism [which the author describes as “misguided”] stirred up and set on fire that would lead the Filipino to find a gun and, presumably, inflict violence upon the American population in the Philippines.”29 American military and Philippine Constabulary patrolling the streets of Manila and the provincial countryside would report on the popularity of these theatrical performances, stoking that anxiety.

29 Ibid.
While those who were writing seditious sarsuwelas were undoubtedly conscious of the anxiety their works created for the new colonial regime, their priority was not how foreigners were receiving their message. Playwrights like Aurelio Tolentino, Tomas Remegio, and Juan Abad were more interested in activating a dialogue among Filipinos about being and accepting an imagined but unified Filipino identity that would fill the borders that had already been drawn. Theater provided the space to cultivate agency among the people, to inspire them to ask and answer the question of who is or what does it mean to be part of a Filipino nation. And while this dialogue was beginning in Tagalog, it was not being limited to Tagalog. Many of these seditious playwrights were part of the Philippine Revolution in various leadership positions, and they had witnessed the need and demand for this dialogue on the idea of being Filipino also had to occur in Kapampangan, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Cebuano, and Bikol. That work is far beyond the scope of this research, but an initial search for works in other Philippine languages and dialects with themes that deal with Filipino identity development and questions of nation did result in the identification of several works that warrant future analysis. Interestingly enough, many of those works were written after 1906, well after the hullaballoo surrounding seditious Tagalog plays had been more or less quelled. The notion of being Filipino may have come from the colonial experience, but I contend that playwrights like Aurelio Tolentino understood that for a Filipino nation to manifest, it would have to take into account and be inclusive of linguistic and cultural diversity of the archipelago. That process, however, would take a long time and would more than likely be uneven. Despite that possibility, it would still be a process that is controlled and managed by people of the archipelago.
CHAPTER 4

THEATRE IN THE PHILIPPINES AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Brief History

The foremost scholars on Philippine theatre place Philippine theatre into four distinct categories aligned with the historical eras of the Philippines’ colonial and political development; pre-colonial, Spanish colonial, American colonial, and post-independence. Pre-colonial Philippine theatre consists of ritualistic dance with specific purposes or goals; giving thanks for a good harvest, the birth of a healthy child, celebration of a marriage, prayers for protection in battle or journey. These performances often incorporated mimetic movements, the use of percussive instruments, and/or oral chants. Some of these performances would last for days, the people coming and going as they please to the performance. Pre-colonial performance was inclusive, interactive, and communal. Many communities that encountered foreign influence much later, like the tribes of the Cordillera, continue to practice these dances even if only to maintain their cultural identity.

Spanish colonialism brought western forms of theatre to the archipelago in religious and non-religious forms. The church utilized theatrical performance to facilitate conversion, depicting biblical stories to reinforce a Catholic narrative. The weekly mass itself was a form of theatre the
priest performing a weekly monologue and hour long ritual to a captive audience that incorporated familiar yet foreign repetitious rituals. The Spanish also introduced several forms of musical theatre to the archipelago; the opera and the zarzuela, which mostly appealed to the upper middle-class and landed Spanish immigrant elite. The late nineteenth century opened these theatre forms for broader consumption as the population of landed, middle-class Insulares increased.

American colonialism brought more secular genres of performance to the islands. Vaudeville and other forms of variety shows were popular in the early part of the twentieth century. Technology, however, caught up to live theatre during this time, and there was a downturn in theater’s popularity in urban areas in favor of the new form of entertainment – the moving picture. Imported Spanish and American theatre forms were eventually Filipinized as local playwrights who wrote and produced works in these genres but with distinctly local characters, themes, settings, languages, and narratives.

Theatre and performance have a long tradition as a space to display and validate power in Southeast Asia. That did not change as new forms of theatre came to the islands. The church used this knowledge to facilitate conversion, encouraging the development of religious plays such as the Panunuluyan, which told the story of Joseph and Mary seeking a safe place for the birth of Jesus, or the Osana, a reenactment of Jesus’ entrance to Jerusalem. These were processional dramas, performed outdoors and moving as if a parade. There were also the komedyas, or moro-moro plays that depicted the triumph of Christian soldiers over the dark “Moor” or Muslim, and the Sinakulo, the reenactment of the final days of Christ, performed on makeshift stages or in the town plaza. The Sinakulo also reinforced the clear delineation of good versus evil. Those who were banal (good) would follow in the footsteps of the Virgin Mary or Christ and perform their lines in
a penitent way, “responding to injustice with submissive tears.”¹ Those who were “Hudyo,” or evil, “practically spit out their lines in a crisp and harsh chant, march pompously into and out of scene…”² This made it easy for the audience to figure out who to cheer and whom to boo.

But performance was not limited to these pageant-like events celebrating high feast days. It can be argued that religious rituals such as the Catholic mass functioned as theatre. Men and women would exit the church mumbling the words of the priest’s sermon under their breath, in the hopes of capturing the mystical power they held. The penitent faithful crawled to the altar on their knees as a display of their devotion for all to see. During funerals, those who could afford would hire “crying ladies” to loudly wail and moan to amplify the performance of grief – an influence of Chinese traders in the islands. And while indios could not become priests, some would position themselves as invaluable to the priest – the perceived possessor of power.

Although some considered the komedya secular theatre, it was not until the introduction of other forms of Spanish theatre like the zarzuela, that themes veered away from the business of conversion and displays of religion. A zarzuela “was essentially nothing else but a play with music and dance.”³ The zarzuela is said to have evolved from the popular sainete genre, characterized as a “brief comedy or farce, usually in one act, depicting scenes from popular or middle-class life. The tone is humorous, ironical, or satirical, but no attempt is made at preaching or reforming manners. Plot is of less importance than humor of situation and liveliness of dialogue. The characters, often representing familiar types from lower classes, vary in number from two to twenty, and they talk and act in a perfectly natural manner. The majority of sainetes are simply tranches de vie (slice of life), slightly exaggerated, that might be seen at any time in cafés, squares, and market-places of a big city; occasionally they represent provincial life.”⁴

¹ Tiongson, 12-13.
² Ibid, 13
⁴ Cruz, 124-125.
The most important aspect of the sainete was theatre performing a “slice of life” focused on the middle-class experience. This created broader audience appeal and facilitated the audience member’s capacity to connect and identify with the experiences and characters onstage. Moreover, these theatre productions, if cursorily, included depictions of “lower classes,” which created more realistic, nuanced theatre that their audiences could identify with. This is a key element to understand about the use of theatre as a vehicle for the articulation and manifestation of nationalism in the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century.

Theatrical Genres

Playwrights expressed and articulated ideas of identity and belonging to a locally defined Filipino nation through a number of theatrical genres. The sainete, narrative drama, the komedya, allegorical dramas, zarzuelas and sarsuwelas, drama lyrico, historical plays, and the chameleon play were all performative vehicles through which nationalist/patriotic playwrights articulated their messages. Narrative dramas were just spoken plays; lyrical dramas were largely narrative works but incorporated verse in the dialogue. Historical plays incorporated historical theme into their narrative structure.

The allegorical dramas presented stories that had familiar plot lines and could be correlated with contemporary conditions. According to Jerry Respeto, most allegorical dramas had political themes, much like the seditious sarsuwelas, and would find creative ways to demonstrate those themes through the blocking, or positioning, of the actors on stage and the costumes they wore. In
this way, playwrights found ways to present censored or banned symbols, like the flag of the Katipunan or the flag of the first Philippine republic.\(^5\)

The chameleon play was also an important part of the seditious theatre tradition as well. Part of their success relied upon the audience to make connections between the colonial experience of the archipelago under the Spanish and the developing colonial experience under the Americans. The other important aspect of these chameleon plays was the ability of both actor and playwright to read their audience(s) and adjust their narratives accordingly. If there were any Americans present in the audience, Spanish colonization being the root of the Filipino people’s woes was emphasized. Again, the common thread among these productions, was the presence of the Filipino traitor, the character that colluded with foreign entities for their own personal gain.

The zarzuela was one of the more popular forms of theatre in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Several factors, including the development of a burgeoning middle class, contributed to the increased interest in the zarzuela in the Philippines. Tomas Hernandez outlined five developments that contributed to the rise in popularity of “bourgeois theatre” in the Philippines; 1) the establishment of literary societies, 2) the construction of indoor theaters specifically intended for Spanish plays, 3) the arrival (and continued presence) of Spanish and other foreign theatrical artists who could introduce current styles, staging techniques, and dramatic genres, 4) the emergence of local playwrights writing works in the Spanish language, and 5) the coming of age of the first generation of Filipino actors trained in these imported styles and techniques.\(^6\) The literary societies financed the importation foreign talent and productions, as well as the construction of theater spaces. For instance, Teatro Binondo is

\(^6\) Hernandez, 50-51.
recognized as the first “modern theater in Manila.” Exposure to foreign theatre culture and technique went on to influence the development of local theatre processes and productions. The growth of popularity of theater spaces also facilitated the development of local talent – both playwrights and actors.

Alejandro Cubero and Elisea Raguer are largely recognized as responsible for bringing the zarzuela to the Philippines. Exiled to the archipelago for their political leanings, they organized the first zarzuela company in the Philippines, the Teatro Portatil Fernandez, recruiting local talent to perform Spanish zarzuelas. This first endeavor did not last very long. Cubero’s second endeavor, Compania Lirico-Dramatica, mounted their first production on December 15, 1881. In 1884, Cubero and Raguer organized the Compania de Zarzuela Cubero. The theatre group became the leading zarzuela company in Manila and trained some of the most notable local zarzuelan actors of the next generation who would go on to found their own companies.

From Zarzuela to Sarsuwela: The Filipinization of Theatre

The transformation of the zarzuela to a more localized form of cultural expression – the sarsuwela - occurred as local playwrights began to produce work in the local vernacular. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century primarily brought forth works in Tagalog, but works in other languages, particularly Kapampangan (from the province of Pampanga) also appeared. From the 1910’s on, there was a proliferation of works in other languages and dialects from all over the

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7 Ibid, 52.
8 Cruz, 129.
archipelago, particularly in Bikol (from the Bicol province), Ilocano (from the Ilocos region of the country), and Hiligaynon or Ilonggo (from the Visayan islands, particularly Iloilo). Their popularity was, in part, because the play usually incorporated some sort of love story; a love story often complicated by class. As Nicanor Tiongson noted,

In the Philippines, the sarsuwela is a play with songs and dance that is usually written in colloquial prose. Containing one to five acts, it presents typically Filipino characters moving within the framework of a love story and engaged in conflicts arising from contemporary social, political, economic, or cultural issues. The sarsuwela is also called Sarsuela, Zarzuela, Drama Lirico, Operetta, Sarsuyla, Dulang Hinonihan, Dulang Inawitan, or Dulang may Awit in the various languages of the country.\(^9\)

The other distinguishing aspect of the sarsuwela was the intention and emotional, socio-cultural, and political origin of the content. The zarzuela usually depicted a lighthearted, non-secular and, at times comical, love story - escapist and shallow in its intention. These productions were not meant to critique social conditions or emote a call to action among the population.

While not all sarsuwelas were intentionally seditious, it can be argued that the depiction of characters that looked, acted, or sounded like those in the audience was empowering in many ways. To have a story transformed by local actors, translated into local vernacular, and presented in spaces formally reserved for the display of foreign talent created legitimacy and value for these local stories. Additionally, this opened the door for the development of new narratives rooted in the Philippines. In this way, the sarsuwela as a reinvention of the zarzuela demonstrated the ingenuity and artistic capacity of the Filipino people.

The sarsuwela was deemed the most effective – and, therefore, the most dangerous – way to disseminate ideas of independence and national identity across social strata and geographic

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space. This is deceptive, however; many of the works that were considered “seditious” were often categorized as sarsuwelas whether or not they included music. Guised in the trappings of the zarzuelan form and narrative, several sarsuwelas surfaced immediately after the Philippine Insurrection was declared over to continue the revolution. Prior to 1902, a few theatre productions emerged to address questions of independence, identity, and belonging. Most of these works addressed Spanish colonization and the abusive nature of the friar so Americans who saw these works did not necessarily discern the correlations that Filipinos in the crowd were making between this new “benevolent” colonial master and their former Spanish ruler.

The archipelago was ostensibly under martial law between 1899 and 1902, the U.S. Military taking every measure necessary to quell the revolution. In 1900, there was at least one documented arrest and one production shut down on the grounds of sedition. The Sedition Act, per section ten, would only remain in effect for the duration of the war. The 1902 Organic Act stipulated that, “No law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people to peaceably assembly…” ostensibly voiding the power of censorship.

Despite the Organic Act’s protections of the freedom of press and assembly, arrests on the grounds of sedition escalated after 1902. In May 1903, four productions were shut down in various Tagalog-speaking provinces across Luzon in a fifteen-day period. American authorities halted the performances, midway in some instances; arrested not only those involved in the production but also members of the audience; and destroyed props and sets associated with these productions. Below is a list of known productions between 1900 and 1904 that provoked police action (see Table 2).
Table 2
Theatrical Works That Resulted in Arrests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title / Genre</th>
<th>Translation of Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Police Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mapanglaw na Pagkaalaala</td>
<td>A Sorrowful Recollection</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Playwright (Juan Abad) arrested; refused to take Oath of Allegiance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa</td>
<td>Love for the Native Land</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Production suppressed by Police Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinikalang Guinto Drama Simboliko</td>
<td>The Golden Chain</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Playwright (Juan Abad) arrested &amp; tried for sedition. Performed in Batangas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang Kalayaan Hindi Natupad Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Independence is Unattained</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Cast, Crew Arrested for Sedition; Staged in Obando, Bulacan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi Ako Patay Sarsuwela</td>
<td>I am not Dead</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Playwright (Juan Matapang Cruz) and some actors arrested in Malabon, Rizal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas Drama Lirico</td>
<td>Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Actors, stage manager arrested; stage and props destroyed by Americans in the audience in Santa Cruz, Manila. Playwright (Aurelio Tolentino) arrested the next day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulong Pinaglahuan Genre unclear ??</td>
<td>The Eclipsed Island</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Performers and Playwright (Mariano Martinez) arrested in Navotas, Rizal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahas ng Pilak Genre unclear ??</td>
<td>Force of Silver</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Playwright (Maximo Delos Reyes), Actors and Stage manager arrested in Malabon, Rizal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isang punlo ng kaaway Genre unclear??</td>
<td>An Enemy Bullet</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Performed in Malabon at Teatro Rizal. Playwright (Juan Abad) arrested again.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One playwright, Juan Abad, was arrested three times for three different productions over the span of four years. Three out of the nine plays, *Tanikalang Guinto*, *Hindi Ako Patay*, and *Dahas ng Pilak* have extant manuscripts that have been identified; titles of the other works suggest seditious or nationalist sentiments. These three particular plays were found in various forms; as part of various anthologies (i.e. *The Filipino Drama* by Arthur Stanley Riggs), stand-alone publications, in the appendix of other unpublished dissertations and mastoral theses. They were located in various locations including, but not limited to, the National Library of the Philippines, the University of the Philippines Special Collections, the Newberry Library (Chicago), the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.), etc.

*Tanikalang Guinto* by Juan Abad was an allegorical play without music; the manuscript for *Hindi Ako Patay* by Juan Matapang Cruz indicated musical numbers within the play, but the score did not accompany the play’s publication in Riggs’ *The Filipino Drama*. Materials available concerning *Dahas ng Pilak* do not indicate the use of music in the production.

Not all theatre productions during this period carried anti-American sentiments; other works articulated anti-friar, anti-church, or anti-Spanish sentiments. Once the Americans established themselves in the islands as colonial rulers, playwrights depicted their sentiments about colonization metaphorically or symbolically. For instance, a troupe could perform an anti-Spanish play or sarsuwela, but it was clear that the actions presented on stage resisting historical colonizing entities could be interpreted as having contemporary relevance. According to several newspaper reports, playwrights would change their works on the spot, acting as prompter, if they saw that their audience included persons who could be offended by the nationalist sentiments articulated in
their work. As a result, American colonial officers and their military and constabulary counterparts were constantly wary of new or restaged theatre productions in the archipelago.

These productions – while read by those on the outside as anti-colonial, anti-Spanish, anti-American – were also focused on spreading the message of Filipino unity and a coherent national identity. In particular, the gravest concern that emerged from each of the productions was betrayal of the bayan, the Filipino nation. While the United States had a firm hold on the infrastructure of the Philippine state, those who continued the revolution through their writing hung on to hope that the bayan would wrench itself away from that future to carve their own locally-defined path.

Seditious playwrights producing work at the turn of the twentieth century employed aspects of various theatrical genres. While a narrative may be presented in the style of the sarsuwela, for instance, there are allegorical aspects incorporated into the narrative. Lyric dramas would employ historical information, perhaps use a song or two to enhance the narrative. Oftentimes these works would have characteristics of several genres in their production. In the case of Aurelio Tolentino, he wrote in a variety of genres, though almost all the works he wrote can be characterized as “seditious.” In the case of Luhang Tagalog and Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas, both are lyrical dramas that incorporated historical themes that corroborated sentiments advocating for independence and determining a locally defined understanding of what it meant to be Filipino.

What should be emphasized here is that this particular moment in Philippine history, beginning in 1902, was when the dialogue surrounding Filipino identity, the notion of the bayan, and belonging became more inclusive, inviting the people into the discussion through theater. The conversation was no longer limited to the elite; people like Aurelio Tolentino, Juan Abad, Juan Matapang Cruz, and Tomas Remegio were not part of the landed elite. They had been involved, in
some way, with the revolution, but were not Ilustrados. They were, on the most part, working class or what we could consider lower middle class, hustling to make ends meet while honing their craft as a “sideline.” Both Remegio and Tolentino were involved with the Katipunan, and both served in leadership positions during the Philippine revolutions. There was no prescriptive answer to the question of Filipino identity at that point in history; but was the beginning of that dialogue in the local context. And Aurelio Tolentino was at the forefront of that discussion.

Aurelio Tolentino

Aurelio Tolentino stands out from other playwrights of this time for several reasons. Remembered primarily as a seditious playwright, Tolentino was also a Mason, a founding member of the Katipunan, a signatory to the Philippine Declaration of Independence, an officer in the Philippine Revolutionary Army, a novelist, poet, newspaper editor, propagandist, organizer, and educator. He was an up-start, a revolutionary, a guerilla fighter, and a wanted man. He was imprisoned by the Spanish and Americans at least nine times over his lifetime on charges of sedition and the like. He was one of the last of the Philippine Revolution’s leadership to be captured and imprisoned. And when armed struggle was no longer possible, Tolentino always returned to that faithful space that allowed him to disseminate his sentiments among the people: the stage.
Biography

Aurelio Tolentino was born on October 13, 1867 in Barangay Santo Cristo in the town of Guagua, Pampanga to Leonardo Tolentino and Petrona Valenzuela. His father was “an amateur Moro-Moro playwright himself.” Aurelio studied in several cities, under the tutelage of private teachers and within institutions of education, earning his Bachelor of Arts from the College of San Juan de Letran in Manila. He studied law at the University of Santo Tomas for a time, but returned to Pamapanga after his father passed away to take care of his family.

Tolentino returned to Manila in 1891, and took a job as an Officer of the Court (Oficial de Mesa) at the Court of the First Instance in the Tondo community of Metro Manila. While working for the court, he helped with the distribution of La Solidaridad, the banned newspaper produced by the Propaganda Movement. Tolentino became one of the ten original members of the Katipunan, being Bonifacio’s kumpare (closer male friend), and a few oral histories recount that it was Tolentino who had suggested to Bonifacio that full, armed revolution was the only way to win independence for the Filipino people.

As the Philippine Revolution evolved from an armed resistance against Spanish colonialism to one against American imperial rule, Tolentino served in the Philippine Revolutionary Army as a propagandist, writing editorials to encourage continued resistance even

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10 Some sources say 1868; still another claimed 1875. The monument in his honor in his hometown of Guagua, Pampanga lists his date of birth as 1867.
11 Hernandez, 121.
12 Kumpare meaning “close (male) friend.”
as the leadership faltered. Tolentino was first arrested in September 1896, shortly after the public declaration of war against Spain by members of the Katipunan and two weeks before actual fighting ensued. He and his brother, Jacinto, were charged with sedition and imprisoned and tortured for nine months. Released in 1897, the brothers joined the armed struggle under the leadership of General Vicente Lukban (1860-1916) who was fighting in the Bicol region in southern Luzon. In 1898, when Emilio Aguinaldo declared independence from Spain, the playwright was there; his signature on the Philippine Declaration of Independence serving as proof of his presence.

Tolentino would be arrested several more times under American colonial rule. He was briefly detained in 1899 under suspicion of “anti-American activities.” In 1900, Tolentino organized the short lived Juntos de Amigos, a guerilla group designed to harass the American army and their Filipino collaborators in the midst of the Philippine American War. They burned down American stores in the neighborhoods of Tondo, Sampaloc, and Pandacan; they kidnapped collaborators for ransom and killed American sentry soldiers.

Tolentino also wrote for three pro-independence Spanish language newspapers, _La Patria_, _El Liberal_, and _Filipinas_, all of which espoused pro-independence views. All three papers would eventually be shut down by American authorities – and he was imprisoned for a short period each time. After his release Tolentino went on to edit two more Spanish language newspapers, _El Pueblo_ and _El Imparcial_, again both pro-independence, as well as their Pampango sister publications, _Ing Balen_ and _Ing Emangabinas_, while also establishing his own press, _Limbagang Rizal_.

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13 Fernando, 88.
the newspapers not to only continue the business of the revolution, but also to encourage the masses to own the term “Filipino” as their collective identity in the hope to disrupt the business of external entities naming the people and their archipelago. Tolentino also advocated for the “adoption of Tagalog as a national language” establishing the Parnasso Filipino, a Tagalog language school. ¹⁴ This was a clear counter to the widening use and teaching of English all over the archipelago.

It was not that he saw less value in other Philippine languages and dialects; Tolentino understood how difficult it would be to demand Filipinos to divest themselves of their ethno-linguistic and regional identities. With the number of dialects based on the nineteen primary languages in the archipelago it would be impossible, not to mention disrespectful, to demand that the people divest themselves of their languages to adopt a singular national language. Instead, Tolentino advocated for the adoption of yet another identity – a national identity – that would coincide with their other identities. He understood that (the Filipino nation’s) “survival can only be assured by a willingness to transcend the limiting confines of regionalism.” ¹⁵ Perhaps this was prescient on Tolentino’s part; being on the front line of knowledge formation in the face of war, he understood the importance of asserting local control over these dialogues of identity and belonging. It is quite plausible that he foresaw, just as the Spanish had defined Filipino-ness along lines of racial and imperial belonging and geographic origin, that the Americans were poised to define that identity for the island’s population along similar lines. The new emerging Philippine

¹⁴ Ibid.
¹⁵ Cultural Center of the Philippines Biography.
state would be home to a nation of Filipinos who could either be internally or externally defined; and one of the grounding features of a unified people is language. In this sense, he was right; and the Americans understood this as well, positioning English as the unifying mechanism of the Philippine state to maintain control over the population well into the twentieth century.

Tolentino was arrested for *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* in 1903, and put on trial for sedition. Prior to sentencing, Tolentino jumped bail and quite literally took to the hills, meeting up with his former General, Artemio Ricarte. He eluded capture for several more months. While on the run Tolentino penned editorials for distribution under the pseudonym Azul, articulating his continued loyalty to fighting for freedom for the Filipino people. He also corresponded with American colonial administrators, an attempt to appeal to their sentiments of righteousness and independence based on their own struggle for freedom against tyranny.

One such letter addressed to Governor General Luke E. Wright was printed in the *Manila Cabelnews*, an English language newspaper. Tolentino questioned the ongoing censorship of the stage because, as a colony of the United States, the people’s freedom of speech and assembly should have been protected by the U.S. Constitution. In the first part of the letter, Tolentino praised the ideals the United States upheld as the foundation of American democracy. He quickly correlated that with the treatment of the Filipino nation in the context of the American colonial state in the Philippines as not reflecting those same ideals. The playwright particularly pointed to the blind eye that these colonial administrators turned toward the contradictory reality of their presence in the archipelago. Tolentino wrote:
The liberty of thought, the sacred right of all mankind, is today most tyrannically persecuted in the Philippines. You must understand this thoroughly, so we tell it to you, as you are in the charmed circle of light and harmony, surrounded by the silly members of your government, and only followed by misfortune and disgrace at a great distance, where they are confounded in the clouded hells of injustice…liberty of thought is a deadly wound. He went on to point out several members of the Philippine Constabulary were ostensibly traitors to their own people.

Consider the tyrannical oppression of the press; the implacable persecutions of the Tagalog theatre; the terrible accusations against Dr. Gomez, against myself and against other interpreters of the truth. The press has no praise for you; that is its principle crime. There is not a single pamphlet or journalistic article telling energetically of the barbarous cruelties of the Macabebes, the Constabulary, the secret police and others in the apprehension of ladrones, or insurgents, all of which the people are talking of bitterly, and complaining about; nor of how they captured are supplicated for information with terrible tortures.16

While the letter may have been addressed to the Governor General, this letter was meant for the consumption of the local population. It also provided space for Tolentino to share his perspective of his trial on grounds for sedition –without saying it in so many words, he did not expect a fair trial for his actions in these courts.

The letter also demonstrates the tensions among the local population of the archipelago, that the question of the reality of a Filipino nation, much less a Philippine state, was still in flux and debate among the people. There would be those who had turned and given their loyalty to the Americans, of course; those looking for power and their own gain, others to protect what they already had. There were going to be traitors among them, indeed, but that would not slow down the ongoing debate as to what the Filipino nation would look like; it is just that those who joined the constabulary, the Macabebes (Philippine Scouts), and the secret police had already picked a side.

The American colonial government established a Philippine Constabulary in 1901, Filipinos who would fight alongside the Americans during the insurrection and then would eventually be responsible for policing the local population on behalf of the United States. The Macabebes, or Philippine Scouts, originated from the province of Pampanga, and was originally organized to protect the interests of pro-Spanish landowners. The Macabebes would later be known for their fierce loyalty to the United States, fighting under the command of American commanders and such. As a show of their loyalty to the colonizer, as well as to distinguish themselves from the local population, these men would also commit egregious crimes against the Filipino population. It was a way to ensure that they would not be mistaken for any of the insurgents they were capturing in the eyes of the Americans.

Tolentino’s intention in addressing this matter demonstrated to the English-speaking population of the Philippines two things; 1) that the war was not over, and 2) that these policing entities were not helping the American “hearts and minds” campaign to win over the people – if anything, they were hurting it. The people were aware of the torture that these men were visiting upon the people. Rather than dampening the struggle for independence, it was fueling people’s resistance to colonial rule. Those men had chosen their side; Tolentino, his compatriots, and those who sympathized with their cause stood on theirs. It also pointed to the hypocrisy of benevolent assimilation, and made it clear that the people were not blind to it. His mention of the Constabulary, the Macabebes, and the secret police could also have been a warning to those who had joined forces with the Americans – that they were being watched as well. Tolentino was recaptured a few months after the letter was published, sentenced to life in prison on charges of sedition and fined the maximum
amount of $2000 gold. He appealed his sentence all the way up to the Supreme Court of the Philippines, successfully reducing his life imprisonment to 15 years, and then 6 years, for which he was allowed to appeal for parole. The playwright was released in 1907 after serving less than three years of his reduced sentence, under particular conditions: 1) that he would report on the first day of each month to the provincial governor and senior inspector of the Constabulary for a period of five years, 2) he would refrain from engaging in any act that may invite political unrest directly or indirectly, 3) he would avoid association with persons engaging in such activities, and 4) he would obey all laws instituted by the United States government in the Philippine Islands. Despite these conditions, Tolentino continued to write works advocating progressive change. He worked with various labor and politically progressive organizations, offering his services as a playwright to help raise funds for their causes, in addition to being an organizer himself. In 1910, Tolentino organized a group called “Katimawaan – Samahang Hanapbuhay ng Mahihirap” (The Working Man’s Cooperative). It was a worker’s economic cooperative, the first of its kind in the Philippines. Tolentino was eventually given an official pardon by the American colonial government in 1912, three years before his death.

Aurelio Tolentino passed away in 1915, weakened by uremia misdiagnosed as consumption. He left behind a body of 69 literary works and innumerable newspaper items, essays, and editorials. Unfortunately, many of his manuscripts were lost in the devastation of Manila during World War II, as well as a series of fires that gutted different family member’s homes throughout the twentieth century. There are transcribed and translated manuscripts of several of

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17 Lapeña-Bonifacio, 53.
18 Different sources give different sentence lengths.
19 Lapena-Bonifacio, 54.
Tolentino’s works available, but the opportunity to understand the hidden transcripts embedded in his works has been all but lost. Felipe Fernando, in writing a biography about Tolentino in 1964, gathered 56 of the 69 known works of Tolentino; Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz published 33 of his works an anthology in the mid-1970’s. The University of the Philippines has a small archive of his works, though a number of the original manuscripts listed in the archive contents are either missing or misplaced. Tolentino is honored with a statue in his hometown of Guagua, Pampanga province, where his bones also lay at rest. One of the smaller theaters in the Cultural Center of the Philippines is also named after him.

Tolentino’s imprint on current Philippine history is relatively light; over the years, versions of his dramatic works have surfaced in academic publications here and there, such as in Amelia Lapena-Bonifacio’s groundbreaking The “Seditious” Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation. The version of Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas in her text is possibly the closest to the original. Other versions have appeared in anthologies and collections, such as Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz’s work Aurelio Tolentino: Selected Writings and Arthur Stanley Riggs’ important anthology of Filipino play manuscripts. Tolentino’s work continues to be relevant to both nationalist historians and performance studies scholars, as demonstrated in Jonathan Chua and Rosario Cruz-Lucero’s festschrift for Dr. Nicanor G. Tiongson entitled A Reader in Philippine Theater: History and Criticism.²⁰

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In Philippine history, *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* remains a standard example for scholars like Paul Kramer or Vicente Rafael to reference when discussing continued resistance in the wake of the official end to the Philippine American War and reactions to ongoing American presence in the archipelago. It remains one of the most, if not the most, referenced theatrical exemplar of local resistance against imperialism in Philippine history. History tends to lean toward the narrative of might and state-making and that was not what Tolentino was attempting to address in his writing. He understood that the United States had won that battle; he was not convinced that they had won the hearts and minds of the people just yet. As a result, Tolentino invested himself in the process of nation-building, by presenting the complex conundrums facing the Filipino and providing space for the masses to negotiate amongst themselves, and in their own words, what being *Filipino* would mean to them during and, perhaps, after colonial rule. His legacy and body of work speaks to a much longer reach than what he is given credit.

**Body of Work**

Paralleling his political involvement, Tolentino authored works to catalyze discussions among the people about being Filipino and being a part of a Filipino nation in an ongoing negotiation of identity and belonging. This took the form of poems, narrative dramas. Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz asserted that, “he wrote most (sic) in Tagalog rather than his native tongue to express his patriotic movement and sentiment,” though he also wrote in Spanish and then translated
those works into Tagalog and/or Pamapango. Most of his dramatic works were presented dramatic/narrative plays or sarsuwelas.

There is scant knowledge, much less analysis, of Tolentino’s dramatic works apart from *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*. Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz’s text contained a list of his “popular literary works,” of which fifteen were plays. While this list is useful, it is not exhaustive. Culling information from several sources, I developed a longer list of Tolentino’s work. The table below is of his theatre works that seen as considered seditious, political, or both. (see Table 3)

Table 3
Theatrical Works by Aurelio Tolentino

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Play</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Style</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>La Venganza de Conde de Robdiel</em> (The Vengeance of Count Robdiel)</td>
<td>Pampango</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Narrative drama or Moro-Moro?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Filipinas at España</em> (The Philippines and Spain)</td>
<td>Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1898; 1901</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sinagtala Y Aslagtala</em> (Literal Translation: Starlight. ‘Tala’ could also mean ‘written record.’ Symbolic meaning: Enlightenment?)</td>
<td>Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Saruwela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sinukuan</em> (They Retreated)</td>
<td>Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued on next page

22 This list was culled compiled from several sources, including Isabel Yumol’s *A Critical Study of Aurelio Tolentino’s novel Ang Buhok Ni Ester*, Amelia Lapena-Bonifacio’s, *The ‘Seditious’ Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation*, Doreen Fernandez’s *Palabas: Essays on Philippine Theater History*, and Edna Zapanta-Manlapaz, ed., *Aurelio Tolentino: Selected Writings*. 
Current scholarship points to *La Venganza de Conde de Robdiel* (The Vengeance of Count Robdiel), written in 1891, as Tolentino’s first known work. Scholarship about Tolentino’s work indicates it was originally written in his provincial language, Pampango (Kapampangan). It is not known if this was an adaptation of a Spanish work or if it was an original work. Regardless, the writing suggests anti-colonial sentiments and themes. Some scholars characterized the play as a moro-moro, or komedya, which is not surprising given that his father was a well-known author of moro-moro plays. There is no documentation of Tolentino’s work as a playwright between 1891 and 1898; this could be attributed to his work with the Katipunan, imprisonment, and work in the courts. His father also passed away during this period so it is quite possible that he was working to support his family.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Lagrimas Malayas</em> (Malayan Tears) Possible that this is also <em>Luhang Tagalog</em> but that is not wholly clear</td>
<td>Spanish; Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Allegorical drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Luhang Tagalog</em> (Tagalog Tears)</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Allegorical drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kahapon, Ngayon, At Bukas; Ayer, Hoy, y Mañana</em> (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow)</td>
<td>Tagalog; Spanish</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Drama lirico/ Dula sa berso (Play in verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sumpaan</em> (Engagement; Oath Taking)</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bagong Kristo Bayung Kristo</em> (New Christ)</td>
<td>Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Presidario</em></td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>One-act sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Germinal</em></td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The impending revolution accelerated the staging of his plays. In 1898 Tolentino wrote a two-act play entitled *Filipinas at España* (The Philippines and Spain) in Tagalog; the Pampango version was presented in 1901. The inclusion of music, composed by Camilo Dizon (?-?), marked this work as a sarsuwela. Without the extant script and/or libretto however, we can only guess as to the role of music in the production. It is possible that this work was inspired by, or in response to, an 1886 oil painting of the same name by Juan Luna (1857 – 1899), a response to Luna’s depiction of Spanish-Philippine relations.

1902 was one of Tolentino’s most prolific years. Tolentino presented a sarsuwela entitled *Sinukuan*, in Tagalog and Pampango, with music by Fortunato Pineda (?-?). *Sinukuan* (They Retreated) was set at the end of the Spanish-Philippine period of the Philippine Revolution. He also wrote and produced *Luhang Tagalog: Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* followed the next year.

When Tolentino was released from jail, anything he wrote was subject to scrutiny by colonial officials before full production. Despite this, the author continued to write and be involved in more progressive movements, particularly that of labor rights. His last two works, *Bagong Kristo* and *Germinal*, were directly related to labor issues that were going on at that time.

Aurelio Tolentino’s life and work was a continuation of the revolution after the military war was declared officially over. His commitment to the bayan was strong, rooted by the experiences and ideals he developed as a member of the Katipunan, a signatory of the Philippine Declaration of Independence, a guerilla fighter and member of the revolutionary army during the Philippine War. He was unafraid of incarceration. Tolentino was convinced, even in the face of a rising global power doing everything in its power to exert control over the mind and soul of the

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23 Hernandez, 123-124.
people of the archipelago. He saw that this was his – his peoples – one shot to articulate what Filipino was to and for them.

Textual Analysis of *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*

Seditious plays from this time period shared several characteristics. Apart from what we have already discussed; the use of vernacular language, Filipino characters, local settings, most plots of seditious plays were fueled by awkward love triangles informed by class distinctions and family obligations. On the surface, these plays are thinly veiled critiques of the class divisions in Philippine society. The love triangle between a young maiden and her rich and poor suitors fighting for her hand presents an age-old tension: do you pursue true love despite the struggles it will require, or do you accept the life without true love but one of ease and leisure. The audience cheers for the underdog – the suitor with less means but is the maiden’s true love – because the audience wants the “win” to have more meaning.

But these plays were also a call to action. The love triangle not only demonstrated that you choose true love, but that you also fight for it. The characters often wrestled with family loyalty as a symbol for the national identity. Those who held true to the family, did not give in to the temptation of money or power, those who fought for the family were the audience would cheer on. Disrupting the relationships built among the characters for personal gain was the ultimate betrayal. Betrayal within the context of a we-centered culture was not just an offense to one; it was an offense to the entire community.
Understanding the relationships between the characters and what they symbolized was – is – integral to discerning the hidden transcripts of these narratives. Most of the male and female characters in seditious theatre productions fulfill expected gender stereotypes. Male characters are strong, defenders of the nation, protectors of the weak (read: women, children, the elderly). They are often visceral, reactive, focused on physical manifestations of power out in the world. The male characters are also presented as more corruptible, susceptible to promises of more power from external forces as well. Examining other seditious narratives in addition to *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, both the traitor and primary hero characters were usually male.

Female characters represent the family, the community, and the “emotional” characteristics of the *bayan*. They are reflective, compassionate, nurturing, and focused on maintaining harmony and positive relationships among the family. They are also the protectors of the family – the microcosm of the *bayan*. They worry about their present as they fret over their partners; they worry about the future as they are charged with watching over the children. They maintain the peace and balance in the *bayan*, holding on to secrets when necessary, and releasing them when it benefitted the group.

At the center of that tension is *Inang Bayan* (Mother Country). Inang Bayan was often the character who the protagonist would fight for, the character that the antagonist would attempt to hurt. While in some plays there was an actual character named Inang Bayan, this figure was often presented in through several characters – as a strong, assured mother figure, an obedient daughter, the uncertain and torn maiden caught in the love triangle. This would symbolize the ongoing development of the nation, providing examples of this process that the Filipino people were negotiating amongst themselves.
The primary female character in both *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kapahon, Ngayon, at Bukas* takes on both “feminine” and “masculine” qualities of the *bayan*; she is past, present, and future of the *bayan*, the one who nurtures and cares for the people, but then also protects the *bayan* as it is manifested and understood as a family. That character is known generally as Inang Bayan. She is both champion and protector of the *bayan*. As a female character, she also serves as a role model to women in the play, particularly to remind them that the gender expectations placed upon women by Spanish colonization, to be subservient to the friar and the church, are not intrinsically part of who they are. She laments the loss of her people, endures torture for them, and fights with them when called upon to do so.

Tolentino also presented an “apprentice” of sorts to the Inang Bayan character – another female character who is obedient, nurturing, and worried about the characters she is connected to but who, by the end of the play, has developed qualities akin to Inang Bayan. This could subconsciously symbolize several things to the audience; 1) Inang Bayan lives in perpetuity, her responsibility passed down to those who are willing to take on that mantle, 2) that pre-colonial beliefs and social structures are still present, that the role of the *babaylan* is alive and well and manifested in Inang Bayan, and 3) women are capable, if not more so, as men to endure and suffer through these shifts and changes without giving up the core of who they are and what is most valuable in life.  

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24 Babaylan, a regional term from the Visayas, referred to the shamans and faith healers of the community. They were the conduits to the ancestors, the faith leaders, the midwives, the alchemists. In the Visayas, babaylans were said to have been mostly women, but it is believed that people who were identified as babaylans had a strong sense of both their masculine and feminine sides. These figures were known by other names in other parts of the archipelago. Thus, it is believed that those who modern times would define as hermaphrodites, LGBTQIA, etc would have likely held those positions in their communities.
The focus of the analysis is on the traitor character. Traitor characters were the more important antagonists in many of the seditious plays from this time period for several reasons. Foreign characters were usually one-dimensional, abstract, short-lived, or any combination of those characteristics. Local traitors were far more complex entities in these plays. They were presented as catalysts for the local population’s disunity; sources of distrust, and, ultimately, as an important cause for the bayan’s inability to materialize as a unified nation. The traitor is the consistent threat in these plays, throughout time, to the Filipino people. Consequently, as these productions spoke to local population, the warning was not focused on the foreign invader but on the traitors within the bayan.

In both Luhang Tagalog and Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas the traitor characters were significant to the development of the Filipino character – and identity – among the local population. For the audience, the traitor exemplified who not to be within the community unless you were willing to risk ostracization. The traitor has largely been set to the periphery as scholars focused on the tensions between the valiant Tagalog hero, the Filipina in distress, and the foreign character who coveted Filipina as the embodiment of the Philippines.

Unpacking the relationships between the characters requires an understanding of the hidden transcripts that informed their interactions in these plays. As Scott states, hidden transcripts manifest in various ways through the arts within specific frames of knowledge. Hidden transcripts are powerful mechanisms for gaining some semblance of control, however fleeting, in colonized spaces. They disrupted the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in. In the case of theatre at the turn of the twentieth century in the Philippines, hidden transcripts were masked by language and translation, improvisation, stage directions (or lack thereof), props, knowledge of
local and cultural contexts, and “special effect” mechanisms. This is why the collection of manuscripts, censure of productions, and control of knowledge production were so vital to the American imperial experiment.

There are several ways to dissect hidden transcripts; one is through the news reports in the various newspapers of the time period. Some of those newspapers, particularly those in English were not very favorable to these productions, but they provided important visual and physical descriptions about the audiences and their reactions, the props and costumes, and any improvised actions or dialogues that were not in the manuscript. If we peel back the racialized bias presented in these reports, we can glean quite a bit of information from these works. The Tagalog language newspapers are a bit more complex and interesting; advertisements for plays reveal later start times, presentation of multiple productions during one show, and language suggesting the presentation of a different production than what was being advertised. How do we know this? News items in the days following the performance, particularly if something happened, would point out these details.

But Arthur Riggs, to whom we owe credit for preserving a copy of *Luhang Tagalog*, even if it was a translated copy, did not think that the Filipinos were capable of such complex theatrical work. His thoughts on the local playwright’s capacity to create “legitimate” theatre and other forms of “high art” was made clear in several of scholarly articles and the accompanying essays in his text *The Filipino Drama*. It is clear he did not feel Filipinos authors were clever enough to write anything original, much less “good.” In addition, Riggs did not believe that the Filipino masses, more accustomed to religious parades, street festivals, and biblical retellings, could grasp the nuances of “proper” theatre.
The manuscripts for Aurelio Tolentino’s *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, may have been “sanitized” – gleaned from a Spanish translation of the original Tagalog text, “free translated” by Riggs, retyped for publication, and devoid of directorial or author’s notes – but there is still much that can be distilled that is part of that hidden transcript. Filipino playwrights did develop complex narratives – and the hidden transcripts embedded in those stories were there for people to witness, digest, discuss, and debate. Histories from below and hidden transcripts are often discounted for this reason; the estimations made here are grounded in historical documents of the period, my own study and knowledge of the social and cultural contexts of the Philippines – current and contemporaneous to these productions as well as my understanding of the Tagalog language.

The following chapters analyze *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* in relation to the three arguments set forth in this dissertation; 1) theatre provided critical space for the *bayan* to present, examine, challenge, and negotiate with the foreign entities determined to manifest the *bansa* as the Philippine state; 2) that theatre was an important space to assert local control over knowledge production; and 3) that theatre played an important role in challenging and exposing overt and covert modes of violence directed toward the local articulation of Filipino identity and belonging in the guise of the policy of Benevolent Assimilation. Much of the existing scholarship on Aurelio Tolentino focuses heavily on *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* since the manuscript of *Luhang Tagalog* was thought lost. Even so, when an English translation of the work surfaced in 1981, scholarship on Aurelio Tolentino written after that continued to only mention
Luhang Tagalog in relation to Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas. It is my hope that this work is a step toward unpacking the messages and meanings of Luhang Tagalog while digging deeper into the connections between the two works.
CHAPTER 5

Luhang Tagalog

Luhang Tagalog is a three-act allegorical play or drama simboliko, the first of what was to be a three-play cycle that addressed questions of national identity, belonging, and the impact of foreign influence (either it by economic trade or colonialism) in defining Filipino for the people of the Philippines. As with many of the seditious dramas of this time-period, it was more important that the message to continue resisting and struggling for independence was clearly articulated. In Luhang Tagalog, a number of monologues in the play, even in the context of a conversation between two characters, do not serve to move the plot along; rather they read/sound like lectures directed at the audience reinforcing the call to resist foreign and local elements that impede the archipelago’s struggle for independence.

Set in the year 1499, a war between the Chinese and the kingdom of Tondo raged. Lakan-Salian, the king of Tondo, pledged his allegiance to Hinghis-Khan and King Sung-Song, leader of the Chinese military and the emperor of China respectively, because he thought he and his people did not have the capacity or resources to win nor build a modern society in the Philippines. Lakan-Salian returns to Balintauak, where his son is the datto (datu), to convince him to do the same. But Gat-Salian, his son, or Bituin, Gat-Salian’s wife, will pledge their loyalty to China. This angered

Lakan-Salian and saw this as an affront as both a father and the king of Tondo. However, Bituin and Gat-Salian dismissed Lakan-Salian’s role in their lives as father and king since he allied himself with the Chinese. Lakan-Salian, Gat-Salian and Bituin argued they are looking out for the best interests of their people – their lives and their future as a community – throughout the play.

The central conflict of the play was not between foreign and local; it was the traitorous acts perpetrated by the local leadership that brought conflict to the people of the islands. The play culminates in a “big battle” offstage between the Chinese and the Filipino patriots, with many of the primary characters appearing onstage just before dying in battle.

Since a manuscript, even a translated one, of Luhang Tagalog was not available to the public until the early 1980’s, scholars assumed the plot of the play was similar to Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas. Luhang Tagalog has been lauded as Tolentino’s masterpiece. The sparse literature available that discussed Luhang Tagalog counted it as Tolentino’s greatest work. In Isabel Yumol’s unpublished M.A. thesis, she described the play as such:

*Luhang Tagalog* is considered [Tolentino’s] masterpiece. The theme is historical in nature: a parody on the history of the Philippine Revolution, and a prophecy of the country’s future. The play opens with an independent Philippines. Then there is a foreign invasion in which the people, in the midst of fighting, divide into two parties: one fostering an independent country, and the other, autonomy under the foreign power. The play ends with the victory of the invaders and the subjugation of the Philippines. Although this is not as seditious as the former [referring to her discussion of Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas], still it aroused nationalistic feelings for it symbolically depicts the Filipino struggle for emancipation.1

Her assertion that the work was a “parody on the history of the Philippine Revolution” is an interesting one. Her summary of the play supports that point, and the division among the people of either championing independence or autonomy under a foreign power does drive some of the

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tension within the play. The “victory” of the invaders, however, discounts the fact that Hinghis-Khan gets killed in the end by Bituin before she commits suicide.

Tomas Hernandez, in his overview of modern drama in the Philippines, followed Yumol’s lead, stating the play was

“a drama in three acts that first appeared in Spanish, then translated into Tagalog and then later into Pampango. Luhang Tagalog symbolically depicts the struggle of the Filipinos for emancipation. The play was suppressed by the American authorities because it tended to emulate war and treason.”

According to Riggs, the original text of Luhang Tagalog was written in Tagalog and then translated into Spanish for the court proceedings. The play “symbolically depict[ing] the struggle of the Filipinos for emancipation” is, again, a generic enough assessment to be true, though it suggests all Filipinos were working toward independence. In both summaries of the work, the text highlights the local/foreigner dichotomy as a central tension of the plot.

Arthur Riggs published a short article in 1905 that provided a more accurate, although curt, summary of the play’s plot. He asserted the play “deals entirely with the treachery of a native lakan (military chief of the sixteenth century), and tells the story of how he tried to kill his son and sell his country to the Chinese.” Riggs concluded that Luhang Tagalog was “not seditious at all, so far as either Spain or America is concerned, save by inference. No direct mention is made of either, nor is the nomenclature of the piece such as to suggest sedition.” But inference is a powerful tool, activated by lived experience and observation. Stories told in the bayan, local narratives passed down from elder to the young, informed the local understanding of these plays.

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2 Hernandez, 124.
This is an important aspect of the hidden transcript, perhaps the most important, as we attempt to understand these works from an emerging Filipino lens or worldview.

The Plot

Amid war, the king of Tondo, Lakan-Salian, allies himself with the Chinese because he considered them more powerful and superior to his own people. He returns to Tondo to convince the people of his kingdom to do the same. In particular, the king wants his son, Gat-Salian, the datto of Balintauak, to recognize the benefits of joining forces with China versus being their own independent state. In Act 1, the male characters declare their allegiance to Gat-Salian and their commitment to protect and defend the Filipino nation till death. The female characters appear and express their concern about the ongoing war and the security and future of their families without the men to protect them. Each new pledge of loyalty was juxtaposed with a plea for release from duty set the scene for the audience to contemplate the complicated choices people had to make as they learned to see themselves as part of the Filipino bayan.

When seeking out his son, Lakan-Salian encounters his daughter-in-law, Bituin. She listens to his proposition but is not convinced and refuses him an audience with her husband. As their conversation escalates, Filipino soldiers come onstage, readying for battle. The scene cuts to a conversation between Bituin and Gat-Salian where she insists that she and the other women, who are willing, should be allowed to fight. He refuses. Another soldier, Bundok, appears with information from a comrade, King Sula, but he does not want to share the information with Bituin present. Frustrated, Bituin leaves, only to encounter Lakan-Salian again, who insists, yet again,
that he meet with Gat-Salian. She again refuses. As Lakan-Salian exits the stage, Gat-Salian to see his father leaving from behind, wearing Chinese military garb. Gat-Salian confronts Bituin, asks who she just met with. Bituin is reluctant to tell him, which angers Gat-Salian. She orders his men to pursue and capture Lakan-Salian. Gat-Salian promises to kill the “Chinaman” once he is captured, but Bituin pleads with him. Perplexed, Gat-Salian wants to know why, but she still refuses to tell him why. This angers him further and orders her execution as well. She relents, fearing for her life, and reveals to Gat-Salian that it was his father. In that moment, he makes a choice; gathering his men who declared their loyalty to the bayan throughout the act, along with Bituin, he demonstrates his distance from his father proclaiming, “We have judgment! We have judgment!”

Act 2 “opens with Lakan-Salian attempting to stab his son, who is asleep, to deprive the local population of their chief.” His attempt is thwarted by Bundok, one of Gat-Salian’s men. Lakan-Salian begs Bundok to kill him. Bundok launches into a litany of monologues meant to shame him for his intentions before raising his dagger to kill him. Again, Bituin intervenes, allowing Lakan-Salian to leave. Gat-Salian, who slept through the exchange, is awakened by a nightmare. He recounts the nightmare to them: his father, imagined as a ghost “with eyes that burned,” had captured him. Gat-Salian calls out for help, but none of his men nor Bituin come to his aid. He calls upon his dead mother for help, and she comes down from heaven to try to save him. She is unsuccessful, so she pleads with Lakan-Salian to set him free. His father, in this beastly form, is surrounded by similar frightening entities, readys to devour Gat-Salian’s soul. In that same instance, Gat-Salian sees the bayan and all his people burning, dying in the distance. Lakan-Salian

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6 Riggs, 63-65.
then throws him to the lions, who tear him to shreds, but his soul reunites with his mother’s. Before they ascend to the heavens, he witnesses the deaths of Bituin and Bundok in similar fashion before waking up.

After sharing the story, Gat-Salian and Bundok leave to prepare for war. Bituin encounters the women and Makapagal, who pleaded for their husband’s and son’s lives in the first act. They implore her for help again, to convince Gat-Salian to release the men from their duties. Gat-Salian returns and Bituin asks him to hear the women out. He is reluctant as he had already sent out orders, but receives them anyway.

One by one, Kampupot, Ulila, and Makapagal state their cases. The three soldiers, Bundok, Mulawin, and Bayani, are called by Gat-Salian and are released from their duties. The three soldiers reluctantly leave; each have their reasons to go into battle, but Gat-Salian insists. Suddenly, Lakan-Salian appears, and he and Gat-Salian engage in a lengthy exchange, similar to that between Lakan-Salian and Bituin. Lakan-Salian admits to attempting to take his son’s life, events which Gat-Salian realized paralleled the events of his dream. At the end of the act, Gat-Salian reaffirms his commitment to country over his father, whom he already felt he lost.

Riggs summarized Act 3 to be the “big battle scene, with the deaths of practically all the principal characters except Lakan-Salian.7 This would lead the reader to believe the battle scene was the most important part of the act when, in reality, it is only a brief part. Act 3 opens with Gat-Salian and Bundok in the forest, readying for battle. Bituin enters, surprising her husband, and insists on going into battle with him. He refuses, again, but accepts a token – a golden chain – for good luck.

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7 Riggs, 63-65.
Mulawin meets Gat-Salian with some bad news; their movements and information had been revealed to Hinghis-Khan and the Chinese army by another traitor. He reports that he witnessed this when he had been captured by the Chinese for a short time. This unnamed traitor, someone not from Balintauak, aligned themselves with the Chinese because they wanted to save their own village.

In the middle of these events, the play cuts to a scene with Bundok’s children and father, lamenting their situation. The four young boys are hungry, complaining to their caretaker and elder sister, Supling. Makapagal, their grandfather, saddened by their situation, is upset to see that Supling gives her food to the four boys instead of eating it to keep up her strength. Both Kampupot and Ulila happen upon them shortly thereafter, fleeing the battle in Balintauak. Despite their release from their military duties, the men chose to stay with Gat-Salian and fight.

With the battle upon them, Gat-Salian addresses his army – which now include different people from the town – women, older men, and some children. It is an ominous speech, revealing that they are more than likely looking at a suicide mission because one of their own betrayed their plans to the Chinese. Despite this, the datto encourages his army to be resolute.

Bituin, Kampupot, and the others, on the other hand, are watching from the distance. Not willing to stay put, Bituin, Kampupot, and Makapagal decides to go back to look for their protectors, their loved ones. One by one, by Act 3, Scene 8, each of the Filipino patriot characters die – with their families’ present. Bayani perishes in his mother’s arms; Gat-Salian falls after Mulawin carries him back to the people. Mulawin is struck in the chest with an arrow as he reports to Makapagal and the others of the massacre on the battlefield. Makapagal, Bundok’s father, caught in the middle of the fighting, is also struck in the chest with an arrow.
As the women and children find out their loved ones were killed, they are overcome with grief; Kampupot dies upon finding her beloved. Bituin, on the other hand, takes the kris from her fallen husband’s belt just as Lakan-Salian enters. He warns her that the Chinese army is coming and she decides to hide. She watches them pass, waiting for their leader, Hinghis-Khan. As he passes by, Bituin leaps upon him and stabs him with Gat-Salian’s kris then kills herself with the same sword. Her final line, “Triumph of ambition! Oh, Tagalog Tears, gush forth and succor us, converted into a mountain of corpses” seems to be directed to the last person she interacts with – Lakan-Salian. Bituin uses her last breath to shame the traitorous leader driven by personal ambition, a final indictment of his betrayal of his people to which he cannot respond nor justify.

The script published in *The Filipino Drama* indicated the play was completed in Manila on August 10, 1902. Newspaper announcements confirmed that *Luhang Tagalog* was first presented around this time, so people were familiar with the work prior to the introduction of *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*. Arthur Riggs’ footnotes indicated he witnessed a performance of the play during his tenure in the Philippines, but provided no substantive evidence to corroborate that point. A news article from January 1904 mentioned that the Katagalugang Dalisay troupe performed the play in honor of the return of those exiled to Guam several years previous.

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8 Tolentino, 119.
The Characters

Understanding the relationships among the different characters is important to unpacking the hidden transcripts of any seditious narrative from the turn of the twentieth century. *Luhang Tagalog* is no different. As questions of betrayal, patriotism, and belonging were negotiated and explored through performance, each of the characters contribute a particular narrative. The table below outlines the major characters of the play; other minor characters are not identified but are included in the narrative (see table 4).

Table 4
Characters from *Luhang Tagalog*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name Meaning</th>
<th>Represents</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakan-Salian</td>
<td>Lord/King Salian</td>
<td>King of Tondo (dynasty); traitor</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gat-Salian</td>
<td>General/Lord Salian (Son of Lakan-Salian)</td>
<td>Datto of Balintauak; Loyalist</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bituin</td>
<td>Star; Dayanmali, Head woman (Wife of Gat-Salian)</td>
<td>Spirit of the Islands (Inang Bayan?)</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundok</td>
<td>Mountain (Works for Gat-Salian, son of Makapagal)</td>
<td>Military officer; Defender (Reluctant soldier)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makapagal</td>
<td>Tireless; able-to-weary-others (Father of Bundok)</td>
<td>General; Spirit of Justice</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulawin</td>
<td>Inulnerable; type of tree found in the Philippines; place in Mindanao (Husband of Kampupot)</td>
<td>First soldier; Insurgent soldier/ Revolutionary soldier</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued on next page
Table 4 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name Meaning</th>
<th>Represents</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bayani</td>
<td>Hero; Great Warrior (Son of Ulila; friend of Bundok)</td>
<td>Second Soldier; Insurgent soldier/ Revolutionary soldier</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampupot</td>
<td>Flower of the Isles Another name of the Sampaguita flower (Mulawin’s wife)</td>
<td>Symbol of fidelity, purity, strength, and dedication.</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulila</td>
<td>Orphan (Bayani’s Mother)</td>
<td>“Traditional Filipina?”</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supling</td>
<td>Sprout; Young Shoot; offspring (Daughter of Bundok; Granddaughter of Makapagal)</td>
<td>Future of the islands?</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Small Boys</td>
<td>N/A (Sons of Bundok; Grandsons of Makapagal)</td>
<td>The future of the islands?</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinghis-Khan</td>
<td>Genghis-Khan</td>
<td>Chinese Commander</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The titles of the two male lead characters, Lakan-Salian and Gat-Salian, reflected their position within the community. Both “Lakan” and “Gat” are honorifics from pre-colonial times, indicating that they governed over a specific area and had some level of political clout. Lakan-Salian, the king of Tondo, is the father of Gat-Salian, the datto of Balintauak. As King and Datto (Datu), these characters possess significant power within the socio-political context of pre-colonial Philippines, particularly in relation to the idea of serving and leading the people. As father and son, there is expectation of deference by the son to the wishes of the father. Pitted against each other as traitor and patriot, it becomes clear that the love of and responsibility to the nation and people supersede that of family. This theme recycles over again in each of the relationships between those who fight and those who stay behind.
Mulawin and Bayani, the two revolutionary soldiers who volunteered to fight, their names meaning “invulnerable” and “hero” respectively, are trusted soldiers of Gat-Salian. Bundok, another soldier, admits he was essentially conscripted into fighting, and was not committed to the cause. His father, Makapagal, worries about how the family is to survive if Bundok is killed in battle. Being an elderly character, his concerns have turned toward the well-being of his grandchildren, Supling and her four brothers, as well as his own survival. This cycle of concern paralleling the aging process is part of this narrative as well; war and the protection of the bayan are left to the able-bodied male.

Kampupot, Ulila, and Supling, manifest the “emotional” characteristics of the bayan. They also symbolize what the bayan was, is, and could become. Kampupot, or the Sampaguita flower, symbolizing devotion and fidelity, is what the bayan offers to those who are loyal to her. Ulila, the orphan, is the suffering past that the bayan has endured, and the future of the bayan if the men are not allowed the opportunity to defend her. Supling, the “sprout,” but also the sister to the four young sons of Bundok, is also the bayan in her most hopeful form, and appropriately the caregiver of the four young sons.

Bituin, as the Inang Bayan figure, was the one who first articulated the desire of the bayan to be independent to Lakan-Salian. She was the gate-keeper to Gat-Salian when her father-in-law wished to see him. As Gat-Salian’s wife, Bituin is presented as an equal partner in the fight to preserve the bayan; she even insists on accompanying Gat-Salian into battle. She is not afraid to stand up to Gat-Salian as he becomes angry at her, even threatening her death. As the embodiment of the bayan, she also recognizes she is part of it – which makes her responsible for its care and protection.
When the other women come to her seeking help to have their protectors released from their military obligations, Bituin appeals to Gat-Salian’s sense of honor and justice in the context of the family, to remind him that without the family the bayan ceases to exist. She does not contradict Gat-Salian when he tells her that it is not, and should not be, her concern that these men were sent off to battle. But then she reminds him of the ripple effects of war, how it impacts the family and the bayan; that the death of one man, however glorious, will not ease the suffering and loss that it will cause for the family.

Her final gesture of murdering Hinghis-Khan, the embodiment of the foreigner trying to encroach upon her people – and then commit suicide – was an important gesture; as Inang Bayan, Bituin made the ultimate sacrifice for the bayan as her family, for her family as the bayan. This is the ultimate revelation that Inang Bayan characters represent; that they, the bayan and the family, are one in the same, and that the collective responsibility to nurture both as the same falls on all.

The characters reflected a spectrum of the Filipino population – how they are part of dialogue negotiating an emerging sense being Filipino. Each of these characters expressed overt and covert messages of belonging, identity, nationalism, and revolution. On one end of the spectrum, you have the staunch patriot that is willing to die for their people. These characters present a group-centered worldview, reflecting the communal culture found in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. This was basically everyone in the play except Lakan-Salian, Hinghis-Khan, and an unnamed traitor among those thought to be loyal patriots to the bayan. Gat-Salian, Bituin, and Bayani are the most ardent of nationalists, with Mulawin and Bundok, respectively moving toward the center of the spectrum.
On the other end, there is the Filipino who is willing to compromise the bayan’s independence in return for economic and technological advancements. On the surface, these advocates champion the benefits of these partnerships as a win for all; it could mean more jobs, more resources, etc. But material wealth is not the same as freedom for the people; it may benefit a select few but most of the bayan will be left behind. When Bituin tells Lakan-Salian he is no longer Filipino because he pledged his allegiance to the Chinese, she is defining belonging to a particular nation as an uncompromising commitment to that people’s freedom and independence. She is also indicting the sector of the Filipino community who would be okay with some semblance of autonomy under the guidance of a more powerful state – namely, at the turn of the twentieth century, the political, landed, educated Ilustrado elite. In this sense, although Luhang Tagalog was set in 1499 and the foreign power presented was China, the experience of the people of the Philippines in relation to the United States and Spain is discernible in these juxtapositions of characters.

These characters represented the masses; the characters were among the masses. For those who identified with Bituin, Gat-Salian, and even Kampupot and Ulila because they supported the revolution in one way or another; had felt the loss of a loved one in the name of the bayan, they were immortalized as being on the side of the emerging, self-defined sense of being Filipino. For those who saw themselves in Lakan-Salian, these works were a word of warning, a cautionary tale. Lakan-Salian, for all the riches and resources that the Chinese could offer him, they took away the one thing that mattered most to his people the ability to define who they are on their terms as Filipinos.
Historical Context and Textual Analysis

_Luhang Tagalog_ championed the desire of the Filipino nation to determine its own path and next steps and define its identity. The play was to be the first of a three-play cycle that addressed the questions of Filipino identity, belonging, and foreign influence (either it by economic trade or colonialism) in the Philippines. The author’s dedication of the text reads as such:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lumuluha nang walang patid para sa iyong mga anak</td>
<td>Weeping without ceasing for thy sons,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At sa tuwina ay nananangis dahil sa iyong mga hapis,</td>
<td>And weeping always because of thy griefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ako ay maingat na nagtala ng likhang ito</td>
<td>I have been vigilant to record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upang sumanib ang luha ko</td>
<td>This work to the end of mixing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With those which stream from thine eyes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa luhang dumadaloy sa mata mo.</td>
<td>To thee I dedicate it: it is very weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa iyo, ito ay inaalay ko: ito ay lubhang marupok</td>
<td>It is mine; accept it,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Because I have nothing else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dearer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapagakat akin; gayunman ay tanggapin sapagkat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wala nang anumang higit na mahal na maituturing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the date on the manuscript indicates when the play was finished, _Luhang Tagalog_ was completed a month after Roosevelt declared the insurrection over. The dedication suggests that the play was simultaneously a eulogy for the death of the independence of the first Philippine Republic and a

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10 Tolentino, 68. Translations for _Luhang Tagalog_ by Bonifacio Ilagan, 352.
call to action to continue the revolution in a different form. By offering this play to his people, his kababayan, it can be interpreted that Tolentino was encouraging the new Filipino people to keep fighting.

It is difficult to not think about these monologues in the contexts of colonialism and imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century in the Philippines. For those living in the midst of these conditions, I suspect people were able to make important connections between their lived experiences and what they were watching onstage. Those aligned with the attitude and thought process of Lakan-Salian, praising the benevolence of a foreign power to bring modernization to the islands are either 1) wanting to maintain the socio-political and socio-economic status in this time of transition, or 2) wanting to improve their socio-political and socio-economic status for the benefit of their individual selves and/or their family. Those able to lobby and support these sorts of changes in the archipelago at the turn of the twentieth century already possessed some political status, cultivated under Spanish rule through intermarriage, conversion, and deal-making. These scenarios Bituin foresees are the result of their ongoing struggle to determine their own path as a people, as a bayan, which they have not had the opportunity to do because of the foreign powers that invade their national space.

The premise of the play is that the Chinese wished to take control of the archipelago, or at least a part of it, and they were doing so by colluding with Filipinos willing to betray their people and divest themselves of the cultural and social values that grounded the bayan and self-awareness. Presenting the Chinese as an invading foreign entity works for the timeframe the play is set in because the economic trade in the region was driven by the desire to gain access to the Chinese market, even at the turn of the twentieth century. This, however, is a teleological anachronism given that the term “Filipino” was created during Spanish colonization.
As such, China was a stand-in for Spain or the United States. To critique the United States’ presence in the archipelago at the turn of the twentieth century would have meant, at the very least, a considerable fine; at the very worst, imprisonment. Thus, China was a reasonable surrogate to critique the colonial machine that Spain created and the United States was attempting to create for their nascent empire. The Chinese had engaged in trade with numerous communities in the archipelago at least since the 10th century, as evidenced through archeological findings on islands like Palawan and Mindoro. Chinese records also mapped several islands of the archipelago, among the more frequented being Ma-yi (Mindoro) and Lusong (Luzon). They had established economic relationships with the different disparate kingdoms that peppered the archipelago and, ultimately, did not see a need to claim the islands in the same way that the West created their global empires between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the Spanish and United States, the Chinese saw no need to establish official rule over a disparate set of islands communities; they traded with whom they wished and established the oldest Chinatown – Binondo, then Parian – in the world to centralize their regional trade economy.

It was the three hundred years of Spanish colonialism that conditioned the archipelago’s population to internalize racialized social hierarchies and colorism, convert to Catholicism, and accept the political policies that maintained strict socio-economic stratas. The imagined borders and sparse population, as well as the general neglect of the Spanish empire due to space, time, and lack of resources sparked uncoordinated rebellions that challenged the Polo system, taxation, land grabbing, friar abuse, or any combination thereof. By the time the United States showed up, the regional narratives became a part of an emerging national history filled with tales of rebellion and resistance spanning the length of the island chain.
Spanish and American colonization also allowed some mestizo families to improve their social and political standing, above their own kababayan, through collusion and essentially turning their backs on local cultures, values, and practices, while those who had positions of authority in pre-colonial value and social constructs no longer had power. Makapagal laments to Bayani:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAKAPAGAL</td>
<td>A, Bayani, Anong laking pagbabago ng panahon! Anong kahapon-mahihirap ay siya ngayong mayayaman, At mapagmataas na nabuhay sa kanilang palasyong ginintuan;</td>
<td>Ah, Bayani, how the times do change! The beggars of yesterday are now the rich, conducting themselves haughtily in their golden palaces;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sila, na may-kaya kahapon ay siyang pulubi ngayon Nanlimos ang habag at mabuhay nang sa gayon,</td>
<td>and those who yesterday had something are those who today are mendicants, imploring charity in order to live.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ang awtoridad noon ay siya ngayong pinakabagong kawal, At ang mga alipin noon Ay siya ngayong namamanginoon;</td>
<td>The authorities of former times are those whom we see now in the persons of the newest soldiers; and those who once were slaves are today highest in authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahat nang ito ay bunga ng mabilis Na pagsulong ng tao, Ng pag-unlad. Nararapat itong pag-aralan Ng pinakamahasay sa ating hanay, Nang ang hinaharap ay mamasdan Sa iisang larawan; Sino ang magbibigay-wakas Sa ganitong kasawian? Kinakailangan pang manlimos Upang mabuhay lamang? Kayong lahat;</td>
<td>All this is due to the rapid career of the people, which has made progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Our best men must study this in order to form an idea of the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Who will make an end of this misery, since to live it necessary to beg – and do not you all, forget the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Makapagal’s reference to how “the beggars of yesterday are now the rich….and those who yesterday had something are those who today are mendicants, imploring charity in order to live”\textsuperscript{12} could be read as commentary on how the social order in the archipelago changed as a result of the coming of the west, and how those who were able to learn and adapt to the ways of the foreign power were those who rose above. Mentioning those who were “the authorities of former times are those whom we see now in the persons of the newest soldiers” is a nod to the fact those who were of the Maharlika, or ruling class, in precolonial times still held higher social position, but found themselves below the conquering people. Many of those who retained positions did so by allying themselves with the Spanish or Americans, utilizing their new compatriots to over run their regional enemies. This change in the social and political conditions of the archipelago dispossessed too many of his people, Makapagal laments in so many words, and is saying that, though may be in a sorry state now, the people should draw strength from their history where they had riches.

The theme of betrayal is prevalent throughout the play. The most egregious betrayal was Lakan-Salian’s alliance with the Chinese. When Bituin confronted him as he requested and audience with his son, he first asserts that he is still a “true Tagal,” and still the king of Tondo. Bituin scoffs at this, telling him that his alliance with the Chinese had revoked his right to be called a Tagal, or even Filipino. In the scene below Bituin enters, not recognizing her father-in-law as he was dressed in Chinese military garb. He explains to her that those who ally themselves with the Chinese will be rewarded while those who resist will be punished.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, 69; 354
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
Bituin does not mince words in addressing her father-in-law (or former, as it seems); he was no longer a Tagal, or Tagalog, because he is wearing their military uniform and fighting on their behalf. She does not recognize him when she first sees him; neither does his son when they meet either. He is referred to as the “Chinaman” throughout the play. And it is not only she or her
husband whom he has turned his back on by allying with the Chinese; he betrays the honor of his ancestors as well.

As a Lakan, the king of Tondo, he is responsible for maintaining honor and respectability for his family and the bayan, to place them above those who come to their shores for any number of reasons. Economic partnerships with China were not unheard of, but his collusion goes far beyond trade. His reasons for working with the Chinese cut into his beliefs in and value of his people, their capacities, and the land that he was charged to protect. Justifying his actions to Bituin, Lakan-Salian sings the praises of his new master:

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Si Hinghis-Khan ay batiking mandirigma Na sa larangan ng labanan ay pinagpapala; Ang turing sa kanya ay si Hay-Wang; Hari ng mga karagatan ng daigdigan; Ang kanyang kanyon ay higit na mahusay, Ang mga tauhan niya ay walang kapantay, At matalino ang kanyang opisyal; Higit pa da mga tío, siya ay nag-aangkin Ng dakila, ibayong yaman;</td>
<td>Hinghis-Khan is a skillful warrior, and God has favored him in the field of battle. They call him Hay-Wang, king of the seas of the world. His cannon are better than ours, his soldiers are unequalled, and his officers (chiefs) are wise. More than this, he possesses great riches, immense riches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At dahil sa siya ay nasa pag-uutos Ng dakilang Hari(ng) Sung-Song Ay ganoon na lamang Ang kanyang kapangyarihan taglay. Naparito siya Hindi upang sa atin ay makipagkaibigan, Ayon na rin san kanyang salitang sinumpaan;</td>
<td>His authority is ample because he is under the orders of the great King (of) Sung-Song. He has come, not to fight us, but to Fraternize with us for all time, in virtue of his sworn oath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa atin ay ipakikilala niya Ang pag-unlad ng kanyang</td>
<td>He will introduce the progress of his country so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lakan-Salian’s awe for Hinghis-Khan and the Chinese emperor hangs on the material wealth and military might that they display. Everything that the Chinese possess is better than what his people could hope to develop or are capable of. “His cannon (sic) are better than ours, his soldiers are unequalled, and his officers (chiefs) are wise. More than this, he possesses great riches, immense riches.” Hinghis-Khan is also immensely wealthy, translating into access to more resources. Lakan-Salian even compares the two society’s religiosity; they are better at it than the Filipinos and “invite us to follow them.” In other words, conversion. All of this seems suspect to Bituin; China is already so immensely wealthy, what would they want of them, a people who are not their equals? Lakan-Salian continues in his monologue praising the Hinghis-Khan:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Si Hinghis-Khan ay lalaking matapang (May mabuting puso); Mga opisyal niya’t tauhan Ay mapagkaibigan at tapat sa salitaan; Kanilang igagalang ang mga Pilipinong (Tagalog) Hindi lalabag Sa kanilang banal</td>
<td>Hinghis-Khan is a man of courage (of good heart). His officials and soldiers are good friends and loyal in their friendship. They respect the Filipino (Tagal) who does not disobey (transgress) their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are several contradictory messages that can be interpreted as being here, as well as several veiled threats. Hinghis-Khan is a man with a good heart; he will respect the Filipino, but only if they “do not disobey their sacred proposition.” In other words, if they do not go quietly into the night, if the Filipinos do not acquiesce, then something will happen.

15 Ibid, 77; 363.
Lakan-Salian goes on to point out that they have already created alliances, which can be read as “conquered” if it was an alliance that was reinforced with threats of violence, with at least four other kingdoms in the region. Those who they were unable to forge alliances with, according to the Lakan, “will not encounter anything worse than disappointments and afflictions.” But then he relates that his nephew, King Magdangal (Honorable) was “driven into the forests” and was not killed by the Chinese due to Lakan-Salian’s intervention. He even taunts her at the end of his monologue; “Do you imagine yourselves to be stronger, more illustrious or braver than all the Filipinos whom he has conquered?”

But Bituin stands her ground, fortified by the faith of her people, the patriotism that maintains their bayan as a coherent unit. She also asserts that those who have turned their back on the bayan are those who have never had to bleed, suffer, or sacrifice for the greater good of their people. Furthermore, they have no sense of self in that they disregard the past (ancestors) and the current conditions of their people. She is justifying her disregard for Lakan-Salian, basically stating she has given him the same consideration that he has given the people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Hindi, ginoo, Wala kami ng ganoong mas malakas na puwersa, Kabantugan o katayugan; Ngunit kami’y pinaringal naman ng Diyos Sa hamak naming katangian; Nananalig kaming ang aming pag-ibig sa bayan Ay malayong higit pa Sa damdaming ipinagpaparangalan Ng laksang Pilipino ng lahi Na sa katunaya’y di nakakaunawa Kung paanong magdusa; Sila’y walang dangal, Hindi marunong</td>
<td>No, sir, we have no greater strength, fame nor valor, but we have been dignified by God with what little we have. But we believe that our love for our country is greater than what which is professed by that multitude of Filipinos of our race who do not understand how to suffer, who have no honor, who respect the past epoch nor regard the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Later in their exchange she reinforces her stance that those who have already pledged their allegiance to the Chinese are no longer her brethren either, just as she no longer considers Lakan-Salian her father-in-law nor her king.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Kailanman ay hindi kami tumanggi Sa pagkakaisa ng mga kapatid, At hindi kami umaayaw sa mabuting pagtingin Para kaninuman; Silang mga Pilipinong (Tagalog) Umanib na kay Hinghis-Khan Ay hindi kapatid na maikuturing Pagkat kusa silang humiwalay at nagwaksi Sa kautusan ng Poong Hesus At sa banal na kasulatan ng lipi, At kalait-lait na pang-uusig Ni Hinghis-Khan sa amin Ay hindi maikuturing na pakikipangkasundo Ng mga Tsino sa ating bayang sawi.</td>
<td>We never have scoffed at the union of our brothers, and we do not disagree with the good wishes of anybody. Those Filipinos (Tagals) who have joined Hinghis-Khan have ceased to already be our brothers because they have voluntarily separated from and cast aside the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ and the sacred scripture of our race; the infamous persecution of which we are the object on the part of Hinghis-Khan cannot be called a treaty offered by the Chinese to our unfortunate people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Hindi ka marunong kumilala Ng pagmamagandang-loob!</td>
<td>You don’t know how to recognize favors!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Ganoon nga ba? Kami pala ngayo’y may utang pang loob!</td>
<td>Indeed! And we are indebted to anybody for favors?¹⁷</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Lakan-Salian tells her that she does not know how to recognize favors and Riggs’ translated her response as “And we are indebted to anybody for favors?” This is an interesting line which

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¹⁶ Ibid.
¹⁷ Ibid, 78; 364.
could be interpreted in different ways, particularly if you consider the tone an actor could have chosen to use. The script itself does not have any direction as to how to deliver Bituin’s line. To respond to an exclamatory statement with a question could suggest deference. It could also imply contemplation. Or the absence of direction could indicate that the actor playing this role is posing critique for their audience to interpret.

Bonifacio Ilagan’s re-translation of that exchange feels more pointed and accusatory – and appropriate given the trajectory of the dialogue in this scene. The way in which Lakan-Salian characterizes these favors – him inviting her into the protection of the Chinese and them offering that protection – as benevolent. Bituin scoffs and does not address what the Chinese are offering, but the betrayal that Lakan-Salian is perpetrating upon their people. The phrase *Kami pala ngayo’y may utang pang loob!* (We are the ones who are indebted!) Lakan-Salian’s favor became a debt in Bituin’s retort; a debt that cannot be repaid that he and his other collaborators carry, not Bituin or any of the other Filipinos who continue to resist.

This entire exchange could be read as exemplifying the tensions that existed at the turn of the twentieth century between the elite who saw they could materially benefit from American colonization and the ardent nationalists, who came from all class stratas in the archipelago and argued for immediate independence. The Filipino revolutionaries knew they did not have equal fire power or military capacity; but they did know their terrain, and they knew their people. The U.S. army had to change their military tactics by November 1899 during the Philippine American war because the revolutionaries were fighting a guerilla war, and they weren’t. The American reconcentration policy of provincial populations meant that they could control who was moving in and out of outlying areas. But they weren’t like the Spanish; they were extending their hand in friendship, offering infrastructural development, education, democracy, a free market that anyone
could participate in. Their intentions were benevolent; things would only turn ugly if that benevolence was not accepted and appreciated because who were they, as Filipinos, to challenge an emerging world power that just took down the Spanish Empire? The mestizo elite, saw the writing on the wall and were not willing to sacrifice their own small fortunes or the political clout they had cultivated by ingratiating themselves to the Spanish Crown, the Catholic church, the friars, and – now – the Americans.

We see these same sentiments expressed by other characters loyal to Gat-Salian and the idea of the bayan. Act 1, Scene 10 is a monologue delivered by Bundok, one of Gat-Salian’s men:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BUNDOK</td>
<td>Sadya ngang si Lakan Salian Ay naging kaaway na ng sambayanan... Lakan-Salian – Hayop! Ang puso ninyo ’y mabubulok sa kamandag Ng sarili nitong kataksilan.</td>
<td>Certainly Lakan-Salian is already an enemy to the people...Lakan-Salian! Swine! Thy heart will rot in the venom of its own treachery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sandaling titigil) May mga katotothanang Di na kailangan pang timbangin;</td>
<td>(Pause) There are truths that a man need not weigh and balance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sino ang makapagsasabi Na ang sarili niyang dangal, Masidhing pagmamahal sa bayan, Lahat ng kanyang lakas Sa lupa at dagat, Pati na ng kanyang paniniwala Sa Diyos at sa alab ng taumbayang Ipinagkatiwala sa kanya ng langit Ay kanya palang ipagbibili at Gagawing isang kahiya-hiyan palabas! Inaglahi at sinawing bayan! Kayo ’y magdurusa, Inyong babathinang bigat ng paghahari ni Hinghis-Khan,</td>
<td>Who would think that Lakan-Salian would put up for sale and make a ridiculous show thereby of his honor, his frenetic love for his country, all his forces by land and sea, his faith in God and all the ardor of the people that Heaven has confided in him? Disgraced and unfortunate people!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>You will feel suffering, the weight of the authority of</td>
</tr>
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</table>
This could be understood as an indictment of Lakan-Salian’s behavior and actions. Even though Lakan-Salian was the king of Tondo, Bundok freely and openly chastises him, calling him swine and, essentially, an embarrassment to his family and the rest of his people. In essence, Bundok is publicly shaming Lakan-Salian. He had turned his back on his people; he desires to be something that he is not, and will not be. Lakan-Salian can dress like them, perhaps learn their language, maybe be treated nicely, but the perception his Filipino-ness will remain a barrier to the thing that he desires most; to be seen as equal by his Chinese counterparts.

When Gat-Salian confronts Bituin for meeting with a “Chinaman” at the end of act 1 and she was reluctant to disclose with whom she was really meeting, Gat-Salian saw that as an act of treachery and disloyalty; for that he was willing to sentence her to death. Bituin, on the other hand, was wrestling with another aspect of loyalty and belonging to the bayan: the family. Even though she dismissed Lakan-Salian for his betrayal, Gat-Salian had yet to articulate that for himself. Conforming to expected gender roles as proscribed by Catholicism, Bituin, as Gat-Salian’s wife, did not feel it was her place to make that decision for him; he had to come to those conclusions himself. But she was torn; who was she to disclose to her husband that his father had betrayed his bayan, his family, for material gain and perceived power? Her anxieties are quieted, at the end of act 1, when she reveals that it was Lakan-Salian he had seen in Chinese military garb, and Gat-Salian proclaims, “We have judgment! We have judgment!” Basically, he makes a choice – to stand with his wife and the bayan to fight against foreign invasion.

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18 Ibid, 79:366
As Gat-Salian prepares to leave for the war, Bituin attempts make him stay. She accuses Gat-Salian of not listening or taking her feelings into consideration; of not acknowledging the sacrifice she made, leaving her family, to be a part of his life. She also reminds him she is pregnant and that he has obligations, as a soon-to-be father.

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<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Ako, Na asawa mong totoo! Di ba’t sumumpa kang ako’y di iiwan Lubha pa’t labag sa aking kagustuhan? Dahil diyan, di kita papayagang umalis, At sa ngalan ng buhay Na si sinapupunan ko’y pumipintig, At nagsisimulang sumibol Sa kaibuturan ng dibdib, Nagsusumamo ako: Tumupad ka sa iyong salita.</td>
<td>I, your true wife! Did not you swear by chance that you would never leave me without my previous consent? In that case I will not permit you to go, and in the name of this new being, which is beginning to grow in me from the bottom of my soul, I beseech you to keep true to your oath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Bakit nais mong ako’y iwan?</td>
<td>Why is it that you wish to leave me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Ang aking lupang tinubuan...</td>
<td>My native land...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Ang bayan mo’y bayan ko rin Bakit hindi ako ipagtatanggol Kung paanong ipinagtatanggol sita? Hindi kaya makatutulad ang babae Na kasing-husay ng mga lalaki?</td>
<td>Your country is mine; and why must not I Be defended as well as she? Cannot women indeed shoot arrows as well as men?19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Ulila and Kampupot, who insist that Bayani and Mulawin, respectively, remain in the town to protect them, Bituin asserts that she also claims the bayan as her as much as it is his; moreover, she is more than capable of fighting alongside him in defense of the bayan, even pregnant.

When Gat-Salian finds his voice, he expresses the fact that he wished to bring as much glory and honor to their family as he can accumulate. Bituin’s response is sounds a bit incredulous:

19 Ibid, 80-81; 368.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Ang nais ko lamang ay pangalagaang ganap Ang karangalan sa iyo'y karapat-dapat, At ipagkaloob sa ating mga magiging anak Ang sukdulang luwalhati at saganang bukas.</td>
<td>I desire to secure to you in the highest degree as it is merited, your honor, and to make for our future sons the happiest possible name for glory and generosity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Ang maging asawa mo'y Angking dangal ko na; At para sa ating mga magiging supling Ang dangal ng kanilang ama'y Labis at labis na Upang sila ay iagalang ng buong balana; Hindi ba't tayo'y tunay na mayaman? Hindi ba't tayo'y may dugong bughaw? Hindi ba't tayo'y makapanyarihan? Sa ating mga magiging anak Ay ano pa ang hindi nila Mamamana?</td>
<td>I am haughty enough with the mere fact of you being your wife, and as for our future sons, there is a superfluity of the honor of their father, for which they will be respected by all peoples. Are not we indeed rich? Is not our blood noble? Have Not we authority? What further inheritance would you have for our future sons?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Kung ako ang tatanungin, Ay nanaisin kong magkaroon sila Nga isang amang sukdulan ang kapangyarihan.</td>
<td>I would that they should have (had) an excessively powerful father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Tunay, Ang angkin bang kapangyarihan Ay hindi pa sapat? Marahil ay hindi ka pa ganap na kilala; Marahil, ang iyong mga tagumpay Sa laban ay kulang pa; Hindi pa ba sapat ang lahat? Hindi ba totoong sa laban ng Cainta, Ang suot mong damit ay sukat magsilab Bago ka nakaigpaw sa pigil na kaaway? Sa ganoo'y ano ang tawag mo? A, hindi! Hindi ka aalis!</td>
<td>Indeed, and are not you sufficiently powerful already? Perhaps you have not exposed yourself already? Perhaps you have not come off victorious in innumerable battles? Is that not enough? Is not it true that in the burning of Cainta (the town) the fire began to burn your very clothes before you managed to wrench yourself free from the hands of the enemy? What, what do you call that? Ah, no; you will (must) not go!20 (1.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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20 Ibid, 82; 370.
Gat-Salian has ambitious goals; Bituin is basically saying “aren’t we enough?” Given that Lakan-Salian is his father, this exchange reads like a warning against the ambition and greed that drove Lakan-Salian to ally himself with the Chinese.

In Act 2, Scene 1, Lakan-Salian attempts to murder his own son for his refusal to join forces with him. Bundok catches him in the act and stops him, dragging him away from the sleeping Gat-Salian. As Lakan-Salian begs Bundok to kill him, Bundok delivers yet another lengthy lecture on the perception of those who choose betray the bayan. At one point he proclaims, “Halimaw ang anak na pumtay sa ama, Subalit ang amang sa sariling anak Ay kumitil Ay siyang uhat ng lahat ng krimeng Maaaring isipin.” (The son who kills his father is a monster, but the father who assassinates his son is the embryo of all the crimes in the calendar rolled together.) Again, Riggs’ translation reads more tame than what Tolentino possibly intended; when Bundok talks about the father killing the son, Ilagan’s translation is closer to the following: The child who kills his father is cruel, but the father who seeks to kill his own son stands at the root of every possible crime imaginable. A father who kills their child is killing his legacy, his bloodline, his family’s future. A father who kills their child is depriving the family of any hope for something better. In this case, if Lakan-Salian truly believed that the Chinese were the only ones who could bring a better future to the bayan, then the loss of one Filipino, even if it his son, is negligible.

But Bundok is unrelenting in his indictment of Lakan-Salian, citing examples of his behavior that has visited shame upon the entire Salian family. At the beginning of his tirade Bundok calls Lakan-Salian a number of things, accusing him of poisoning their people.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BUNDOK</td>
<td>Kayo ang uod na lumalason at pumatay</td>
<td>You are the maggot which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Riggs, 380.
Sa dakilang puno ninyong marumi

Sa dugo ng mga Tagalog ay inyong isinali!

Hindi ninyo alintana kung ang Inang Bayan Ay malugami Kung kayo naman ay makapagkakamit Ng kahit na karampot na buti!

destroys and poisons the root of the great tree of our race.

Your filthy blood you have mixed with that of the Tagals!

What do you care whether the Fatherland be overwhelmed if by its fall you manage to secure to yourself some miserable, sordid (petty) advantage?²²

Bundok continues, letting Lakan-Salian know that he, Gat-Salian, and the rest of the Filipino patriots know this is not the first time that he had extended this offer to others.

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<tr>
<td>BUNDOK</td>
<td>Inyong pakinggan: Hindi baga natatandaan ang mga magigiting Ni Haring Sula na inyong pamangkin?</td>
<td>Do you remember the nobles of the great King Sula, your nephew?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niloko ninyo sila Sa salitang matamis at maling pag-asa, Tinipon upang di-umano'y nang maipagtanggol Ang higit na marami; At nang matipon silang walang laban Ay iniutos ninyong lahat ay dakpin At ibilanggo sa presong madilim;</td>
<td>You deceived them with fair words and false hopes, gathered them in a great assembly to treat of the public defense, and when they were all assembled and defenceless (sic), ordered them all bound and thrown into a dark dungeon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pinilit ninyo sila upang makilahok Sa inyong kataksilan, At nang sila ay tumanggi, Kayo at</td>
<td>You forced them to take part in your treason, and because they refused to do your will you, you and none other,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²² Ibid, 89-90; 381.
ordered their lamentable
death. Do you remember?

A moment later they were a
mountain of cadavers.\textsuperscript{23}

If he was willing to deceive his nephew, another king, what would stop him from doing the same
to his own blood? Bundok reminds Lakan-Salian of what he did: in the nephew’s refusal to pledge
their allegiance to the Chinese, Lakan-Salian himself ordered that they be killed. It was a massacre,
a “mountain of cadavers.”

As Bundok continued to berate Lakan-Salian with example upon example of his treachery,
Lakan-Salian visibly began to feel the weight of his actions. The stage directions indicate that
Lakan-Salian was bent over in grief, weeping as he is confronted with his deeds. It is not only the
guilt of the singular action that bears down on him; it is the memory of the actions that can be told
to others, many others. This is the actual legacy that Lakan-Salian had built for himself in his
cruelty and desire for power. Just as Bundok is ready to kill him, Bituin steps forward and stops
him. This was not an act of mercy; Bituin, in thinking about her husband, wished to provide him
the opportunity to make the choice of ending his father’s life.

While this is happening, Gat-Salian wrestles with a nightmare that foretells his demise –
and that of his bayan. It frightens him, as it is his father, in the form of “a great ghost with eyes
that burned” that causes everyone’s death – his, Bituin’s, Bundok’s, and everyone else in
Balintauak, very much like the story that Bundok related about the massacre of King Sula and his

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
people. Bituin and Bundok decide not to tell him of his father’s attempt to kill him, but Gat-Salian shares an ominous conclusion about his nightmare; “Ngunit sa isipan ay nananatili Ang pangit na pangitain ng pagkasawi, At sa puso Ay mabigat na alalahanin.” (There remains in my mind a fearful impression prophetic of gloom and in my heart frightful presentiments.)

As the battle draws near, Gat-Salian final confronts his father toward the end of Act 2. Lakan-Salian enters, startling Bituin and Bundok. When he is not greeted by his son as a father, this upsets him.

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<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Gat-Salian, Ganito pala ang iyong pagtanggap Sa iyong magulang? (Babaling si Gat-Salian at mamasdan ang ama.)</td>
<td>Gat-Salian: so this is the way you receive your father? (Gat-S turns and stares at his father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Paumanhin na lamang; Nagulat ako sa inyong kasuotan; Sang-ayon sa balita, Humiwalay kayong sadya sa bayan, Ngunit ang ganoon ay ayaw kong paniwalaan – Hanggang ngayon; Ngayon ay akin nang napatunayan; Ano ang inyong kailangan?</td>
<td>Pardon me; your clothes surprised me. From what I had heard already I understood that you had seceded voluntarily from our country, but I could not credit the reality until today. Now I have confirmed it. And that being the case, what do you want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Nais kong kasuapin ka Nang sarilinan.</td>
<td>I wish to be alone with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Upang pag-usapan ang digmaan?</td>
<td>To talk about the war?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Oo.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 Ibid, 93; 386.
**GAT-SALIAN**

*Kung ganoon ay sabihin na Ang gustong sabihin; Wala akong ikinukublisa mabubuting taong Nangaririto, kung kagalingan ng lahat Ang pag-uusapan; Mangyaring dalian na lamang ang pakay Pagkat marami akong mahigpit na tungtukling Dapat na gampanan.*

In that case you can tell me what you want. I have nothing to conceal from these good people when matters of public interest are being discussed. I merely beg you to be brief, because I have very pressing duties demanding my immediate attention.

---

**LAKAN-SALIAN**

*Wari’y palalo kang labis Kung mangusap.*

You appear very extravagant when you talk.

---

**GAT-SALIAN**

*Ako’y datu, At ganoon ako kung mangusap.*

I speak as speaks the Datto.

---

**LAKAN-SALIAN**

*Ama mo ako*

I am your father.

---

**GAT-SALIAN**

*Ang tungkulin ko’y nangangailangan Ng higit na pansin Kaysa sa aking ama; May mga tungkuling nararapat ganapin Kaya ang sasabihin ay mangyaring madiliin; Anong misyon ang nagtaboy sa inyo dito?*

My duty merits my attention more than my father. Some duty constantly calls me to complete it, so please be brief. What is the mission which brought you here?²⁵

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²⁵ Ibid, 102; 398.

This is confirmation – and the final break – for Lakan-Salian from his son, his family, and the bayan. He is not treated by his own son as a father, but in an official capacity, as a stranger. Gat-Salian reminds him that it is of his own accord and decision that he aligned himself with the Chinese, and this is the consequence that he must accept; that his son, his family, no longer
recognize him as part of their own. As Gat-Salian no longer recognizes him as his father, he affirms that it is his duty to the bayan that will define their interactions from here on out.

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<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Ikaw ay tunay kong anak; Nais kong pakaisipin mo Ang suwail na pag-uugali, Nais kong akayin ka sa landas Ng katuwiran; Sinumang sa inyo ay sumunod Ay tiyak na masasawi sa rebolusyon Walang kahihinatnan; Hindi ninyo nakikita Ang malaking kapahamakan Tiyak ninyong babagsakan.</td>
<td>You are my legitimate son – I wish to think over your rebellious conduct. I wish to lead you into the path of reason. He who today follows you will surely be thwarted in this hopeless revolution. You do not see the profound abyss which lies before you, (and) into which all your lives will certainly fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Ang tinatahak naming ngayon Ay landas ng katwiran, Pagkat ang binababaybay ay walang iba Kundi ang katungkulan; Iyang sinasabing kapahamakang babagsakan Ay hindi totoo pagkat ang mithi naming Ay kagalingan ng bayan; Tunay ngang may mga bangin a paanan Ngunit sa ibayo noon ay kaluwalhatian; Magtutuloy kami, Pagkat at ang pag-urong, kahit isang hakbang Ay maituturing nang paglait sa bathala.</td>
<td>The road which we follow today is the path of reason in that it is the same as that which traces our duty. It does not present complications because its path is no other than that of the wellbeing of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SALIAN</td>
<td>Ang katigasan ng iyong ulo Ang talamak at walang katuturan; Naparito ang mga Tsino upang Mag-alay ng tunay na pakikipagaibigan; Ngunit iyong kinukutya Sa halip na tanggapin nang may katuwaan At pasalamatan, pagkat yao’y Isang kabutihan hindi naman inaasahahan; Layunin nilang makiisa sa atin; Taglay ng kanilang pagkikipagkasunduan.</td>
<td>Your stubbornness is infamous and stupid. The Chinese have come and offered their true friendship, but you treat it with scorn when you should accept it with the joy and gratitude of one who gains a great good without having expected it. They purpose to ally themselves with us. The oath of the agreement is accompanied by the most solemn sacredness and if, indeed, they...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Gat-Salian and his compatriots, representing the Filipino who have endured one form of colonial rule and had already born witness to the intentions of a new colonial master, had had enough. The Spanish were powerful, but they did nothing for the development of the archipelago that did not directly serve the crown or the church. God did not punish them as they exploited the land and the people. And perhaps Lakan-Salian was correct in asserting that the revolutions and previous rebellions had been failures in the game of asserting power as a state; but as a people, as the *bayan*, those rebellions disrupted the powerful, set the mighty on edge. In those moments, the Filipino

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26 Ibid, 102-103;308-399.
was in control of the direction of their lives, loose from the bonds of forced labor, catholic ritual, an economic system that provided social mobility only for the few.

In Act 3 of *Luhang Tagalog*, we see quite a bit of the same from Act 1 and 2; the female characters pleading that their male protectors be released in order to protect the bayan as embodied in the women, children, and elderly; Bituin insisting that she fight by Gat-Salian’s side as his wife, equal, and embodiment of the bayan protecting itself; and, finally, the presentation of betrayal and treachery, though this time from within their ranks. In act 3, scene 3, Mulawin enters Gat-Salian’s quarters to share some disturbing news. He had defied his order of release to be with his family and went out to spy on the enemy. He was captured. While he was being held prisoner he witnessed someone enter Hinghis-Khan’s camp and divulge important strategic information about the Filipino’s movements.

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</table>
| MULAWIN   | Nang gumabi na, ano’t isang kababayan Ang buong karangalan tinanggap ni Hinghis-Khan; Ang layo ko’y mga apat na dipa lamang Mula sa kanila; Ang kababayan nasabi ay naglahad Ng maraming lihim tungkol sa ating kinaroroongan, Bilang ng tauhan, lagay at dami ng mga sandata; At ipinagtapat pang sila – Ang lakas ni Hinghis-Khan – Ay hindi maaring umurong sa silangan Pagkat ang talampas ay hahadlangan Ng ating mga tauhan; Na ang punong pwersa ng kanilang hukbo Na nasa likuran Ay sasalakaying kasabay ng patrulyang sa aking Ay siyang nagbilanggo; Na ang unang darating ay kayo, Panginoon, At nightfall came one, a compatriot of ours, who was received by Hinghis-Khan with the greatest honors at a distance of about four fathoms from where I was. This countryman of ours, after divulging to Hinghis-Khan various important secrets regarding our positions, the number of our soldiers, the state and number of our arms, said that they (the enemy) could not retreat to the east because the pass will be cut off by our soldiers; that the main body of the enemy placed in rearguard will be attacked at the same time as those troops which held me prisoner; that the first to arrive would be
lahat ng inyong mga kawal; Na upang masira ang inyong mga balak Ay kinakailangang kayo ay tugisin, At huwag tutugutan, Liban na lamang kung sila, ang mga kaaway Ay sumalakay sa isang piling lugar Bago dumating sa Balintawak;

you, my lord, with all your men; that in order to upset your plans it would be necessary not to relinquish their pursuit of you there, unless they, our enemies, had to make a heavy attack sometime (elsewhere?) before reaching Balintauak.  

(3.3)

As Hinghis-Khan prepared his army armed with this new information, Mulawin asked the traitor where he was going. The traitor revealed that he would be “contemplating the ashes of our beloved Balintauak” from his own tranquil town. Furthermore, Mulawin said that this person was a friend of Gat-Salian and had seen him at his house a number of times.

Gat-Salian and his men scrambled into action, but to no avail; at the end of the play, as they people of Balintauak wait for battle, the army on one side of the stage and all sorts of people from the bayan – “warriors, women, old men, and a few children” watching on the other side, Gat-Salian addresses them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Mga sundal at mahal kong mga mamamayan: Dinig ba ang iyakan sa may-kalayuan Na hanggang sa lugar na ito Ay nauulinigan? Alam ba ninyo ang kahulugan? Yaon ay walang iba kundi ang paglait Ni Hinghis-Khan sa ating mga karapatan, Sampu ng pag-alipusta sa ating Matatapang na kawal;</td>
<td>Soldiers, my beloved people: do you hear that distant crying, which reaches even to this spot? Do you know what it means? It is nothing else (less) that the insult(s) of Hinghis-Khan to our sacred rights, mingled with curses upon our valiant soldiers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Ibid, 106; 404.
Suriing mainam, suriing mataman Kung anong nagaganap sa oras na ito Sa baryo ng Ibabao:
Inyo bang nakikita? Inyo bang namamasid ang mga katawang Nakapangingilabot sa pagkakadurog? Ang mga butong lasog? At ang dugong sa pagdaloy Ay walang tugot? Ang pira-piraso ng mga katawang iyon Ay bahagi ng sarili nating katawan; Ang butong iyon ay sarili nating buto;

At ang dugong dumadanak ay walang iba Kundi sariling dugong dumadaloy Sa ating mga ugit! Ilang magigiting ang doo’y nakikitang Nananaghoy? Mayroon ba kayong daing na naririnig? Wala, at kailanman’y walang makikita, Walang ganoong maririnig! Nangamamatay silang may ngiti sa labi, Pagkat battid nilang pinakabanal ng tungkulin Ng tao ang kanilang ginaganap; Nangaroon sila, daan-daan kung masawi Saanman;

Sila’y ating mga kapatid, at higit pa, Pagkat kung ano sila’y ganoon rin tayo Yamang katawan nati’y sadya ngang isa; Naroon sila, Huwag kaligtaang silay ay naroon, Ang iba’y may buhay pa Mula ulo hanggang paa’y naliligo Sa pawis at dugo, Nagahabol ng hininga sa ibayo pagod. Ngunit makikipaglaban pa rin upang

Look with the eyes of your intelligence (i.e. Sharply) at what is going on at this moment in the barrio of Ibabao: do you see it? Do you see the horribly mutilated bodies, the bones that are broken and the blood that flows in the torrents without ceasing? Those bodies are pieces of our bodies; those bones are our own bones; and that blood which flows is none other than the blood which runs in your veins. How many noble men do you see in agony there? Nothwithstanding, do you hear so much as a single groan? No; and you never will! They die with a smile on their lips, because they know that they have finished the most sacred duty of man.

There they are, dying by hundreds everywhere.

They are our brothers, and yet more than our brothers, for the are all the same as we ourselves, since all of us are one body. There they are, remember they are there, some still living, with their heads and bodies bathed in sweat and blood, panting for fatigue though they and we were born.28

28 Ibid, 111-112; 411-412.
Gat-Salian seems to be reminding them, despite the tragedy and death that they will all most likely face, their deaths will not be in vain. Throughout the play the notion of the bayan is acknowledged and articulated, but it is in this instance where the audience is presented with the idea that being part of the bayan is being able to see yourself in others, others in you, living and passed on. The bayan is not just a place; it is a living, breathing entity that names that feeling of responsibility and interconnectivity that defines the community. It is the thing that people live for, die for, sacrifice for each other.

At the end of the play the audience witness the deaths of Gat-Salian, Mulawin, Bayani, Kampupot, and Makapagal, all killed in the battle. Bodies are heaped one on top of the other. Bituin approaches one of the “mountain of corpses,” just as Gat-Salian had seen in his dream. She finds Gat-Salian, recognizing the gold chain she had given him. Bituin faints momentarily, caught by Kampupot. In that same moment Kampupot recognizes her beloved Mulawin, is overcome with grief and dies. Bituin rises, grasping the kris from her fallen husband’s belt. Lakan-Salian encounters her, his attitude in the play suggesting that he is running away from the battle, and yells, “Save yourself – now!” She hides as the Chinese army makes its way toward her. She watches, with the kris in hand. When Hinghis-Khan passes by she jumps out of her hiding place and stabs him. After announcing that she had killed him, she stabs herself with the same kris, declaring “Hindi ako padadakip nang buhay!” (I will not remain alive to be taken prisoner!)\(^{29}\) Her death, as the Inang Bayan figure, all their deaths, could be interpreted as a call for each person in the

\(^{29}\) Ibid, 119.
audience to contemplate and consider the role they play in the development – or destruction – of
the bayan.

Themes of belonging, nationalism, and betrayal manifest in many ways throughout the
manuscript – largely through the articulation of the meaning of the bayan. The articulations of
nationalism and loyalty were assertions of belonging that informed the emerging cohesive Filipino
identity. The patriots are righteous and willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the bayan,
the Bayan that they understand to include their families. The traitorous characters speak about
strength through material wealth and military might; the patriots talk about community and loyalty
to the bayan. In doing so the traitor is presented as a greater threat to the Filipino people than the
foreign entity that is influencing them. Luhang Tagalog, was a seditious work; one that spoke to
the local cultural and social contexts that defined their Filipino communities. Sacrifice for the
bayan as an extension of that family is an important concept articulated through this work. To
betray the responsibility to the bayan of working for freedom and independence, to settle for
reform or the notion of gradual independence meant that there would be less uncorrupted time and
space to formulate the underpinnings of what this new notion of Filipino could and should be.

The Bayan in Luhang Tagalog

The bayan is a central figure in much of Tolentino’s work. In Luhang Tagalog, bayan, or
some version of it, is articulated 167 times. Of those articulations, 84 are not the utterance of a
character’s name – Bayani specifically – but part of the narrative that is being told. Bayan was
used mostly used to refer to “country,” “town,” and “people.” It was also used to refer to “village,”
“native land,” and “lives/life.” Conjugations of *bayan* used in the play included “taumbayan” and “sambayanan,” both meaning towns people or persons from a particular place, “Kababayan,” meaning “countrymen” appears twice, as does “pagkamakabayan,” meaning “patriotism.” The term “bayani,” which is also the name of one of the main characters, shows up a number of times, and “Inang Bayan” as a concept, not the character, appears four times. Those who identified as “Tagal” or “Tagalog” were also known as being part of the “Bayang Tagalog.”

In contrast, the term *bansa* is only used three times throughout the entire manuscript, and always to refer to the “country.” It is not only the flexibility of the term *bayan* that makes it the more appropriate term to use; it also alludes to relationships it cultivates, and the responsibility that it creates among the people. If two or more people mutually view each other as kababayan, there is a greater feeling of obligation to help or support. The term “pagkamakabayan,” for instance, is translated as patriotism. With term *bayan* as the root of “pagkamakabayan,” patriotism is not pledging allegiance to the official state, but being of service and support to your community. Inang Bayan is also present in the play, not only through the character of Bituin, but is also referenced by name at several points in the play.

Aurelio Tolentino wove historical, religious, and cultural references throughout each of his works. Reading through manuscripts, one has the luxury to stop and think about the overt and covert messages present in the text. As a staged work, however, one would need to have those references at the forefront of their knowledge base to catch them as flew across the stage in repartees between characters. Tolentino uses a variety of references relevant archipelago’s history, culture, and religious development throughout the play that may or may not have been general knowledge to the people, but the continuity of the message of the Filipino nation – *ang bayan* - yearning to be free and independent tied the references and narrative together.
Newspaper and Media Attention for *Luhang Tagalog*

While *Luhang Tagalog* may have been considered his masterpiece, *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was the play that received all the attention in the English language newspapers. It is usually mentioned with other titles considered dangerous or seditious, or used to introduce *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* as its sequel. In looking through English and Tagalog newspaper materials published between 1901 and 1907, I only found two mentions; the first was in 1903 wherein it was used to announce the performance of its sequel, and the second was on January 15, 1904. The January 1904 article mentions a performance of *Luhang Tagalog* in celebration of the return of several persons connected to the Philippine Revolutionary, including Apolinario Mabini, known as the “Brains of the Revolution,” and General Artemio Ricarte, with whom Tolentino worked with on and off the battlefield. The news items read as follows:

The enterprising Katagalugang Dalisay staged in Rizal Theater the precious tragedy “Tagalog Tears” (*Luhang Tagalog*), as a reception to the Guam exiles to whom a commission named for that purpose to honor the function with their presence. No notice could have excited the masses more, who, animated by their desire to expend the hand of welcome to their compatriots, came to the Coliseum, filling it from top to bottom. Attractive and not insignificant was the representation of “Tagalog Tears,” a work of grand inspiration in which the artists perfectly knew their parts, and understood to how to bring forth the applause due to the merits of the drama.  

Aurelio Tolentino was present at the event, and addressed the crowd. He thanked the people for attending and offered the presentation as in humble thanksgiving for their return home. Addressing the crowd, he goes on to state:

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Gentlemen, permit me to molest you for a moment. I am going to address a few words to our dear compatriots, the exiles of Guam. I do not desire, as other have, the eloquence of Cicero, nor the fluency and grandeur of Castelar. I desire no more than to have the simple style of a true Filipino who knows how to follow, who serves in his soul the legendary nobility of the progenitors of our people.31

There are other tertiary mentions of Tolentino’s works, including this one, in relation to Dominador Gomez’s trial as well, though in this fashion it was merely a title in a list of titles and not worth spending much time discussing.

One of the possible reasons this was the case was Arthur Stanley Riggs. Riggs was responsible for quite a bit of the English news items that concerned theatre in the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century. He arrived in Manila for his tour of duty while serving as editor and correspondent for The Manila Freedom in midsummer 1902. Luhang Tagalog, whose transcript he collected, was possibly performed in August of 1902, though no evidence has surfaced to corroborate that idea – yet, so it is quite possible that he had not taken up Filipino theatre as a subject of interest and/or concern.

In looking at several Tagalog language newspapers, which were not as well preserved as the English language ones, I have two observations. 1) The gaps between dates of extant copies, as well as missing sections of the papers themselves, made determining the performance of Luhang Tagalog occurred in 1902. 2) I expected at least one of the newspapers, La Patria, to contain information about Luhang Tagalog, since Tolentino was the editor. However, the earliest date I was able to find written announcement about the production was January 1903 – four months after the potential presentation of the play according to the date on the manuscript in Riggs’ The Filipino Drama.

31 Ibid.
Conclusions

*Luhang Tagalog* is a complex drama presented several layers of intentions to its audience. Riggs stated that he did not feel that the play was seditious; possibly because he could not see past the long and seemingly repetitive tirades that populate the manuscript. And it is repetitive; the long monologues directed at Lakan-Salian are intended to hammer home the fact that betrayal will not be tolerated, even if you are king; to offer up the bayan in exchange for wealth and position takes away the one thing that should matter the most – your sense of identity and belonging to the bayan.

The figure of Bituin is a powerful figure that does not have a similar counterpart in other seditious works that I examined. In *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, the character Inang Bayan is her new avatar, but feels less forceful than Bituin in many ways. Bituin serves as the gatekeeper to Gat-Salian; she protects Lakan-Salian, even in his treachery, because she is the hope that he will see the errors of his ways. She is the guiding light of her people, demonstrating that right and wrong are not as clear cut as we would like them to be. And ultimately, sacrifice, is necessary for the bayan to move forward. Her final gesture, killing Hinghis-Khan and committing suicide is her offering to the bayan so that it may continue to live.

Setting the play in 1499 did not negate the work’s seditiousness; by setting the story in during the time of pre-Western contact, Tolentino was demonstrating that the Filipino has a long history of resistance that they could draw strength from as they faced the new generation of colonizers. The concept of the Philippines is a colonial construct; one that will not value the idea
of a “pre-colonial Philippines.” There is something about the prefix “pre” that not only connotes the notion of “before;” it suggests something unfinished, undefined, unsophisticated, and invaluable. The important point of reference is that moment of contact with the West designated an imagined perimeter around this group of islands as “the Philippines.” By situating this struggle in the context of kings and kingdoms, by naming the Tagalogs as their ancestors, and by displaying the strength of Inang Bayan, Luhang Tagalog is providing a counter narrative to the one constructed by three hundred years of abuse by the Spanish friar and neglect of Mother Spain – where the Filipino is useless, ignorant, lazy, and worthless.

_Luhang Tagalog_ was not encouraging the people to immediately wage war against the foreign invaders; as Lakan-Salian pointed out repeatedly the Chinese possessed far more sophisticated firepower and resources. Instead the play was calling for collective introspection and critique; it was telling them that their worst enemy is closer than they think. This was driven home by the introduction of the second traitor in the third act who was never identified. And that is what made that second traitor dangerous; it could have been anyone.
Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas was the second play of an intended trilogy of theatre works by Aurelio Tolentino. This work is Tolentino’s most famous work, even if it was only performed once, not in its entirety, during his lifetime. The work has been historically categorized together with works that were part of the seditious sarsuwela subgenre. Further analysis of the translated manuscript, as well as consultation with various sources and archives yielded no specific mention of music or lyrics especially composed for the work. In an interview with Sir Nicanor Tiongson in 1972, Paul Rodell and Tiongson discussed the play, along with other plays such as Juan Abad’s Tanikalang Guinto and Tomas Remegio’s Malaya, were not strictly a sarsuwelas, “but were rather lyric plays or “mga dula ng berso.”¹ There is no doubt that the content of Tolentino’s works was seditious; and his works ranged from one-act dramas to three-act operas. He did write several seditious sarsuwelas, including Sinukuan and Germinal, but his most famous work, Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas was a “mga dula ng berso” that included the use of some music – the national American march and the Philippine march at different points of the play. Regardless, the work followed a typical zarzuela play structure; three acts of narrative drama that incorporated a few

¹ Paul Rodell, “Philippine ‘Seditious Plays’,“ Asian Studies 12:1, April 1974, 94.
musical numbers. The manuscript contained some stage direction but actions that were described in news reports after the performance did not appear in the stage directions. The author left literal gaps in the manuscript to indicate places where improvisation was expected in the play. *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* has been heralded as an exemplar of the seditious sarsuwela sub-genre popular at the turn of the twentieth century and is one of the most discussed, if not the most discussed, seditious sarsuwela within Philippine scholarship.

Many of the seditious theatre works from the early twentieth century dramatized the various foreign political, cultural, social, and economic influences that moved through the archipelago throughout history. This is the focus for much of the scholarship that examines this genre of theatre in the Philippines; the intrusion of external powers and their detrimental impact on the local communities. *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* presented the conditions of the archipelago under three foreign powers, embodied by particular characters; China in the form of “Haring Bata;” Spain in the form of “Dilat na Bulag,” “Halimau,” and “Matanglaun;” and the United States in the form of “Bagong Sibol” and “Malay Natin.” The first two foreign influences were depicted as defeated by the protagonists each time, with great ferocity and resolve; the outcome of the presence of the third foreign influence, the United States, was still unresolved. Reading the manuscript to the end of the play suggested a potentially different outcome; the performance of the play, however, did not reach that part of the play as it was disrupted by angry play-goers.

As in *Luhang Tagalog*, local traitors were more important antagonists than the foreign colonizing powers; they arguably presented as the primary culprits and reasons for the local population’s disunity, the source of their issues with distrust and betrayal, and, ultimately, at the core of their ability to become a unified nation. These traitors conspired against the heroes and heroines, as well as those who are loyal to both of those characters throughout the play. They are
the single thread, and consistent threat, throughout each time period, to the Filipino people. Thus, in its performance directed to a local population, the warning was not focused on the foreign entities but toward the traitors among them.

The Plot

Act 1 opens with Asal Hayop dancing in a cemetery, trampling on and drinking among the graves of Philippine patriots who gave their lives in the bloody battle of Balintauak by Chinese invaders. Masunurin and various other secondary characters join him. Inang Bayan enters and chastises Asal Hayop and his companions for their disrespect for the dead. Asal Hayop reveals that he collaborated with the Chinese in exchange for wealth and power. Tagailog, the protagonist, appears and implores his compatriots to remember the names and sacrifices of the fallen loyalists, Gat-Silan and Bituin, thereby winning their support. In the meantime, Asal Hayop meets with Haring Bata to reaffirm his loyalty – in exchange for money. Inang Bayan listens in on the exchange in disbelief, later exposing Asal Hayop for his treachery. Tagailog orders Asal Hayop burned alive and Haring Bata is killed at the end of the first act. The characters representing the Spanish empire, Dilat na Bulag and Matanglauin, then enter and pledge their support of the Tagalog people, sealing their union with a blood compact.

Act 2 begins with Dilat na Bulag, Matanglauin, and Halimau speaking with Inang Bayan. Their betrayal had been swift; the entrance of Halimau resulted in the enslavement of the people.

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1 Lapena-Bonifacio, 27.
A new traitorous character, Dahumpalay, is introduced. Inang Bayan and the rest of the Filipino people excitedly welcomed the newcomers. She implored with them to keep her children safe. However, Tagailog, while eavesdropping on Dilat na Bulag, Matanglauin, Dahumpalay, and Halimau’s conversation away from the people, discovered their intentions are like Haring Bata’s. When they found Tagailog’s hiding place, the villains dragged Tagailog away while Inang Bayan begged for his life. The four considered her request and agreed only if she gave up her property and wealth. She gave them what they asked for, but Dahumpalay and Matanglauin decided to release and then re-arrest Tagailog daily in order to extort money from Inang Bayan and the rest of the people. Moreover, the plan to kill Tagailog remained in motion. They conspired to bury Inang Bayan alive at the insistence of Halimau. By the end of Act 2, the Filipino people triumphed over the Spanish. Tagailog and the people resurrected Inang Bayan, much to the horror of Halimau, and buried the three Spanish characters as they had buried Inang Bayan. As they rid themselves of the Spanish, Malay Natin and Bagon Sibol, representative of the United States, are warmly welcomed by the Filipino characters.

Much like the first two acts, Act 3 tells the story of the Filipino people struggling against imperial power. The act opens with the women sewing “the flag of independence of the great Inang Bayan” for the independent nation they saw in their immediate future. Tagailog meets with Malay Natin to discuss plans for independence but Malay Natin expresses reservations about them. Learning from their last two encounters, Tagailog and Ualang Tutol make plans for armed revolution in case Malay Natin and Bagong Sibol do not agree to the terms of independence for the Philippines. Malay Natin dreams Inang Bayan kills Bagong Sibol’s eagle, and the King of the

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2 Riggs, 319.
Dead warns Bagong Sibol against betraying Inang Bayan and Tagailog. This frightens Malay Natin so much so that Bagong Sibol pronounces him crazy.

Inang Bayan and Tagailog proclaim independence for their people, hoisting their flag and playing a national Filipino march – in contrast to the American march played at the beginning of the act. These festivities surprise and anger Malay Natin and Bagong Sibol, and they deny their support for the proclamation of independence for the Philippines. Inang Bayan pleads with the two characters, who stoutly refuse. In the end both Malay Natin and Bagong Sibol relent at the behest of the children, painting the desired amicable and peaceful transition of power from the United States to the Filipino people for self-rule. Unlike the acts depicting the two previous invaders, this act represented the future. The playwright provided an alternative ending that did not mimic the history already written. This indicated an optimism among the Filipino people about the need to have good relations with the United States at this point because they would be determining the timeline for the Philippines’ independence.

The performance of Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas on May 14, 1903 never finished. It is the only recorded performance of the play. A riot broke out during Act 3 as the American flag was torn down and trampled by the actress playing Inang Bayan. The Katipunan flag was raised in its wake – a dramatic note that was not included in the script. Other accounts pointed to a speech given by Inang Bayan immediately following the raising of the flag as the catalyst for the riot, though the monologue was probably improvised, as its text was not included in the script. Many playwrights of seditious plays at the turn of the twentieth century relied upon improvisation for the delivery of these nationalist monologues since doing so meant imprisonment.

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4 Lapena-Bonifacio, 29.
The Characters

The names of the characters were an integral part of the hidden transcripts of seditious theatre. The names allowed the audience to distinguish who were part of the bayan, and who were not; who to boo and who to cheer. This notion of belonging and non-belonging is significant to a group-centered culture, and the idea of being a traitor provided the most vivid characterizations. Below is a chart of the different characters, their names and name meanings, and their gender (see Table 5).

Table 5
List of Characters in *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name Meaning</th>
<th>Represents</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inang Bayan</td>
<td>Mother Country</td>
<td>The Philippines / As she is</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilat na Bulag</td>
<td>Blinded with open eyes</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagong Sibol</td>
<td>New-Comer (or, more literally, new growth)</td>
<td>The United States</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masunurin</td>
<td>Very Obedient</td>
<td>Filipinas / Filipino women /The Philippines (as she could be)</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagailog</td>
<td>From the River</td>
<td>Filipinos / Filipino men /Filipino people generally /The desired patriot figure</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matanglauin</td>
<td>Hawk Eyes (keen, observant, vigilant)</td>
<td>Spanish Government</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay Natin</td>
<td>Who knows?</td>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asal Hayop</td>
<td>Beastly One</td>
<td>Tagalog/Filipino traitor</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahumpalay</td>
<td>Venomous Snake</td>
<td>Tagalog/Filipino traitor</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued on the next page)
Table 5 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name Meaning</th>
<th>Represents</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haring Bata</td>
<td>Child King</td>
<td>King of China (related to characters in Luhang Tagalog)</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halimau</td>
<td>Wild Beast, Ferocious</td>
<td>Spanish Friar</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ualang Tutol</td>
<td>Without Objection</td>
<td>Filipino people</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are patterns in the development of the characters in seditious plays, particularly in Tolentino’s works. First, there is always a female character representing the Philippines as a nation, Inang Bayan. Inang Bayan is a staple character in theatre productions that presented a nationalist perspective – and Tolentino’s *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was no different. Inang Bayan is the Philippines, the embodiment of the archipelago. She represents tradition and culture, the foundation of the nation. She possessed stereotypical female/mothering characteristics of being nurturing, unwavering in her love of her children – the people of the Philippines, the one carried the suffering and pain of her family and the bayan. The other standard female Filipino character, Masunurin, while translated as Obedient One, presents as the next woman to take the mantle of Inang Bayan – in effect, her daughter. She is obedient to the motherland, to the people. She is also strong and decisive, though she seems deferential and unsure.

Both Inang Bayan and Masunurin have a champion, a protector. In other works of the seditious sub-genre, this champion often courts the daughter of Inang Bayan. In many of Tolentino’s works the literal love story is always secondary to the hero’s love of nation. Tagailog, *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*’s hero, is a patriot, willing to lay down his life for the people and Inang Bayan. The courtship between Tagailog and Masunurin did not figure prominent in the play because Tolentino’s intention is to advocate and cultivate the need to put the “love of country”
about all other loves that one may possess. This is articulated directly several times during the play.

In addition to stereotyped characteristics for male and female roles, gender also defined the symbolism that the actor presented. Female actors symbolized physical spaces for a particular nation or state, male characters would portray the leadership guiding and/or protecting that country. In the same vein, the United States and Spain, are represented by female characters, Bagong Sibol and Dilat na Bulag respectively. Bagong Sibol, as a name, suggests the United States’ age as a young nation-state, while Dilat na Bulag suggested that Spain’s neglect of one of their last colonial holdings. Their champions embodied the governments of their respective states, and suggested interesting contrasts. While Spain is figuratively blinded, the Spanish government was vigilant in maintaining an image of strength for as long as they could. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it was all falling apart. Accompanying the Spanish government and empire was the figure of the Spanish friar, who looms large and negatively in Philippine history and whose cruelty is embodied by his name: Halimau. For the United States, the name Malay Natin suggests an established, if new, relationship with the US government. Malay Natin was translated by Riggs to mean, “the one we know.” In vernacular language, Malay Natin is closer to the colloquialism, “who knows?” which feels more appropriate as it reflects the uncertainty of this new partnership. The relationship between the United States and the Philippines was one yet to be determined in the early 1900’s. It connotes confusion, or perhaps hope for something better than what the Spanish had been.

These gendered constructions of character identities in Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas extended beyond the embodiment of the state. The role of women and men are clearly defined
along the lines of gender expectations and stereotypes; women are caring and nurturing, but also deferential to the male characters for protection and validation. Female characters were more understanding, more likely to forgive and ask for forgiveness for the actions of others. The male characters presented as strong, resolute, physical. They were written as protectors, whether in word or in action, and many of the violent acts that occur onstage are perpetrated by male characters. However, the Filipino female characters in these plays were the ones who embodied the evolution of the nationalist sentiment most clearly; in the beginning of the production we see Masunurin cavorting with Asal Hayop, the traitor; by Act 3, we see her and the other female characters engaged in literally creating the symbol of the new nation – the flag.

The traitorous Filipino characters were integral to seditious narrative; the ones who collaborated with foreign entities, who accepted bribes and other forms of payment for their betrayal. They stood as cautionary tales to the audience and potentially represented a wide swath of the local population; the colonial mestizo elite who aligned themselves with the powers that be, those from the masses who were looking to get ahead, those who were just greedy. These traitorous characters betrayed their people, their foundational cultural values and their belonging to the new Filipino nation. In the play Asal Hayop and Dahumpalay embodied those traitorous characteristics, and both are killed by Tagailog, Inang Bayan, and the rest of the Filipino people. As such, Tolentino articulated a harsh critique of this population.

The role of each of the foreign characters was to demonstrate the past, present, and future condition of the Filipino people. The encounters with the Chinese and Spanish evolved similarly; first there was trust, then a traitor is identified in the bayan who attempts to gain favor through collaborating with the foreign characters. Then there is betrayal perpetrated by both the foreign character and the traitor as promises to the Filipino are broken in some way. In the end, the Filipino
people are depicted as triumphing over the invaders, only to welcome a new one in. These encounters represented the past of the Filipino people, mistakes made by Filipinos who trusted too quickly and wished to become rich and/or ally themselves with who they perceived to be powerful. The United States marked the Filipino people’s present condition, with the same optimism and welcoming manner that the others were met. But they had learned from their two previous experiences and the Filipino’s aspirations for independence were not sacrificed or diminished. They learned from their past; they rid themselves of the traitors amongst them. In doing so, Tagailog, Inang Bayan, Masunurin, Ualang Tutol, and the other Filipino patriot characters had more resolve to seek independence. Bagong Sibol, confronted by children at the end of the play (the children representing the future), relented and agreed to support Philippine independence as their struggle mirrored their own as a young nation. Bagong Sibol’s decision reflected two things; first, a general hope and optimism that the Filipino nation will become independent – again, another thread that runs through these theatre productions; and second that the United States would not be like the other foreign powers that came into the archipelago and have treated the Filipinos poorly.

The evolution of the Filipino character’s understanding and sense of identity and belonging to the bayan is also embodied in the different secondary characters who represent the populous. The characters Inang Bayan and Tagailog represent one end of the spectrum; they have a clear understanding of who they are, what being Filipino means for them. They believe in the bayan, they see “Filipino” as an identity that belongs to all, have faith in their people to be self-sufficient and independent, and most importantly, understand that there is a broader responsibility to care for and with those who share that same identity.
The characters Asal Hayop and Dahumpalay represent the other end; they have a clear understanding of who they are, and the idea of being Filipino is an imagined, superficial concept to which they connect very little value. They believe in material comfort and wealth, that identifying as Filipino is a tool they can use (or exploit) to gain the wealth they seek, and have no interest in being part of any bayan unless it means that they have some sort of power over it. Their only responsibility is to themselves and their personal interests.

The secondary characters; the nameless inhabitants of the town, soldiers, the band, the children, etc., are representative of the silent majority still working these ideas out and thinking about where they fall between those two representations of the Filipino; Masunurin and Inang Bayan. As mentioned previous, we see Masunurin dancing of the graves of her ancestors at the beginning of the play; by the end of the play she stands at Inang Bayan’s side sewing the flag. The infantry soldiers, the officers and townspeople, all of whom are part of the Koro, largely echo the lines of Masunurin throughout the play; when they break off into “first voice” or other characters that have one line, this is where those glimpses of movement in their own understandings of self as Filipino begins to come through. On the most part these characters are silent, but they are still there – engaged, thinking, learning, negotiating – just as the majority of the audience who are watching.

Masunurin is the key to the bayan in this sense; it is through her that the secondary characters begin to understand their conceptions of being Filipino. First, they echo; in Act 1, Scene 7, Masunurin leads the call and response exchange between the Filipino people, Inang Bayan, Tagailog, and Asal Hayop. In the first part of the scene, Inang Bayan confronts Asal Hayop in front of the entire community.
Inang Bayan presents her accusations, which Asal Hayop denies, calling her a liar and a witch. This worked in the earlier part of the play in the cemetery, when the people were willing to listen to him as they were dancing on the graves of their ancestors. But the people who accepted her as a mother figure and treated her as such, and were no longer willing to be disrespectful to her. She tells them to search Asal Hayop for evidence of his treachery, which he denies.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td><em>Ako'y may itatanong sa kaniya dito sa harapan.</em></td>
<td><em>I have something to ask him in your presence.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASUNURIN</td>
<td><em>Anu kaya?</em></td>
<td><em>What can it be?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHORUS</td>
<td><em>Anu kaya?</em></td>
<td><em>(1.7)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid, 295;612.
Upon searching Asal Hayop, the people find what Inang Bayan and Tagailog were saying was true. As they examined the money he held, it comes to light that this money was given by Haring Bata, someone the people understood was attempting to oppress them.

**Character** | **Tagalog** | **English**
---|---|---
INANG BAYAN | *Ang salaping iyan ay siyang pinagbilhan ng nilaku niyang buhay ng bayan kay HaringBata.* | This money is the price of the life of the people that this man offered in sale to the child-king.

ALL | *Oh!* | Oh!

INANG BAYAN | *At ang tangsong iyan ay siyang ilalahad sa mga taliba ng kaaway, upang siya’y papasukin at maisawalat ang ating lahat na lihim.* | And this copper is what he shall show to the enemy’s sentinels so that they will let him enter and communicate all our secrets.

ASAL HAYOP | *Sumpa ng Apo! Ngitingit ni Mandagaran!* | Curse of Apo! Wrath of Mandaragan!

INANG BAYAN | *Pagmasdan ninyo ang tangso at may tatak marahil ni Haring Bata. (Pagmamasdan ng lahat ang tangso).* | Look well at the copper, as perhaps it has the seal of the child-king (All look at it).

MASUNURIN | *Tunay Nga!* | It is true.

CHORUS | *Tunay Nga!* | It is true.

UALANG TUTOL | *Kay Haring Bata tatak* | The seal of the child-king.7

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6 Ibid, 295-296; 612-613.
7 Ibid, 296, 613.
The people were slowly coming to their own understanding of the intentions of those from the outside as well – and their role in that narrative. In the next excerpt, Masunurin and the female chorus demonstrate their support for the struggle for freedom, but also their capacity for compassion for their enemy.

**Characters**

**MASUNURIN**

**Tagalog**

*Laban kayo kawal, at bawiin itong bayan.*  

**English**

Fight, soldiers, and redeem this people!

**FIRST VOICE**

*Sandali pa’y ating tunay ang tagumpay.*  

**English**

A moment more, and victory is ours.

**CHORUS**

*Ang tagumpay.*  

**English**

The victory!

**MASUNURIN**

*Nagkaabot ang hukbo at nangagkahalalibo.*  

**English**

The two armies have encountered and there has been a hand to hand conflict.

**SECOND VOICE**

*Laban kayo, laban kayo ang kalaba’y …*  

**English**

Fight, fight, for the enemy …

**CHORUS**

*Tumatakbo.*  

**English**

Is running!

**MASUNURIN**

*Hayo’t abuluyan ang mga sugatan.*  

**English**

Let us take care of the wounded.

**CHORUS**

*Abuluyan.*  

**English**

Let us take care of them*

(1.12)

In the next scene Masunurin reminds the women that they have a duty to tend to the wounded, regardless of what side they fought. This moment demonstrated how Filipino women were supporting the revolution while still showing compassion toward their enemy. This was opposite  

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8 Ibid, 300; 616.
of the actions of the traitorous Filipino characters who were more than happy to see their compatriots killed, imprisoned, tortured, etc. for their own gain.

Act 3 opens with the women, including Masunurin, sewing the Philippine flag. While doing this work Masunurin expresses her understanding of the significance of their work, proclaiming, “Sagisag ng bayan natin / sa panhon sasapitin” (The day of our longed-for liberty has at length arrived). Again, this emphasized the gender roles in the revolution and in the formation of the Filipino nation.

The driving symbolic figure is Inang Bayan; her counterpart who manifests her wishes is Tagailog. Together they lobby Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin to recognize the Philippines’ independence. It was with optimism that Inang Bayan showed that she trusted there would be a mutual respect and equity between Bagong Sibol and herself. However, the display of the flag, the exchange involving Asal Hayop, and so many other instances throughout the play served as a cautionary tale to would-be colonizers – the Filipino nation will continue to fight for its independence and freedom regardless of the establishment of any Philippine state by an outside entity.

Historical Context and Textual Analysis

Historical references are made throughout the play, bringing forth major events and important locations in the Philippines related to the Philippine Revolution. Given the timeframe in

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9 Riggs, 319; 633.
which *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was written, recognizing the allusions to the revolution and the struggle for independence was not that difficult. Even if the references were made in relation to the occupation of the archipelago by the Spanish, or even the entrance of the Chinese, it was clear that parallels can be drawn between the conditions of the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century and the archipelago’s longer colonial history. In fact, it was the historical (and even contemporaneous) references that led to the riot in the playhouse.

There are several moments in the manuscript that reflected the history of the Philippines as Aurelio Tolentino lived it. One of the primary themes that Tolentino expressed is the importance of looking back at history and learning from the mistakes of the past. Those lessons could inform one’s choices in the type of people to associate with and trust, inform one’s understanding of the purpose for next steps, and contextualize the need for resistance. In a narrative such as *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, the embedded historical context challenged audience members to draw connections between the past, present, and potential future.

Throughout Philippine history, traitors prominently figured in the failure of various revolts under Spanish rule, the outing of the Katipunan, the demise of the Philippine Revolution and Revolutionary government. When Inang Bayan first appears in the first act, she encounters Asal Hayop and other Filipinos imbibing and having a good time. She admonishes the Asal Hayop and his companions for their drinking and dancing since “the dead bodies of your grandfathers and fathers are yet warm in their graves.”

She already recognized Asal Hayop as a traitor, and advised his companions to rethink their actions as well as their choice of company. She lectured them,

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10 Ibid, 291, 608.
She cautions those who are in the company of Asal Hayop to remember those who came before them, what they fought for, and to find it in themselves to cultivate the respect their ancestors – including Gat-Salian and Bituin – deserve. The curtains rise and the stage has “tombs with inscriptions in antique letters, with black hangings and wreaths.” Inang Bayan continued her monologue/sermon,

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<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Ayan at tanawin nila sila! Sa mga libingang iyan at nalalagal ang mga buto nila Gat-Silan, Bituin, at laksa-laksang iba pang bayaning kawal ng bayan.</td>
<td>There they are! Look at them! …In these tombs are deposited the remains of Gat-Salian, Bituin, and thousands and thousands of other heroic soldiers of the people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 Ibid, 291-292; 609-610.
mga libingang iyan; yamang dinudusta ninyo ang dikailang pangalan ng inyong mga nuno; yamang inilublob ninyo sa pusali ng kapalamarahan ang banal na kasulatan ng ating maharlikang lipi, ang ipagtuloy na ninyo, mga bunsong ginigiliw, ngunit pakisuap ku lamang na doon sa ibabaw nila, sa ibabaw ng mga libingang iyan, ay doon kayo mag-inuman ng alak, doon kayo magsayawan at magawitan, doon kayo sambilatin at yurakan iyang dangal.

By mentioning both Gat-Salian and Bituin, Tolentino connects *Luhang Tagalog* to *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*. The characters in these two plays mirrored each other; Bituin was Inang Bayan and Gat-Salian was Tagailog. Seeing Gat-Salian’s tomb inscribed with his honorific, coupled with ‘the inscriptions in antique letters’ indicating that social and political infrastructures existed in the communities of the region prior to the coming of the West; that they were a sophisticated, literate, complex, and self-sustaining. But the greater point expressed in this scene was that buried alongside Gat-Salian are “thousands and thousands of other heroic soldiers” – and the actions of Asal Hayop and his companions were disrespectful to those who fought for their communities.

*Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was staged in 1903, a little over a half a year after *Luhang Tagalog* was completed. In both works Tolentino alludes to the loss of many leaders of the Philippine revolution, including Vicente Lukban, under whom Tolentino served, and Miguel Malvar (1865 – 1911), to either death, exile, or imprisonment. Others, like the former president of

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12 Ibid, 292; 610
13 Most likely *Baybayin*, the written script used by various communities all over the archipelago and likely derived from a combination of Sanskrit and Kawi from Indonesia.
the Philippine revolutionary republic, Emilio Aguinaldo, had not only surrendered in 1901, but signed an oath of allegiance less than a month after surrendering. After the official end of the Philippine American War, many former Filipino revolutionary soldiers did the same – surrendering their firearms and signing oaths of allegiances – ostensibly mimicking the actions of those who were with Asal Hayop and were trampling upon the legacy of their forbearers. Inang Bayan reminding, even guilting, them into remembering their past. Inang Bayan disappears at the end of the scene.

At the beginning of the next scene, Tagailog appears and asks the group, “Mga kapatid ko – Oh! Ano’i kayo’y nangalulumbay? Dahil baga sa pag-aalaala ninyo sa laugsong buhay ng bayan sa araw na ito? (Why are ye sad? Is it because ye remember that on this date the nation died?”14 Asal Hayop’s own reflection upon this history, however, articulates differently. At the end of Act 2, Scene 4 he talks about how their lives are better because of the presence of outside influences, and that what Tagailog and Inang Bayan represent was not comfortable nor enjoyable:

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<tr>
<td>ASAL HAYOP</td>
<td>Mga Mangmang! Ang mga tawong ito ay mga walang pinag-aralan. Mabuti pa ang aso, mabuti pa ang kalabaw, mabuti pa ang hayop kay sa kanila, sapagkat ang mga hayop ay nabubuhay at marunong masipabuhay, ngunit ang mga tawong ito ay hindi. Nangatatahimik sila ngayon. Ano’i kusang magsisinghanap ng ligalig? Nalugso raw ang aming mga magulang. At ano? Kung ipaghiganti ku baga sila mangabubuhay pa kayang muli?</td>
<td>Ignoramuses! These people have not had education; the dog or the carabao is better than they, because the animals live and know how to live, but these people do not. They are enjoying tranquility now. Why, then, should they voluntarily look for trouble? They say that our forefathers failed, and what of that? If I should avenge them, would they return to life?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 Riggs, 292-293; 610.
Here Asal Hayop demonstrates that he sees no value in understanding and knowing the past or honoring his ancestors. He only looks forward, and he is primarily interested in his own gain. But he is also elevating the idea of being acquiescent and content because they – as individuals or even within their own nuclear families – could be very comfortable as long as they were willing to sacrifice those around them for their own gain. The idea of being a rich slave rather than a poor freeman is a jab at collaborators and traitors working with the Americans to establish a new Philippine state, accusing them of doing so for their own gain and wealth rather than for the good of the people.

Asal Hayop is burned to death before the end of Act 1, though the actual act of his death is not seen onstage according to the manuscript. His death followed a monologue given by Tagailog wherein he justified Asal Hayop’s murder because he 1) had shown disdain and contempt for Inang Bayan, 2) he had no respect for those who died for the freedom of the Filipino people – a freedom that he himself enjoyed, 3) he has betrayed not just Inang Bayan but the entire Filipino nation for his own personal gain and wealth. His death by fire could be symbolically religious, but that is one of those correlations people in the audience would have to make.

15 Ibid, 293; 610-611.
As a point of interest, the English translation of Tagailog’s last monologue before Asal Hayop is taken off stage and killed extends beyond the provided Tagalog translation. It is during this monologue that Asal Hayop is heard being killed.

TAGAILOG: When shall the race of traitors who envenom the people be exterminated completely from the earth? (cries heard from within) So! Tagalog people, do you see how the body of Asal Hayop is consumed by fire? Whomever imitates him I swear I would also burn him alive; and if I also become a traitor or abandon the defense of our rights, burn me alive also, because if ye pardon me, I and no other will be the one who will curse you so that Bathala may chastise you.16 (The soldiers who entered go out)

In the portion of the monologue before this part of this speech, Tagailog proclaimed death for anyone who came forward to defend Asal Hayop, or protested in his favor. It is not clear why this extra part was included in the English translation, but it articulated a stronger commitment to Inang Bayan and the Filipino people. Tagailog mandated that he expects the people do the same to him if he were to ever betray them, saying that he recognizes that even he, as a champion of the people and Inang Bayan, is expendable for the greater cause.

In tandem with the Asal Hayop’s death of, a new foreign entity appears – Spain. Inang Bayan and Tagailog welcome to their shores, asking them if they are enemies or friends. Dilat na Bulag and Matanglauin both assure them that they are there to help them, to be their friends. But then they point out that there are invaders just on the horizon.

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<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td>Kami ay Kaibigan.</td>
<td>We are friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Ano ang inyong nais?</td>
<td>What do you want?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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16 Ibid, 298. This particular quote was not found in the Tagalog transcript, which is another mystery.
MATANG LAUIN:  
Ang kayo’y iligtas sa pagkapanganyaya.  
To save ye from your misfortune.

TAGAILOG  
May sakuna baga?  
Does it exist?

DILAT NA BULAG  
Mairoon.  
It exists.

MATANG LAUIN:  
Tanawin ninyo sa dakong kanan ang tila wari nagdidilim na langam na paparito, at yao’y mga kawal na babaka sa inyong bayan.  
Look toward the right; from their great number they are like ants; they are soldiers.

INANG BAYAN  
At sinu nga sila?  
And who are they?

DILAT NA BULAG  
Mga kapatid din ninyo.  
They are your own brothers.

TAGAILOG/CHORUS  
Sumpa ng langit!  
The curse of heaven!

MATANG LAUIN:  
Tanawin naman ninny sa dakong kaliwa ang lalu pang makapal. Babakahin din kayo.  
Look also toward the left where there are still more. They also come to attack you!

INANG BAYAN  
At sino naman ang mga iyon?  
And who are those?

DILAT NA BULAG  
Ynyo rin mga kapatid.  
They are also your brothers.

TAGAILOG  
Sumpa ni Bathala!  
The curse of Bathala!

CHORUS  
Sumpa ni Bathala!  
The curse of Bathala!  

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17 Ibid, 301-302; 617.
This scene alluded to the history of the archipelago prior to the coming of the Spanish. Of course, it was not a unified political entity; neighboring islands were home to warring factions, and chieftans on the same island were at odds. However, in the play, the literary decision to name warring factions as “brothers” or “kapatid” did two things: 1) it indicated how the Spanish viewed all peoples across the archipelago as the same when they first arrived, and 2) indicated to the audience that the regionalism that impeded the development of a national identity and that it was time to see each other, across literal and figurative islands of perceived difference (socio-economic, linguistic, geographic, etc.) as part of the same bayan, as kapatids, as Filipinos.

The Spanish, Matanglauin and Dilat na Bulag, forewarned the Tagalog people of the potential threat that other local communities, or barangays, posed to Inang Bayan, Tagailog, and their people. Still wary, Tagailog asked if their intentions are sincere, to which they answered affirmatively, directing them to look in the distance at the resources they bring to the archipelago:

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<tr>
<td>MATANG-LAUIN</td>
<td>Tanawn ninyo sa dakong yaon ang maraming kawal na mapuputi. Yaon ay amng hokbo. Tanawn ninyo sa dagat ang mga sasakaing pangbaka, lahat na iyan ay amin. At kung kayo ay kakapatid sa amin, ang aming puri, ang amking hokbo, ang aming mga sasakain at ang aming mga puso at kalula, ay inyo ring lahat. Ypagtatangol naming kayo sa lahat ng ligalig at pagkaalipin.</td>
<td>Look over there, many white soldiers. That is our army. Look toward the sea, war vessels; all that is ours. And if ye join us fraternally, our property, our vessels, and our soul shall also be yours. We will defend you from all your dangers and watch over your liberty.(^{18}) (1.16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) Ibid.
Satisfied, Inang Bayan and Tagailog entered into an agreement with the newcomers, much like Rajah Humabon did with Ferdinand Magellan. Documents were exchanged, representative of land titles and the acceptance of documentation as markers of ownership for the sake of maintaining their pace. Then there is a call for “the oath” by Inang Bayan.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Ngayon, ang sumpaan</td>
<td>Now the oath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td>Ang sumpaan</td>
<td>The Oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Ang sumpaan</td>
<td>The Oath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Tagailog and Matanglauin will each stick his dagger into his left forearm, and Inang Bayan will receive the blood of Tagailog in a gold cup, and Dilat na Bulag will receive that of Matanglauin.)

DILAT NA BULAG | Ynumin mu ito!            | (To Tagailog) Drink this!
INANG BAYAN    | Ynumin mu ito!            | (To Matanglauin) Drink this!

Tagailog and Matanglauin receive the gold cups.

TAGAILOG  
Sa sarong gintong iyong tangan ay tunay na nalalaman yaring dugu kong dalisay na dugo ng aking bayan. 

The golden cup which thou holdest in thy hand truly contains my pure blood, the true blood of my people. 19

(1.16)

This oath, or blood compact, was how pre-colonial communities would seal their relationships.

The Spanish also used it as they encountered different communities in the archipelago to create alliances but also inviting divisiveness among the local populations. After the protectors –

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19 Ibid, 302; 618.
Matanglawin and Tagailog – completed the ceremony, their counterparts exchanged passive-aggressive threats that addressed the issue of potential betrayal in verse:

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<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td><em>(Hahawakan ang kamay ni Ynang Bayan)</em>&lt;br&gt;Ang kamay kong iyong tangan / Ang kamay ng aking bayan, kung di mo pagligalihan / Ang dito’y pinagsampan. Kamay na ito’y magaalay / sa iyo ng biyang tunay. Ngunit kung lalapastangan, / Kamay ito ay tatangan&lt;br&gt;Ng sundang na kamandagan, / Ang pusmo’y tatarakan.&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;INANG BAYAN</td>
<td><em>(Taking the hand of Inang Bayan)</em>&lt;br&gt;This hand which thou holdest in thine hand is the hand of my people; if thou dost loyally carry out what thou hast sworn here,&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;INANG BAYAN</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td><em>(Hahawakan ang kamay ni Ynang Bayan)</em>&lt;br&gt;Ang kamay kong iyong tangan / Ang kamay ng aking bayan, kung di mo pagligalihan / Ang dito’y pinagsampan. Kamay na ito’y magaalay / sa iyo ng biyang tunay. Ngunit kung lalapastangan, / Kamay ito ay tatangan&lt;br&gt;Ng sundang na kamandagan, / Ang pusmo’y tatarakan.</td>
<td><em>(Taking the hand of Inang Bayan)</em>&lt;br&gt;This hand which thou holdest in thine hand is the hand of my people; if thou dost loyally carry out what thou hast sworn here,&lt;br&gt;&lt;br&gt;INANG BAYAN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After exchange, the tension is palpable. It also provided intense foreshadowing of the betrayals brought about by Spanish colonization for the gain of the crown.

Act 2 opens with Ualang Tutol, Masunurin, and other secondary characters praising Spain and their Filipino counterparts, mirroring their blind devotion to Asal Hayop in the first act. Two

---

new characters are introduced; Dahumpalay, another Filipino collaborator, and Halimau, a Spanish friar. On the surface, niceties and promises of loyalty are exchanged; Tagailog is not part of this crowd, and is offering observations of the event;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASUNURIN</td>
<td>Purihin natin, purihin,</td>
<td>Let us praise, let us praise the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si dakilang</td>
<td>grate Matanglawin, the kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matanglawin, si</td>
<td>Halimau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Halimaw na butihin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHORUS</td>
<td>Purihin</td>
<td>Let us praise them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Supma ng Diyos!</td>
<td>Wrench of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILAT NA</td>
<td>Ynang Bayan,</td>
<td>Inang Bayan, Dahumpalay, we love you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BULAG</td>
<td>Dahumpalay, Kayo ’y aming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minamahal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Sinungaling!</td>
<td>(Liar!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIMAU</td>
<td>Kayo ’y aming minamahal.</td>
<td>We love you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td>Ah, salamat, poong Halimaw/Kayo ’y aming susuyuan</td>
<td>O, thanks, Halimau; we will obey you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Alipin!</td>
<td>(Slave!)21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tagailog was wary of the words and promises made by Spain and her counterparts. And his sentiments are not unfounded; Dilat na Bulag, Dahumpalay, and Halimau were quick to treat Tagailog with harsh words and suggest punishment when he did not fall in line with the other Filipinos and/or offered them a tithe.

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21 Ibid, 303, 619.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
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<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td>Tagailog ano ang iyong alay sa ating hari ay kailangan?</td>
<td>Tagailog, when will you give your offering to our king?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Ako? Iyan</td>
<td>I? There it is!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Translator’s note: here follows a space where the author would have put the directions for the details of the action)²²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG, MATANGLAUIN, at HALIMAU</td>
<td>Palamara!</td>
<td>Insensate!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td>Parusahan pu ninyo!</td>
<td>Punish him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN AND CHORUS</td>
<td>Patawad!</td>
<td>Pardon!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td>Parusahan pu ninyo itong soail na sa inyo naglilo!</td>
<td>Punish the rebel, who is a traitor to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN AND CHORUS</td>
<td>Patawad!</td>
<td>Pardon!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Patain na ninyo ako!</td>
<td>Kill me now!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td>Tagailog na sukaban, halina sa bilanguan</td>
<td>Tagailog, traitor, go to the prison!²³ (2.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²² This note was placed in the English translation of the play. In Rigg’s footnote, he notes the action ‘He angrily threw a bag of pesos at the Spaniards in a reckless, impudent manner.’ Riggs, pg 304. In the case of many of these plays, there were few copies to be used among the cast. The playwright or another, called the ‘Prompter’ would sit in wings, just in front of the stage, or in a submerged space in the orchestra pit visible to the actors. The Prompt book would be the most detailed copy of the manuscript, containing cues, scenery changes, etc. It is quite possible that Riggs had access to the, or one of the, prompt books used for the stage production; however, I have not been able to confirm that as of this writing.

²³ ‘Palamara’ actually translates as “traitor.” Which is, perhaps, ironic. ‘Insensate’ is defined as ‘lacking in humane feeling, animate awareness or sensation.’
Dahumpalay called Tagailog a traitor, which is ironic because he was the traitor. As Tagailog is taken away in the next scene, Dahumpalay recommended he be killed, not just imprisoned or tortured. The closer, symbolically, the accusing character was to Tagailog, the more violent the suggestion for punishment. For example, Matanglauin, representing the Spanish colonial government, suggested a rational (and appropriate) solution supported by the political infrastructure. It was impersonal and based on Halimau’s suggestion of being hogtied, which exemplified the torture that Filipinos experienced under the closer scrutiny of the church. There is something immensely personal about bodily restraint and the desire to incapacitate another; one could argue that this was the business of the church in the Philippines under the rule of the Spanish.

The Spanish government was relatively hands-off and distant in their dealings with the people of the archipelago. Day to day interactions with the people was largely left to the Spanish friars and the Catholic church for the first two centuries. They regulated the educational and spiritual growth of the people; maintained encomiendas, large swaths of land for themselves, the church, and the crown; orchestrated and executed the destruction of the local and indigenous culture and belief system throughout the areas they controlled. So, the image of being tied by the neck, constricting breathing while being incapacitated could symbolize Tolentino’s own perspective on the impact of the Catholic church on the Filipino people.

But Dahumpalay was unrelenting in his desire to demonstrate how disassociated he is from Tagailog, Inang Bayan and the Filipino people. He called for Tagailog’s death, even as his own people – the Filipinos – were calling for pardon. Tagailog’s death could reflect Dahumpalay’s complete disassociation with the Filipino nation. After Tagailog was dragged away, Dahumpalay reiterated his pledge of loyalty to Dilat na Bulag, offering information about the Filipinos’ plans to rebel against their presence in the Philippines;
In his desire to align himself with the new power brokers in the islands, Dahumpalay spies on his countrymen for Dilat na Bulag and the Spanish regime. He emphasized the need to bind Tagailog

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24 Riggs, 305; 621.
and the other Filipinos graphically, explaining that their necks, hands, and bodies should be “fastened with chains” and that their feet should be bound with iron fetters. It is quite possible that this is how Tolentino viewed the role and actions of the collaborators that he encountered in his work with the Katipunan and Philippine Revolutionary Army. He could also have been inserting his own experiences of imprisonment into the narrative.

The chains around the necks of Tagailog and his counterparts could also allude to the martyrdom of the three Filipino priests, Fr. Jacinto Zamora, Fr. Jose Burgos, Fr. Mariano Gomez, memorialized as GOMBURZA in Philippine history. They were blamed for catalyzing the Cavite Mutiny in 1872. The three priests were tried and found guilty of treason, sentenced to death by garrote – or slow strangulation and suffocation with the use of an iron loop around the neck.

Ingratiating himself to the Spanish, Dahumpalay hoped for something in return. But even in this gesture of betrayal against his own people, he found only tertiary acceptance among the Spanish. Act 4 opens with Matanglauin discusses Dahumpalay in relation to his other Spanish counterparts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td>Dahumpalay! Wala rito ang ahas ng kamandagan. Ah! Salamat at siya’y aking naging alipin; at kung siya’y aking naging kapatid lamang, ay aku naring ito maglulukso sa kaniya.</td>
<td>Dahumpalay! The venomous reptile is not here. It is well that he is my slave; had he been my brother, I myself would have destroyed him.²⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matanglauin’s rant exposed several truths about the relationship between the Spanish and the indigenous communities of the Philippines; 1) Dahumpalay’s name literally translated to

²⁵ Ibid.
“venomous snake” – which indicated untrustworthiness, and the view that they, the Filipinos, are easily convinced to shift loyalties on the promise of wealth and fortune. 2) That, regardless of what was offered to Dahumpalay, the general perception of the Spanish of Filipinos was that they were beneath them. Moreover, Matanglauin does not see Dahumpalay being worthy of being murdered by a Spaniard. There is a disconnect – Matanglauin denied him the idea of being seen as part of the Spanish community by even saying, “had he been my brother, I would have destroyed him myself.”

Inang Bayan returns to Matanglauin and begs him for Tagailog’s freedom, offering him property. Matanglauin agrees but is annoyed that it is “so little.” He commands her to collect the holdings of her other children – Tagailog’s family – to include in the offering for Tagailog’s freedom. This is done and Matanglauin promises that Tagailog would be freed. When Inang Bayan and her counterparts leave, Matanglauin immediately calls Dahumpalay. Dahumpalay comes running to tell Matanglauin that Dilat na Bulag ordered him to shoot Tagailog. Matanglauin tells him no, confusing Dahumpalay, until he revealed his plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td><em>Ypinababaril ni Dilat-Na-Bulag.</em></td>
<td>Dilat na Bulag has ordered that he be shot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td><em>Kaya nga pawalan mo.</em></td>
<td>Therefor, place him at liberty…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAHUMPALAY</td>
<td><em>Poon ku po…</em></td>
<td>Sir!…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td><em>Sulong at inuutos ko. Pabayaan mo at ako ang mananagot.</em></td>
<td>Go, for I command thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pawawalan ku siya ngayon, ngunit bkas ay ipabilangu ku rin at sa makawala ay salapi na naman. Hetu</em></td>
<td>Have no care, for I will be responsible. We will place him at liberty now, but tomorrow he will be arrested, and the day after tomorrow there will be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
at babahaginan kita sa aking naging pakinabang

more money. Here I give thee a share of my gains.

DAHUMPALAY  Salamat po! Thanks sir!


That is all there is to government…the government is a great game, and the laws are no more than the derision and the scoffing of the whole world. Go, now.

DAHUMPALAY  Baka pu.. Might it not be…

MATANGLAUIN  Sulong. (papasok si Dahumpalay)
Masamang Dahumpalay! Siya na’t dili iba ang naglulubog sa kaniya yna at mga kapatid.

Go on! (exit Dahumpalay) Wicked Dahumpalay! It is he and no other who is oppressing his mother and brothers.26

(2.6)

So Matanglauin essentially planned to extort money and other resources from the Filipino people repeatedly. Moreover, he alludes to the idea that the Spanish colonial administration in the Philippines is so far away from the Cortes and is corruptible; that it can be manipulated to their benefit. By the turn of the twentieth century Spain had lost control of most of its colonial empire in the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in the Americas. Matanglauin, representing the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines, had seen and been impacted by these political upheavals and oscillations. It also points to a loss of respect for Mother Spain in the colonies; most individuals in governmental posts, particularly those farther from Europe, were more interested in accumulating wealth than attending to the needs of the local population. In reality Spain had failed

the people of the Philippines in many ways; whether it was the lack of regulation of Churches’ power, the lack of support for industrial and infrastructural development that would have supported the development of a modern economy, Spain clung to the Philippines in the hopes to maintain its place on the world stage as a global power.

In the next few scenes, the audience is met with more political confusion. Dilat na Bulag’s orders to execute Tagailog had not yet been carried out. Both Matanglauin and Halimau were now working to discredit Dilat na Bulag. Tagailog, placing greater blame on both Matanglauin and Halimau’s actions toward his people and their land, decried Dilat na Bulag’s ignorance of, and lack of action to remedy, his condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td><strong>Ngiting ni Bathala!</strong></td>
<td>The Wrath of Bathala!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Hampas ng Maykapal!</strong></td>
<td>Punishment of the traitor!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sumpa ng Ynfierno!</strong></td>
<td>Curse of hell! And what crime have I committed? It truly hurts me to permit myself to be robbed by that traitor Matanglauin. ....The rascal Halimau despises me yet, when my soul, my will, and my money are completely his. Why does not Dilat na Bulag remedy my situation? Did not the charlatan swear that he would count my among his children? Where is the sworn faith that we are brothers? That we are friends?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>At ano ang kasalanan nagawa ko habang buhay?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Masakit nga sa kalooban na ang yama’y ipanakaw kay Matanglawing sukaban...</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ang Halimaw na balakiot bakit ako’y inaayop, sa ang kalulua ko at loob at salapi kaniyang lubos. Bakit si Dilat na Bulag ay di ko bigian lunas. Di baga sumumpa ang oslak na ibibilang kaming anak? Nahan baga ngayon ang pinagsumpaang kami ay kapatid, kami ay kaibigan?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mga magdaraya! Mga mapagtaksil!</strong></td>
<td>Deceivers! Traitors!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kami ina-ayop! Kami inaalipin!
They despise us!
They enslave us! 27 (2.7)

There are several historical references to be drawn from this part of the play. First is the Ilustrado. Like Tagailog, they witnessed the corruption happening on the ground in the Philippines. Being in Spain, and most being from more well-to-do families, the Ilustrados had placed faith in the empire, the Spanish motherland, to get the church and the colonial agents in line. They wanted to believe Spain, like Dilat na Bulag, had altruistic intentions – but that the friars and the colonial government were not following her wishes. It was Matanglauin and Halimau keeping Tagailog imprisoned and the population impoverished. It was the church and the colonial government who maintained the policies of corvee and polo, who facilitated conversion to Catholicism and demonized indigenous belief practices, who reorganized the social and economic infrastructures to support the growth of personal wealth. Because of Spain’s distance from the archipelago, Tagailog seems to lay less blame at the feet of Dilat na Bulag.

This scene also illustrated the internal power struggles in the Spanish empire. As the power of the crown waned, the church became more defiant. Many of the powerful religious sects in the archipelago adopted the policy of “Obedézco pero no cumplí” (I hear you but I do not comply ) toward the Spanish crown, as they had in the Americas, further diminishing the crown’s influence in her peripheral colonies.

Halimau extorts more resources from Inang Bayan and her children in subsequent scenes, ostensibly for the freedom of Tagailog. For many Filipinos, Ilustrados and the masses alike, this was a general perception of the abusive power of the Spanish friar. Halimau tells them that he

holds the power set Tagailog free, but then demands the jewels they wear, the money they hold, the clothes and shoes that they wear.

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HALIMAU</td>
<td>Kung kayo ay may salapi ay mabibili ninyo ang utos na ito.</td>
<td>If ye have money, you can buy this order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Wala na po. Kinuha nang lahat ni Matanglauin</td>
<td>We have no more; Matanglauin has taken it all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIMAU</td>
<td>Kayo ay may alahas pa sa katawan. Dala rito ang mga alahas</td>
<td>Ye still have jewelry on our bodies. Give me those jewels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Makakawala pu ba si Tagailog kung aming ibigay ang aming hif[y]as?</td>
<td>Can Tagailog obtain his liberty if we give you our jewels?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Among!</td>
<td>Father!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HALIMAU</td>
<td>Ang mga alampay, hindi bagay sa inyo yan. Madali! Ang mga tapis. Ang mga cocho at zapatos. Mahirap ang magsapin. Mabuti pa ang biakis ang saya ay lilis ang salawal, Malapit sa gracia ng Dios. Ngayon at umui na kayo at ngayon din ay hintayin ninyo si Tagailog.</td>
<td>These handkerchiefs are not becoming on you. Quick! The overskirts. The cork sandals and shoes. Shoes make the feet ache. One feels better with the skirts tucked under the same as pantaloons. One is nearer the grade of God. Now ye may retire, and ye can expect Tagailog immediately.²⁸ (2.10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁸ Riggs, 308-309:624.
This treatment of the Filipino characters are familiar tropes for the audience to discern; the Philippine revolution was catalyzed by the increasingly aggressive maltreatment by frustrated Spaniards, religious and non-religious, as they witnessed their empire – and influence – fall apart. That it is the Spanish friar character stripping them of their clothing also alludes to another form of violence that the indigenous communities experienced under the frialocracy – rape.

In the meantime, Dahumpalay arrives to set Tagailog free. Still angry about his blatant betrayal of the people, Tagailog convinced Dahumpalay to loosen his bonds with the promise of more wealth. Dahumpalay agrees, loosens Tagailog’s bonds, and then Tagailog murders him. Tagailog then switches costumes with Dahypalay’s corpse and burns the face, demonstrating to the audience his plan to make it look like he, Tagailog, had committed suicide. As Tagailog was responsible for the death of both traitors, the message conveyed to the audiences is that the Filipino people (and, particularly, their protectors) will always triumph over traitors.

Tagailog reveals the ruse to his compatriots, inspiring them to join him in his resistance of foreign invaders, despite the odds. Not knowing Tagailog had escaped, Inang Bayan tried to negotiate with Dilat na Bulag, Halimau, and Matanglauin again only to be captured and held prisoner. when they realized Tagailog was still alive.

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HALIMAU</td>
<td><em>Matanglauin, hinuli ko ito at siya ang may kasalanan sa lahat ng mga nangyayaring kaguluhan ngayon. Siya ang sumusulsol sa kaniyang mga anak, upanding lumaban sa atin. Siya ang nagbibigay ng pagkain sa kanila. Siya ang bumuhay kay Tagailog.</em></td>
<td>Matanglauin, I have arrested this woman because she is the cause of the present disorders. It is she who induces her sons to rebel against us. It is she who feeds them. It is she who revived Tagailog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td><em>Bitiwan mo. (Kay Inang Bayan) Ano it, Ynang</em></td>
<td>Let her go. (To Inang Bayan) What is this. Inang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Bayan? Tunay nga ba ang mga bintang sa iyo?  
Bayan? Are these accusations true?

INANG BAYAN  
Hindi ku po sinulsulang maghimagsik ang aking mga anak, ngunit binilibgan ko sila ng ikabuhay, palibhasa sila ay minamahal kong lubha, sila'y dugo't lamang tunay ng pusu ko.  
I do not induce my sons to rebel, but I feed them, because I love them so much; they are the blood and flesh of my heart.

HALIMAU  
Sinungaling. Siya ang dinadahilan ng mga nanghihimagsik.  
Liar! It is she who serves the pretext to the rebels.

INANG BAYAN  
Kasalanan ku pu baga ang ako'y kanilang dahilanin?  
Sir, is it a crime that they have me for a pretext?

HALIMAU  
Ybaon nating buhay si Ynangbayan.  
(to Matanglauin) Let us bury Inang Bayan alive.

MATANGLAUIN  
Huag at siya'y walang kasalanan.  
No, for she is not guilty.

HALIMAU  
Is it possible that she is not? Dost thou wish to be implicated with her? Thou already knowest my influence. Thou knowest that Dialt-na-Bulag is my slave. Thou knowest that I can pulverize thee in a moment. Bury Inangbayan!  
(2.19)

Again, Halimau the friar and, by extension the church, is portrayed as becoming more and more belligerent and steadfast in his interactions with both Matanglauin and Inang Bayan. First, we see Halimau in direct defiance of the colonial government, refusing to release her. He becomes more

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29 Riggs, 314; 629.
aggressive toward her as well, suggesting that she be buried alive. The act of burying someone alive is a display of power, specifically, the power over life and death, that the church figuratively lorded over the people. The conversion of the populous was one of the primary directives of Spanish conquest during the age of exploration. To bury a person and symbol of the people’s struggle for independence would cripple the movement. Matanglauin, from a weakened position of power, suggests that Inang Bayan is not guilty of anything. Halimau erupts, asserting his and the church’s power over the colonial government and entire Spanish empire. To call Dilat na Bulag his slave, and to state that he could pulverize Matanglauin in an instant demonstrated how much power the church was perceived to have over the crown and colony.

It could also be a reaction fueled by fear. From a historical perspective the revolution can be interpreted as, in part, a reaction to the aggressive show of power and force that many friars extended over the people. The increased violence can be correlated with the fear of losing that power. Halimau's visceral reaction to Inang Bayan and, in the next scene, to the Tauong Bayan Filipino (soldiers representative of the Filipino people), read like escalating acts of desperation to cling to power. More aggravating was a new global power, the United States, emerging as an international force – and birthed out of the age of enlightenment that espoused secular, democratic government.

Filipino patriots surrender their weapons to Matanglauin and Halimau in the next scene, in the hopes of amnesty. Unfortunatly, they are killed by Matanglauin on Halimau’s orders. Here, again, two historical correlations to be made; first, the surrender of munitions by Filipino revolutionaries as part of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. The leadership of the revolutionary government, under Emilio Aguinaldo, went into exile as part in exchange for reparations for the people effected by the revolution and representation in the Spanish Cortes. By brokering this deal,
Aguinaldo hoped to buy some time to replenish their arms to continue the revolution and gather allies to support their fight for freedom. This did not turn out as planned; by 1898 Spain found themselves in a short-lived war with the United States, far from equipped to deal with such an eager and hungry up-and-coming state. The war provided the premise for the U.S. to assert its interest in the archipelago.

Tagailog eventually reveals himself to Dilat na Bulag, Halimau, and Matanglauin to not be dead, symbolizing the spirit of the Filipino people and their commitment to fighting for their independence. This frightened Dilat na Bulag and Matanglauin, even more so because they see that Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin, representing the United States and the American colonial government, are now working with Tagailog.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td><em>Pasasaan tayo?</em></td>
<td><em>Where are we going?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td>Ang labanan ay hindi na maampat. Lumaki ng lubha.</td>
<td>The insurrection cannot be pacified now. It has grown so strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DILAT NA BULAG</td>
<td>Tayo ‘y nanganganib. Ang namininuno sa kanila at isang patay, ang patay ay hind na natin mapapatay pa, hindi na natin tatalunin.</td>
<td>We are in danger; their chief is a ghost; we cannot kill the dead; we cannot conquer them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATANGLAUIN</td>
<td>Heto na sila</td>
<td>There they come.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| MALAY NATIN       | Asahan mong hindi makakaya ng lakas mong                                | (To Tagailog) Be convinced that thine
While in exile, Aguinaldo tried desperately to curry favor with the United States. Aguinaldo’s efforts to get American Consul Spencer Pratt’s clear support was fueled by the fact that Spain and the United States already embroiled in the Spanish American War at the time. The scene above articulates the faith that the Filipino leadership had in the contentious relationship between Spain and the United States, and that it would be to their advantage to work with the Americans to oust Spain from the Philippines.

Halimau is arrested in the next scene, begging for mercy. Ualangtutol and Tagailog both agree that he should be killed for his treachery, while Masunurin attempts to appeal to them saying, “If ye know it is wrong to kill one who does not resist, let us not kill him. What is wrong should not be imitated.” (Huag. Kung batid ninyong masama ang pumapatay ng hindi lumalaban ay huag siyang patain. Ang masama’y hind dapat pamarisan.) Masunurin is attempting to show empathy and mercy, but she is overruled. Halimau shows them where they buried Inang Bayan alive. Inang Bayan is then “resurrected,” and proclaims:

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30 Riggs, 316; 630.
31 Ibid, 316; 631.
At the end of the scene Dilat na Bulag, Matanglauin, and Halimau are pushed into the grave and buried alive – with the blessing of Inang Bayan. As the spirit of the Filipino nation, her resurrection symbolized the indomitable spirit of the people. And the notion of resurrection obviously has religious undertones that would resonate with the heavily Catholic population. Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin both enter in the next scene, at the end of act two. It is made clear through various references that these two characters represented the United States. Much like the entrance of the Spanish, they are welcomed by the people blindly, with hope. The end of Act 2 the stage direction indicated that the “National American March” would play upon Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin’s entrance. Act 2, Scene 27 opens up with the exchange of niceties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
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</table>
| INANG BAYAN          | *Samantala mang isa akong anak na buhay, any buhay ko ay mamumulaklak at ligaya’t kalayaan: ngayong sapagkat ang aking mga anak ay mangabuhay habang mundo, asahan ninyo habang mundo naman, ang buhay ko’y mamumulaklak ng walang dulong ligaya at lubhang malugod na kalayaan.* | *While I have a son alive, my life will bear flowers of glory and liberty. Now that my sons will live while the world lasts, have confidence that so long I shall produce flowers of glory without end and flowers of the most beautiful liberty.*  

(2.26)  

32 Ibid.
MALAY NATIN  
Sa boong mundo'y lumipad  
ang lawin naming madilag  
Sa buong mundo'y kumikislap ang bituin  
naming sagisag.  
Lahat at naliliman ng bandila ng tagumpay,  
Masayang nawawagayway sa balat ng sinubukan.

All over the world our splendid eagle flies. Over all the world shine the stars of our flag; the shadow of our triumphant banner which gaily waves over all the earth reaches everybody!

BAGONG SIBOL  
Balang abutan ng aming lawin  
a lumiligtas sa pagkaalipin,  
Balang sikatan ng bituin namin.  
Ay lumalaya’t di nilalagim.  
Alin mang bayan ang sumalilim sa aming bandila’y maglulumingning.

Wherever our eagle rules, slavery is banished; wherever our stars shine liberty and abundance reach. Any people that takes refuge under our flag acquires splendor.

MALAY NATIN  
Kayo’y aming sasamahan sa ituktok ng kalayaan  
Upang inyong makaulayaw Mga lipi sa daigdigan.  
Tayo’y magsama…

We will conduct thee to the heights of liberty, so that thou canst take thy place among the nations of the universe. Let us be united.  

The reference to the eagle, underlying ideologies of freedom, liberty, and providing refuge are all things associated with American ideals. The underlying thrust of these proclamations, however, could be interpreted as the United States’ desire to be seen as a world power and protector. And at the turn of the twentieth century, the United States was attempting to demonstrate that the country was ready to be on the world stage. “Over all the world shine the stars of our flag” articulates confidence; their proclamation that “wherever the eagle rules, slavery is banished” paints the

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33 Ibid, 318; 632.
picture of equality and value of human life, possibly even difference; but the message that all of this occurs only under the protection and guidance of the United States is clear.

When scholars talk about Act 3 of *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, the general consensus is that it articulated a semi-utopian, free and independent Philippines. Act 3 opens with Masunurin, Inang Bayan, and a few other women embroidering a flag – a clear reference to the development of the flag of the Philippine republic that was sewn at the request of Emilio Aguinaldo. Inang Bayan proclaims:

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td><em>Mga binibining bungso,</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>Papagsayahin ang puso,</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>Ang dangal nating nalugso</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>Ngayong gabi’y itatayo.</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>Sa ayaw man at sa ibig,</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>ni Bagong Sibol ang nais,</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>Bandila’y itanyag na pilit</em>&lt;br&gt;  <em>sa silong ng mga langit.</em></td>
<td>Maidens, beloved daughters; let they hearts rejoice: our humiliated honor shall be raised this night. Whether or not Bagong Sibol likes my determination, the banner shall wave, no matter who under the firmament may object.(^3^4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inang Bayan indicates she learned a difficult lesson from her interactions with the Spanish – Dilat na Bulag, Halimau, and Matanglauin – and she was not willing to compromise again. Bagong Sibol makes clear that, while she recognizes Bagong Sibol as an important partner and ally, she does not completely trust or honor their partnership, trusted that the United States would recognize the independence of the Filipino nation. In the subsequent scene, when Tagailog enters and directly lectures about the symbolism of the flag itself:

\(^3^4\) *Ibid,* 319; 633.
The original flag design of the Philippines bore great resemblance to the description that Tagillog gives; the blue is a light blue, the stars surround “the new moon.” The image of the sun (or moon) in the middle of the white field of the flag, originally had a face, just like the flag of the Katipunan in 1897. The thinly veiled description and the subsequent display of the Philippine flag in the play catalyzed the riot that shut down the play, never allowing the last act to be fully staged.

The characters Inang Bayan, Masunurin, Tagailog, and the other Filipino compatriots were excited about announcing their independence, and to unfurl their new flag. But when Malay Natin appeared, they hide the flag. This gesture was in accordance with the political climate that Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas being performed; any display or articulation, or perception of display and/or articulation, supporting the idea of Philippine independence in 1903 was still severely censored by a series of laws prohibiting such speech or display. It seems appropriate, then, that

35 Ibid., 320; 634.
Tagailog and Malay Natin engage in a heated discussion over the recognition of the independence of the Filipino people.

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<tr>
<td>MALAY NATIN</td>
<td>Sa iyo’y nasa kong sabihin ang sagot sa iyong nahiling mahigpit mong pinaglayon sa poon nating Bagong Sibol ang paglaya ninyo ngayon. Ynisip mu ba nang boong pagkuro ang nais na gayon?</td>
<td>I wanted to give thee thy answer to thy supplication. The question of thy liberty at this time greatly interests our Bagong Sibol. Has though thoroughly considered thy request?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Oo.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAY NATIN</td>
<td>Sa iyong pakiramdam, ay kaya na ninyong tunay ang sariling pamumuhay, At di na lubos kailangan ang kayo pa’y abuluyan?</td>
<td>According to thy judgement, canst thou now sustain independent life without necessity of aid?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Kami ay may sadian lakas na laan; kung may bagabag, at may pusong walang gulat sa lalong malaking sindak na kung sakali’y lalagpak. Nangagkalat ang marunong sa aming lipi; mayayabong ang bayan; saan man luminingon, nakikita’y nag-uubsong balang binhi ng panahon. Bukod dito’y iisa na Ang aming mga kaluwa sa aming balang mapita; Ngayo’y lubos na hindi na kami-kami’y naghabaka. Sa minsang pagsigaw lamang ng irog na Ynang Bayan. Kung tungkol sa kalayaan,</td>
<td>We already have the necessary strength, if there were danger, and we have a fearless heart for the greatest conflicts. If they arrive we have our wise men of our race; the towns are prosperous; wherever one looks there are seen the improvements which have been brought about by progress; aside from this, our hearts are united in what we desire; there is now no internal disturbance. At the first cry of the Mother Country, if it is for liberty, the people will go to war with the impetus of the waters of a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tagailog was confident in his people’s capacity to self-govern, particularly since they overcame Haring Bata, Matanglauin, Dilat na Bulag, and Halimau. Tagailog mentioned the “wise men of our race,” a reference to the men and the Ilustrados who continued the revolution against seemingly overwhelming odds. This exchange goes on for a while, until Malay Natin basically says that the Filipino people are weak and therefore ill-prepared for self-rule. In his arrogance, Malay Natin met each of Tagailog’s claims of preparedness with laughter. When Tagailog challenged him on this perspective, Malay Natin walked away.

The next few scenes suggest futuristic solutions to their dilemma; plans to convince Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin that they, the Filipinos, are prepared for independence. In Act 2, Scene 4 they refer to an airship, which falls at Pamitinan. This reference to Pamitinan is a nod to the first place that the leadership of the Katipunan articulated their commitment to revolution and fighting for nothing less than independence. The idea of the airship, along with the mention of a new cannon, moveable fortifications, and electric bullets sets this scenario in the future, when the Filipino nation had developed the technology that would prove them sophisticated enough to be an independent nation. More importantly, they would be an independent nation capable to forestalling any new foreign powers wanting to colonize the Philippines. Tagilog and his Filipino compatriots are presented as organized, armed with sophisticated weaponry, and ready to take on the new foreign invader.

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36 Ibid., 320; 635.
This seems to be the opposite of what was happening with Matanglanuin. In Act 3, Scene 5, Malay Natin presents as flustered and uncertain in a lengthy monologue.

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<tr>
<td>MALAY NATIN</td>
<td>Ang alingnawngaw Ng nangagkalat sa baying Balita ay nakabibingaw. Di umano ay may lihim Na sandata itong taksil Na Tagailog nangaling Kaya saan? Sa pagdating Ano at di ko napansin? At saan kaya itinago Ang lantakang sumiphayo’t Bunalisa sa aking puso? At saan kaya itatayo Ang hokbong dito’y bubugso? Bakit kung pakiramdaman Ang kilos ng mga bayan Ay nagkakaisang tunay, Nagkaayos paminsanan Sa nais na kalayaan. At limang daang yutang Filipino, tunay na wala Na isa mang magbalita ...Ano’t ang mga secreta’t Mga maginoong lahat na, Ang mga pinunong sadia’t Idinagal na talaga, Sa aki’y naglihim sila? Diwa’y kanila nang kabig Ang lahat kong tiktik, Diwa’y nagkaanib-anib Ang masasama’t mabait Sa kanilang mga nais. Kung aking pakiramdaman</td>
<td>The noise of the reports that are current through the town deafens one. They saw that the traitor Tagailog had hidden arms. Where did they come from? Why have I not been able to discover their arrival? And where have they hidden the small cannon which makes me blush and my heart ache? And where will they raise the army to invade here? In the meantime, it seems to me that the movements of the towns are truly unanimous; they are all in accord regarding the desire for liberty, and of the 50,000,000 Filipinos there is not one, in truth, who has revealed the secrets of their projects. . perhaps my spies are already theirs... Where is their former inclination to rivalry? Why have the good and the bad purposefully united to cause me anxiety?37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Ibid., 322-324; 638-639.
There are several interesting points of discussion in this excerpt. Apart from Malay Natin’s increased anxiety, he mentions that there are 50,000,000 Filipinos. This is an exaggeration to emphasize the point that there are more of the local population than the invaders, and that the people of the archipelago have unified and are beginning to organize – without the influence or support of the west. The intelligence that they, Malay Natin and his army, is surprising and disturbing. There is an undercurrent of superiority that Malay Natin carried, and his disbelief was fueled by the idea that these people, these Filipinos, are less sophisticated than he and the rest of the west. More importantly, he mentioned that the inclination to rivalry had dissipated, and that there are no longer any spies, aka traitors, to gather from the local population. This is the future that Tolentino wanted for the archipelago; cohesive and in agreement in their understanding of their Filipino-ness – and, above all, loyal to Inang Bayan, the motherland. The inclination to betray the nation for personal gain is gone; there is a return to the we-centered notion of identity that struggled against the I-centered sense of self that had been introduced by foreign elements. This troubles Malay Natin, who is no longer able to entice the Filipino to do their divisive work.

Historically, many organizations and movements that attempted to create independent space for the Filipino met its demise at the hands of an enterprising, or fearful, traitor who had been slighted in some way. The reveal of the Katipunan, for instance, was at the hands of the sister of one of the Katipuneros who had a disagreement with another Katipunero. The sister promptly confessed to the local priest, catalyzing the public acknowledgement of the Philippine Revolution. The downfall of Andres Bonifacio was arguably, at least in part, the result of a power grab orchestrated by his rivals within the Katipunan. Even before the Philippine Revolution, many recorded localized revolts against Spanish rule were met with failure because of internal betrayals. Even within the new political infrastructure being built in the Philippines at the turn of the century,
there was a recognition that many who decided to collaborate with the Americans did so to maintain their wealth, status, and power.

While Malay Natin ruminated on his condition, Bagong Sibol’s eagle was injured by Inang Bayan’s electric bullet. This angered Bagong Sibol, who was then met by ghosts who reminded her:

These ghosts represented the ancestors – the past – approving and supporting the move toward independence. In the next scene Tagailog and several children presented Bagong Sibol their request for independence. In her shaken state, she waves them away and contemplates the request. The children can be seen as representing the future. Bagong Sibol is then met by Haring-Kamatayan, the King of Death, who answers her question:

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38 In the Tagalog re-translation, the lines are attributed to Inang Bayan; the English manuscript attributes the lines to “One Ghost.” It is possible that this is a mistake in terms of transcription.

39 Ibid., 325; 640.
Sa iyo nang ubus lupit with very cruelty until thou
hangang sa ang buhay diest\textsuperscript{40}
mo’y mapatid.

This imagery of the ghosts brings back the idea of ancestor worship, which could allude to the fact that the Filipino nation, despite the various foreign entities coming in to disrupt and inform the character of the indigenous belief and social systems, they are still alive and well. The appearance of Haring-Kamatayan reinforced that.

Tagailog encounters Inang Bayan kneeling and praying, in the next scene. Before he interrupts her, he launches into a monologue that, again, reinforces the idea of her being the embodiment of the nation.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Ngayo’y nakaluhod, ngayo’t nagdarasal, humihinghing tulong sa poong may kapal, Dahil sa kaniya kung di sa aming bayan, sa ikalalaya, sa ikabuhay, Sa ikaoonlak naming kaniyang hirang na bunsu niyang lahat at pinalayawan Sa init ng biayang kaniyang pagmamahal.</td>
<td>Now she is kneeling, she prays, she asks for help of the Creator, not for herself but for our people, for our liberty, for our prosperity, for our indefinite progress, for that which ought to give honor to her chosen ones, all her children caressed by the warmth of her ardent love.\textsuperscript{41}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In her unrelenting sacrifice for her children, Inang Bayan prayed not for the support of Dios (God), but from Poong may Kapal (Higher power), one of the many names of the higher power not based on western concepts of God, but on the belief systems and values of pre-colonial communities in the Philippines. As the scene progressed, Inang Bayan tells Tagailog about her husband, his father, whom Tagailog believed to be dead.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, 325; 641.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 326-327; 642.
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG</td>
<td>Siya’y ang iyong ama, sa boong daigdig’a’y pinakamaganda, Pinakamayaman, tapat na suminta, pinakamalambing sa lahat-lahat na. Pinakadakila, at anak nga siya ng lahat ng langit, at haring talaga Ng buhay... Kalayaan ang pamagat niya.</td>
<td>He is thy father, the most beautiful, the richest in the world, he loves loyally, is affectionate with all, he is the greatest, as he is the son of the heavens and the natural king of life... he is called Kalayaan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAYAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>Oo’t, kilala ko, ngunit siya’y namatay, nakita ng mata ang kaniyang bangkay.</td>
<td>Yes, I know him, but he is dead. Mine eyes have seen his corpse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG</td>
<td>Musmos! Ang ama mo’y walang kamatayan!</td>
<td>Simple one! Thy father is immortal!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAYAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAILOG</td>
<td>At saan siya ngayon?</td>
<td>Where is he now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INANG</td>
<td>Di mo nalalaman.</td>
<td>Thou dost not know? I do not know how many days have passed. Seed was sown on Mount Pamitinan, it was cared for secretly, it was afterward covered with a dark mantle of mystery. All was secret, all was virtue, gliding on tiptoes, no cries. So it acquired frondescence, and the roots spread... but one day there was a traitor; the secret divulged immediately. A horrible tempest followed. Mount Pamitinan fell in a moment, our plant was destroyed, the tempest carried away all its leaves, the sap was human blood; later it was dragged through all the barrios through all the towns, wherever one could look, and in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAYAN</td>
<td>Lumipas ang ewan kung ilan nang araw Tinamnan ng binhi ang bundok Pamitinan, Iningat na lihim, saka binakuran Ng tabing ng dilim na kababalaghan. Pawang kalihiman, kabanalang lahat, Tia dang pagtakbo, ang sigaw ay ansas, Kaya nga’t lumago, kumalat ang ugat... Ngunit isang araw may isang nagsukab Ang lihim ay biglang-bigla’y nasiwalat, Pagdaka’y bumagio ng kagulat-gulat, Bundok Pamitinan ay minsang natibag, Ang aming halama’y nagkawalat-walat.</td>
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</table>
In the presentation of the play, the actors did not get to this scene. But if they had, it would have more incendiary than any of the other monologues presented by other characters. The anachronistic and overlapping imagery and reference in this particular speech could only have been discernible by those familiar with the stories and histories of the Katipunan, Jose Rizal, GomBurZa, Emilio Aguinaldo, and a number of other events that led up to the Philippine Revolution. What is interesting, but in many ways unsurprising, is the mention of Inang Bayan’s partner/husband being

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42 Ibid., 327-328; 643.
Kalayaan. Kalayaan means freedom, or independence; and the idea of him being immortal emphasizes, for the audience, that Inang Bayan and Kalayaan go hand in hand – that the freedom of the mother country is important, necessary, and inevitable.

As mentioned previously, Mount Pamitinan was where the leadership of the Katipunan pledged their commitment to armed revolution and independence for the Philippines. This commitment was kept secret, but the work to recruit and engage more people in the work of the Katipunan accelerated. The betrayal of the Katipunan’s existence occurred about a year and half later. There was immediate backlash, and the hunt for katipuneros was on.

The mention of Bagumbayan field (or the Luneta) as the place where the “blood flowed in abundance” refers to the fact that a number of (infamous) executions occurred on that field during the Spanish era, including GOMBURZA in 1872, and Jose Rizal in 1896. The reference to Cavite was a nod to Aguinaldo’s declaration of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898, which was “lighted by the brilliant sun of the people and by three stars.” This is a clear reference to the flag, but also to the resilience of the people. The three stars, representing the three major island groups of the Philippines, indicated that there is developing unity among the islands.

The exchange between Inang Bayan and Tagalog in the rest of this scene referenced the convening of the Malolos Congress, where Aguinaldo and the other leaders of the Philippine Revolutionary government gathered to create the foundations for their new political infrastructure.

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<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Sa bayang Malolos aming pinagyaman, pinakataluktok, sinuob ng dangal... Oh! Bunso! Himala! Manang isang araw, Humaging ang bagio’t dinaming malaman</td>
<td>In the town of Malolos we enriched the plant, it elevated and incense was burned in its honor...O, beloved son! A miracle! One day the storm broke and without our being able to explain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gathering in September 1898, Inang Bayan’s proclamation alluded to the republic, the plant enriched in Malolos. Given that this was written in the early 1900’s, the “storm” could refer to one of two things; the signing of the Treaty of Paris that ceded control of the archipelago from Spain to the United States for the price of $20 million, a discussion from which the Philippines was barred, or the onset of the Philippine American War less than two months later with the first shot fired by Private Willy Grayson. The “storm” could have either been the signing of the treaty or the firing of the first shot; neither circumstance had clear justifications for the Filipinos. Interestingly enough, Tagailog keeps the hope alive, telling Inang Bayan that, despite the flower having withered, the “flower will be born and shine again.”

In Act 3, Scene 9, children present the possibility of liberty, rejoicing in the unfurling of the new flag. In scene nine, the little boy proclaims,

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A BOY</td>
<td>Kalayaan, Kalayaan, Hangang kalian ka sisilay Kalayaang aming ilaw maluat ka nang hinihintay.</td>
<td>Liberty, Liberty, when wilt thou appear? Liberty our light, we have awaited for thee a long time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While Riggs translated “Kalayaan” as “Liberty,” I believe in this case Tolento meant for this character to be calling for Kalayaan, the husband of Inang Bayan. They had been awaiting him – much like Inang Bayan – and are excited for his return. The boy continues to mention the schools

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41 Ibid, 328; 643-644.
44 Ibid, 329; 644.
that have “light…exist everywhere and are open at all hours,” perhaps referring to the fact that, under the United States, universal education became available. However, he also asserted that it is important that they, the Filipinos, understand how to “treat [their] fellow creatures” since their country was to be independent.45

Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin are still in disbelief that the Filipinos would want to be independent, puzzled by Inang Bayan’s insistence. The unfurling of the flag, the playing of the Filipino National March, the reveal of the army is meant to demonstrate to Bagong Sibol, who is attempting to demonstrate their value to the Filipinos – a turn of events, really – is a gesture that the Filipinos imagine being part of their ascendance to independence.46

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG BAYAN</td>
<td>Ysinamo sa iyo poon</td>
<td>I have earnestly implored thee to grant our ardent desire, but thou has not paid the slightest attention to our protests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kay Bagong Sibol / to Bagong Sibol)</td>
<td>ang marubdob naming layon, Ngunit hindi mu nililingon nang bahagia, Yaong matuid naming tutol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAGONG SIBOL</td>
<td>Di pumayag sa iyon nais pagkat kita’y iniibig, Di mu pa makayang tikis ang humawak Ng sarili mong matuid. At sinu ang magtatangol Kung sakaling daluyong ng sakim nitong panahon Ay dagsaan ka? Sinu ang sa iyo’y aabuloy?</td>
<td>I have not acceded to thy desires because I love thee; though has not yet sufficient strength to sustain thine own rights. And who will defend thee if the wave of ambition of these times reaches thee? Who will aid thee?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAGAIOLOG</td>
<td>Bagong Sibol, makakaya ng sariling yaring pita.</td>
<td>I have sufficient strength to carry out my purpose.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tagailog reveals his forces, which soldiers, engineers to build infrastructure and red cross volunteers to provide medical support for their troops. This layering of personnel is a demonstration of the sophistication of their operation – and Bagong Sibol is still in disbelief. Inang Bayan’s final monologue is spectacular, reminding Bagong Sibol – the United States – of their promises to help the Filipino people acquire their freedom, of their own struggle for liberty and independence against the English.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INANG</td>
<td>Ysipin mo, Bagong Sibol, Isipin mong yaring layong, Mu rin sa iyong naging poon.</td>
<td>Consider the past, Bagong sibol; consider that the liberty which I long for thou didst also long to obtain from him who was they master.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAYAN</td>
<td>Ang lumipas na panahon; Isipin y pinata, Di ba dahl sa biniro ng poon mo, at nilaro Ang kaniyang pangako, siya’y iyong inilugso’t Hinatdan mo ng siphayo? Huag sanang ipagkait mo ang ninais mong totoo, At ang masama sa iyo ay huag sanang gagawin mo Sa sinu mang kapua tawo.</td>
<td>Didst not though destroy him, and break his power for laughing at his promises? Canst thou deny us that which thou didst desire so much? That which is bad for thee shouldst not do to another.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is a wagging finger at the hypocrisy of their, the United States,’ actions; a means of shaming them into rethinking their decisions and the way that they treat the Philippines and the Filipino people. Inang Bayan chastises Bagong Sibol in the monologue for treating the Filipinos like

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47 Ibid., 331: 647
48 Ibid., 332; 649.
children, questioning their abilities without giving them the opportunity to demonstrate their capacities.

*Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* articulated and excited the audience to think about how and why the Filipino can be – perhaps already was – ready for independence. At the end of the play Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin determined that, while they still consider the Filipinos ‘infants,’” their tenacity and insistence could not be denied. Inang Bayan, not to be outdone, credited Bagong Sibol’s benevolence for their liberty, and insists that their alliance will be one of mutual respect and friendship. The play ends on this happy note, both Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin proclaiming “Long live Inang Bayan! Long live the Philippines!” This is the future that Tolentino imagined for the archipelago. With the American colonial government in place and the Philippine American War officially over in 1902, the playwright possibly foresaw and would have been weary that a more combative stance toward the United States at the end of the play would incite further violence toward the people.

The Bayan in *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*

Just like in *Luhang Tagalog*, the bayan figures prominently when they talk about community, belonging, and responsibility. In total, there are 541 forms of bayan used in the play. Most of those involve Inang Bayan as her name is invoked by each of the characters throughout the play, including herself. There are is one instance where the phrase where “Yna Kung Bayan” is used instead of Inang Bayan. Asal Hayop was speaking to Haring Bata, wanting assurance that he would show up later that evening for that evening.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Tagalog</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haring Bata</td>
<td><em>Hihintayin kita ngayong gabi sa aking bahay, at ipagbibigay mong alam sa aking ang lahat nilang panukala. Heto ang tandang ilalahad mo sa taliba upending ikaw ay papsukin.</em> (Bibigian siya ng isang chapang tanso at aalis).</td>
<td>I will expect thee tonight in my house, and thou canst give an account of all the projects they have. Here is the countersign which thou will give to the sentinels, so they will let thee pass. <em>(Gives him a copper badge and goes out).</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asal Hayop</td>
<td><em>Asahan pu ninyo. (Titingnan ang salapi) / Heto ang salapi ko, heto ang tunay na Yna kung bayan, ang tunay na Bathala. / At madadagdagan pa; at matataas pa ang aking katungkulan. Sayang palad!</em></td>
<td>Trust me, sir. <em>(Looks at the money)</em> Here is my money; here is my true Mother Country, the true god. And it will be increased, and I shall be promoted. Good fortune.*<img src="1.5" alt="" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Bayan” with “people.” What should be remembered as well, though, is that the Tagalog text for *Luhang Tagalog* was a re-translation of the English transcript as the original work was no longer extant. Given what we do know about Tolentino’s personal history, I suggest that Tolentino favored using the term *bayan* primarily to refer to the people, to Filipinos, because he would have witnessed the revolution significantly shift by 1902. The Philippine Revolutionary Government had been decimated; their former president had taken an Oath of Allegiance to the United States and was encouraging his former army to do the same. Tolentino would have seen the proverbial writing on the wall – that the political infrastructure was going to be determined by external forces – and that those who were still fighting had to change their focus on winning the hearts and minds of the people before the Americans did. If that occurred, it could mean that the *bayan* may be able to sustain itself despite the rise of the *bansa*.

**Articles Involving *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*** and the shutdown of the play

*Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was staged at Teatro Libertad on May 14, 1903. It was advertised in the Tagalog language newspaper *La Patria* two days prior, billed as the sequel to Tolentino’s work *Luhang Tagalog*. The fact that they mentioned *Luhang Tagalog* tells us several things: 1) people went to see it, 2) it must have been popular enough for people to have name recognition for the work, and 3) it had been performed somewhere – quite possibly in Teatro Libertad – enough times for people to understand the references. To the extent of the existing resources, there was no reference to the play after its demise in the Tagalog sources. This could be attributed to the loss of these materials to time, but quite possibly also to the fact that Tolentino
was, himself, a newspaper man. One could argue that his colleagues did not want to demonstrate that they knew where he was, if they knew where he was, as that could result in legal action.

Thus, the English language newspapers of the day are the most valuable resource to this discussion. Three particular newspapers, *Manila Times*, *Manila Cabelnews*, and *Manila Freedom* had much to say about the sensational news of May 14; the *Times* had two articles on May 15, *Manila Cabelnews* had one article on the 15th and then another on the 16th, and *Manila Freedom* had one article on the 15th. Both the *Cabelnews* and the *Times* ran the stories on their front page; *Manila Freedom* buried their story on page 8. In total, there were five lengthier articles written about the incident at Teatro Libertad; all three newspaper went on to follow the trial of Tolentino, then the trial of Dominador Gomez – with whom Tolentino was associated. During the Dominador Gomez trial, *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* and other seditious dramas were referenced multiple times. They also reported extensively on another production, *Hindi Ako Patay*, and other theatrical productions.

For *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, the desecration of the American flag is what set off the riot (and subsequent stampede for the door) in the theater on May 14, 1903. The next day, the front-page headline of the *Manila Times* read “Filipina Tears ‘Old Glory’ Into Shreds.” Two secondary headlines read “Katipunan Flag Raised ‘mid (sic) Cheers” and “Americans resent insult to flag by raiding the stage of the Libertad Theater.” The article described the excitement and enthusiasm that the “large audience showed over every passage which (sic) contained anything that could be construed as an insult to American authority,” and that the play itself “had but a threadbare plot upon which to hang incidents and songs to inflame the public mind.”\(^\text{50}\)

\(^{50}\) “Filipina tears ‘old glory’ into shreds,” *Manila Times*, May 15, 1903.
journalist goes on to talk about the play depicting the experience of the Filipinos under Spanish rule in the first act, and then under the United States. According to the article, a “large American flag was displayed in a prominent place on the stage,” symbolizing a clear transition of power. They go on to mention that the “Filipinos were represented as patiently bearing the burden of foreign domination but still nursing in their hearts the “glorious hope” of one day gaining their independencia.” This portrayal of the Filipino patiently waiting articulates two sentiments: 1) that Filipinos were not necessarily against the Americans or United States, but the idea of colonialism and foreign tyranny in general, and 2) that they saw – or wanted to see – the United States as different from both China and Spain. While both China and Spain were portrayed as deceitful, conniving, and violent, both Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin, though understood to be potential threats to Inang Bayan and Tagailog, changed their minds in the end listened to the pleas of the children – the future – and agreed that they would be great friends with Inang Bayan and Tagailog and recognize their independence. That part of the narrative, however, was not presented as the Americans in the audience seemed to have been 1) riled up by the reactions of Filipinos in the audience through the first two acts, and 2) quickly incensed by the destruction of symbols, particularly the flag. The unease that the Americans theater-goers came to a head at that point;

This was a little too much for the Americans present who had watched the performance throughout with disgust, but had not so thoroughly understood the proceedings on account of their ignorance of Tagalog. While the natives present were still wildly cheering the ‘dalaga’ and her flag, the Americans, who numbered about fifteen or twenty, made a rush for the stage.51

The article goes on to mention that one of the actors, a “Filipina named Feliza Roxas tore asunder the American flag, and waving aloft a large Katipunan banner, burst into a passionate tirade to the

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51 Ibid.
effect that the day was approaching when the hated foreigner would be drive from the land and the flag that she held would be the only one flying in the Philippines.” According to Lapña-Bonifacio, Felisa Rojas played Inang Bayan. Examining the manuscript of the play, there is no part of the beginning of the third act where Inang Bayan is supposed to make a “passionate tirade” of any sort; it causes one to surmise that either 1) she improvised her lines at that point in the play, something that was not unusual in Philippine theatre, or 2) the lack of understanding the language, combined with their reading of the audience and their own interpretation of the visual narrative, as well as their unease in that space, lead the Americans to react in the way that they did. The author took note that productions like this one were being “presented all over the islands.” Moreover, that a second presentation of Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas was supposed to occur at the Rizal Theater that very night (May 15). As of this writing, there have been no newspaper accounts, English or Tagalog, found that would corroborate that situation. Being that most of the people involved in the production were reported to have quickly fled the building, and that the character of Tagailog was being played by Aurelio Tolentino himself because the actor who was to play Tagailog feared being arrested, I would have to conclude that it was highly unlikely that was the case.

A government official stepped forward and offered that the colonial government would not stand for such activities, and that the violence that occurred at the theater was the result of the Filipinos’ own decision to perform the play. “Almost perfect freedom has been extended to them and they have abused the confidence reposed in them. It is the old story of the lack of appreciation of generosity.” This tone embodies the American self-congratulatory perspective of the US

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52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
policy of Benevolent Assimilation; it also demonstrates their view of Filipinos as petulant, ungrateful children who need to be managed.

On the same day the Manila Freedom, also broke the news. The newspaper itself is more clear about its prejudice against the Filipino. The play was front page news on the Manila Times, but the Manila Freedom buried the story entitled “Insurrecto Play Wrecked by Loyal Americans at La Libertad” on page 8. They describe how the American flag was thrown to the floor and then the Katipunan flag, referred to as the “Insurrecto flag” caused the Americans in the audience to [rise] up in their wrath and [make] a general rough-house, smashing furniture and stage settings and generally bringing things to a climax.” They go on to mention that the “American who took the law in their own hands would not be prosecuted, but it is a foregone conclusion that Señor Aurelio Tolentino, the author-manager-hero of the play, will be “cinched,” and will be prosecuted for sedition.

The article also devoted inches to contextualize the piece within the experiences of its playwright. The journalist reminds their readers that Tolentino was a “Lieutenant-Colonel of the Insurrectos,” the former editor of the vernacular language newspaper La Patria, and that he had been arrested numerous times over the years for similar charges. Like the other article, it superficially discussed the plot of the play, identifying the author desired to demonstrate the conditions of the islands under the Spanish. The Spanish were depicted as being abusive and conniving, plotting to steal all sorts or resources and taking advantage of the people. It was assumed, at the end of Act 2 and beginning of Act 3, the Americans would be presented similarly. The presentation of the sewing of a new flag, as well as the presumed improvised speech by Felisa

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55 Ibid.
Rojas, created enough unease among the Americans in the audience that they saw it fit to stop the production, chase away the audience and actors, and destroy the stage.

The *Manila Cabelenews* reported on the incident as well. They provided a bit more information, particularly that the Americans had torn away the flag from Felisa Rojas and that their destruction of the stage ensued as “the audience at once made a wild stampede for the door.”\(^{56}\) The next day they published a short piece announcing that Tolentino had been arrested, and that the production was “meant to inflame the native against the present government.”\(^{57}\)

All in all, the English language newspapers articulated the specific American perception of *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*; that the Filipinos were equating the United States with Spain in their colonial processes. This did not sit well with the Americans residing in the colony; they were there to enforce a policy of benevolent assimilation, gradual independence, and universal education. But these plays, the subsequent news articles about these plays, cultivated an anxiety and paranoia for potential violence against their presence.

Conclusion

*Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* was called anti-colonial, as well as Anti-American. The Americans in the audience, witnessing the trampling of “Old Glory” stopped the play at the beginning of the third act because they saw outlawed symbols of the Philippine republic – and

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feared that this would somehow cause the Filipino people to rise up against them. If the play was allowed to finish, the audience would have seen a more favorable portrayal of the relationship between the United States in the Philippines, relative to the Spanish, even though the fight for independence and self-determination was still very much a goal for Filipinos. While appealing to the emotion that fueled this desire, Inang Bayan’s final monologue articulated a rational and clear argument for why the Philippines should be able to be an independent state. The reaction of the American colonial government, the English language media, and the court system, however, proved to the Filipino people that the United States had no intention to allow the Philippines full and true independence. To acquiesce as it was suggested at the end of the play would be a show a weakness for the emerging empire – and that was not an option.

This work was far more organized than *Luhang Tagalog*, and was staged a more coherent story that carried the themes of the Filipino’s readiness for self-rule and a stronger sense of who they are as a *bayan*. Several generations passed between *Luhang Tagalog* and *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*, and Inang Bayan had literally manifested by that time. The traitors helping Spain and the United States are vanquished respectively, reinforcing the idea that the Filipino people, despite their perceived inferiority to western powers, have been able to persist, thrive, and have been engaged in protecting and serving the *bayan* since 1499. The direct presentation of this legacy of resistance within the Filipino community was feared because it was a narrative that the United States could not control; all they could do was react to them when they surfaced.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: HISTORY HAS ITS EYES ON YOU

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Philippines was at a political, social, cultural, and intellectual crossroads. Amidst a messy and contested transition of colonial power in the Philippine archipelago, theatre served as an important vehicle to articulate continued resistance against invading foreign powers. Theatre also presented cautionary tales to those collaborating with foreign entities without regard to what already existed. The hypocrisy of the United States taking a colony created moral and ideological strife for Americans across class strata. More importantly the theater provided important space for the people of the archipelago to engage and debate a new understanding of Filipino identity. It brought many across the racialized class strata of the Philippines to that discussion.

For Americans at the frontlines of implementing policies and policing a people who had done exactly what they had done less than a century and half previous, anxieties manifested through the carrot and stick policies designed to guide the local population away from believing they were ready and capable of self-determination and independence. These actions were ultimately rationalized by the belief of the Filipino’s inferiority based on American constructions of race.

This was the reality that prompted the creation of policies like Article 292 by the Philippine Commission to quiet dissenting voices that threatened their imperial experiment. Theatre was
an active agent in developing and solidifying a Filipino national identity by providing a space for people to engage in an active dialogue about what it meant to be Filipino, who was included in that definition, and what that meant in relation to the building of an autonomous nation. It also challenged formal institutions of knowledge production, like universal education, that discouraged the use of the vernacular and local ways of knowing. The theater gave space to the Filipino to play all the roles; good and bad, rich and poor, powerful and weak, and to speak in tongues understood by the people literally, psychologically, emotionally, and symbolically. It was where non-foreign beliefs could be articulated and thrive, where the relationships are complicated yet discernible because they come from familiar social and cultural contexts. The outsider was the American; their message of benevolence was not being heard nor displayed here; in fact, they were not needed. If anything, the theatre was where intolerance erupted. Filipino playwrights were winning hearts and minds.

This is what made the American population in the archipelago uneasy. As Resil B. Mojares observed, the “post-revolutionary nationalism was distinctly cultural rather than political or economic.”¹ The idea that the Filipino people, en masse, would be engaged in the process of defining a national sense of Filipino-ness could – would – impact the endeavor of knowledge formation that the United States had begun through the establishment of a universal education system. More specifically, it could upend the intention of molding the Filipino people into obedient colonial subjects.

Historians have largely characterized these endeavors as reactions from an American lens. But that’s not the lens through which we have discussed Luhang Tagalog or Kahapon, Ngayon, at

Bukas. From a Philippine/Filipino lens, the play did the following: 1) it articulated a national history that some newly-minted Filipinos were perhaps still attempting to see as their own, 2) it presented a clear delineation between the bansa that American colonial entities – the Philippine commissions and then the subsequent civil government – were engaged in building and the bayan that Filipinos were still trying to build through personal connection, shared story, and 3) it asserted the Filipino’s right to determine the direction of their people and this new state without the interference of imperialism. Aurelio Tolentino’s life’s work demonstrated that he was far more concerned with the needs of the Filipino people and creating a forum where they could work out their sensibility of being Filipino. Another way to think about it: would he have been so committed to his work if he was truly concerned about the reaction of the American?

The work of playwright Aurelio Tolentino played an integral role in keeping the idea of a free and independent Filipino nation at the forefront of many people’s minds at the turn of the twentieth century. The two plays discussed here, Luhang Tagalog and Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas, exemplified the type of theatre that encouraged the bayan to be active agents in the definition of the Filipino nation, in the hope that the Philippine state would follow suit. For the meantime, theatre laid a strong foundation for the people to stand, so they wouldn’t falter in a moment of temptation. The bayan had to be at the forefront of their minds; that the good of the many superseded the desire of the individual. Tolentino, along with his fellow artists, saw the important role that the arts, and theatre particularly, would play in continuing the struggle of the revolution, even under the watchful eyes of a new colonial regime.

While historical parallels have been drawn between the events of the ay and the narrative presented in these plays, there is still much research to be done to analyze the socio-cultural and historical contexts of these plays espousing the notion of Filipino nationalism. It leaves room for
upstart scholars to dig down, learn to think differently, get the job done. Much of that work has been done (and rightly so) in the Philippines, but diasporic implications exist as we acknowledge the global reach of the Filipino community. As Filipinos in the diaspora continue to explore their identities and wrestle with fundamental questions of belonging, works like Tolentino’s act as touchstones for those discussions even today.

Existing research articulates the conclusion that these plays were primarily a reaction to the inception of American colonial rule and that their popularity tapered off because of the introduction of the moving picture to the islands, the arrival of American schoolteachers and universal education system grounded by the English language, the implementation of a political system mirroring that of the United States, and the rapid modernization of the metropole. This is an adopted perspective, one born out of colonial mentality, that chooses to present theatre, not as an agent of change, but as a reactionary force. Philippine scholars found a robust theatre culture outside of the metropole in the years where this work was supposedly waning. Some of these seditious sarsuwelas were performed well into the 1910’s – and new works were being written in the regional vernacular languages. There is an opportunity here to explore this history from below in a way that was not yet been tried; the potential to rewrite the revolution as it continued after 1902.

Theatre allowed the Filipino to challenge, advocate, and negotiate change throughout the twentieth century. Seditious theatre – sarsuwelas, drama lirico, drama symboliko, historical dramas – produced in the early twentieth century catalyzed a theatre culture in the Philippines that has served as the conscious of the nation in moments when it was needed most. And while the surface evaluation of these works as being reactions to major social, cultural, and/or political shifts are not being denied, deeper analyses of these productions will reveal that they served to draw people back
to the foundational concepts of the *bayan*, of kapwa, and of the responsibility that we all bear, theatre workers or not, to ensure that our work is always done in the spirit of service others.

In his 1975 essay “What is Philippine Drama,” Sir Nicanor Tiongson outlined three tenets with which to assess and critique the “Philippine-ness” of a theatre work. He stated, “the Philippine-ness of a given cultural form would seem to vary in shade and tonal values, depending on whether it fulfills one, two, or all of the following criteria: 1) that it reflect Filipino culture, 2) that it answer the need of the Filipinos at a given time, and 3) that it work for the good of the many,” emphasizing the importance of understanding the spectrum on which these could be met. While Tiongson recognized that “most plays merely want to entertain their audiences,” he asserted that certain works (and their authors) clearly articulated “aim(s) to educate and move audiences to action are more intensely Philippine (than) those which merely answer the need for entertainment.”

These ideas, though articulated seventy years later, succinctly summarized the importance of purpose when identifying art as reflecting a community. These notions are prescient in presenting a newly coopted and imagined identity – and thus membership – into a Filipino nation as the heart of the Philippine state. Without the Filipino nation, the Philippine state would not have citizens; loyalty, trust, and community are cultivated through reciprocal interactions that benefit those involved. The state would not have defenders or patriots; it would have infrastructure, but not heart.

I can’t help but think that this was the message Aurelio Tolentino was also trying to convey, through each word put to page, each improvised monologue he or his actors let riff. Theatre may have been seen as reactive but if that is the case, then it is asking us, its audience, to be proactive.

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Tolentino’s works reflected an emerging Filipino culture; answered the need of Filipinos to push the envelope by creating the physical, emotional, and intellectual space to engage, debate, and critique this new colonial relationship on their own terms; all toward strengthening the bayan and the notion of being Filipino across language, region, and class differences. The majority of the people did not have the access to the means to effect change in the emerging Philippine state; but they could assert some semblance of agency or control over their understanding of their connections and relationships with the people who shared same political space.

Hamilton Reprise

I can’t help but draw parallels between Lin Manuel Miranda’s Hamilton and the seditious works of Philippine theatre at the turn of the twentieth century. It’s hard not to be obsessed with the show, particularly after the cast stood and addressed Michael Pence after he watched the show in New York City soon after the Republican party won the presidency. Their message to him that went viral was poignant and timely; that wonderful, diverse, enthusiastic, hungry cast portraying the founding fathers represented, in that moment, the past, the present, and the future. But Pence walked out as they finished their message. He didn’t hear them. Or at least he wasn’t paying attention. And that is sad.

The genius of Hamilton lies not only in its use of vernacular and hip hop to convey history; it is the alternative presentation of a history we forgot is also human, validated by historical evidence and facts, and presented in a way that makes it relevant to the audience it needs to reach.
Moreover, it reminds us of the responsibility we bear as citizens, as storytellers, as active participants in this world. This was also the intention of seditious Filipino theatre work as well.

And then there’s Lin-Manuel Miranda. Miranda as the audacious upstart, son of immigrants, embodying the founding father Alexander Hamilton as, I imagine, a mirror of himself. And I imagine Tolentino like Miranda, writing and performing angry yet thoughtful, critical but clever, narratives about the current political climate, the thin veneer of history to wave off those who did not know how to look beneath the surface – or don’t care to. Miranda’s Hamilton presented the perfect foil to offer critique of where this country we occupy is going – and what we have forgotten. In the same vein, both Luhang Tagalog and Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas reminded their audiences that they held in their hands great responsibility – to serve the bayan; however dangerous, however violent, and to not betray her lest you are ready to endure the consequences.

Tolentino was Miranda and Hamilton wrapped in one: Tolentino was a founding father, a playwright, a revolutionary, an upstart. Tolentino believed that revolution was possible, that the Filipino people could exist as a cohesive nation and that the state, the Philippines, would be waiting in the wings to be birthed by the people. He was the actor on stage as the protector of the bayan on the fateful night when the riot broke out. Tolentino was the historian who told the story of the nation-state being birthed – its struggles and trials – in the different languages of the people. Tolentino’s narratives made the changing revolution feel more urgent in many ways, that we need to be the ones who shout from the rooftops and tell our stories. Because, in the end, no one else will.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

MANUSCRIPT OF AURELIO TOLENTINO’S LUHANG TAGALOG
ENGLISH / TAGALOG COMPARISON
Luhang Tagalog was a lyrical drama written by Aurelio Tolentino and performed in the early 1900’s. It is the first of what was supposed to be a trilogy of plays articulating the Filipino people’s capacity to be an independent state. Set in 1499, this first play imagined the scenario between the people of the kingdom of Tondo on the island of Luzon and an invading Chinese force. The primary tension is between the protagonists, Gat-Salian and Bituin, and Gat-Salian’s father, Lakan-Salian, who has decided to collude with the Chinese to take over the kingdom. Bituin, Gat-Salian, and their supporters fight to the death for the freedom of the Filipino people.

The following script is based on the script published in Arthur Stanley Riggs’ The Filipino Drama. The English translations were based on Spanish transcriptions of the original Tagalog manuscript submitted to the courts. The Filipino translation of the play is a modern retranslation of the script by respected theatre scholar Bonifacio Ilagan.

That script was the only known copy of Tolentino’s manuscript. I asked the person who found Riggs’ collection, former head of the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (Central Bank of the Philippines), and he told me that he no longer knew the whereabouts of Riggs’ papers.
TAGALOG TEARS

A Filipino Drama by Aurelio Tolentino.

“THE TRUE LOVE OF GOD IS THE LOVE OF COUNTRY.”

DEDICATION TO MY NATIVE LAND.

Weeping without ceasing for thy sons, And weeping always because of thy griefs. I have been vigilant to record This work to the end of mixing my tears With those which stream from thine eyes. To thee I dedicate it: it is very weak because It is mine; accept it, because I have nothing else dearer.

Thy Son,
Aurelio Tolentino.

Manila, August 10, 1902

LUHANG TAGALOG

Isang Dulang Pilipino ni Aurelio Tolentino

“ANG TUNAY NA PAG-IBIG SA DIYOS AY PAG-IBIG SA BAYAN PAG-AALAY SA AKING LUPANG TINUBUAN”

Lumuluha nang walang patid para sa iyong mga anak, At sa tuwina ay nananangis dahil sa iyong mga hapis, Ako ay maingat na nagtala ng likhang ito Upang sumanib ang luha ko Sa luhang dumadaloy sa mata mo. Sa iyo, ito ay iniaalay ko: ito ay lubhang marupok Sapagkat akin; gayunman ay tanggapin sapagkat Wala nang anumang higit na mahal na maituturing.

Ang iyong anak,
Aurelio Tolentino

Maynila, Agosto 10, 1902
## Persons of the Drama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names / Characters</th>
<th>Translation / Definition</th>
<th>Significance (English)</th>
<th>Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LAKAN-SILAN</td>
<td>King, or Lord Salian Hari o Lakan</td>
<td>King of Tondo Traitor</td>
<td>Father of Gat-Salian, Collaborator with Hinghis-Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAT-SALIAN</td>
<td>Leader of the town of Balintauak General/Lord</td>
<td>Datto of Balintauak Loyalist</td>
<td>Son of Gat-Salian, Husband of Bituin, General of revolutionary army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BITUIN</td>
<td>Star Head woman</td>
<td>Spirit of the Island <em>Inang Bayan</em> figure</td>
<td>Wife of Gat-Salian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUNDOK</td>
<td>Mountain Defender</td>
<td>Senior military officer of Gat-Salian (Gat-Salian’s Right Hand)</td>
<td>Father of Supling, 4 little boys, Son of Makapagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKAPAGAL</td>
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<td>Spirit of Justice</td>
<td>Father of Bundok Grandfather of Supling, 4 little boys</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Invulnerable</td>
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<td>Hero; Great Warrior</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAMPUPOT</td>
<td>Flower of the Isles</td>
<td>Symbol of fidelity, purity, devotion, strength, and dedication. The Philippines (?)</td>
<td>Wife of Mulawin</td>
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<td>Bayani’s mother</td>
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<td>Supling</td>
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<td>Genghis-Khan Chinese Commander</td>
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**Other Characters:** A Sargent, six or ten soldiers, the people of the town, a Chinese Military officer, and the whole Chinese Army. King Sung-Song, Emperor of China.

Time of action: AD 1499.
ACT 1

The scenery represents the manor of the Datto of Balintauak. In the background is a trench, and on the opposite side appears a river. To the right is the door of the datto’s house, through which may be seen the following: To the left is the door of the cuartel (Barrack). On the threshold of which is a sentinel armed with a knife suspended from his waist, carrying on his shoulder a javelin, and in his hand an arrow.

Scene I. Makapagal enters, coming from the street, equipped with a rustic staff; Bundok appears later, clad as a soldier.

MAKAPAGAL: How sorrowful is old age! The eighty and eight years of a man’s life are equivalent to embarking eighty and eight times in a small and frail craft.

My body is bent, my feet tremble, my tongue is palsied, my vision is indistinct, my lips quiver, my ears are deaf, my eyes are dim and my intelligence is confounded; he…my staff! (he drops it 69 and picks it up with an effort)

How heavy! (Walks, stumbles, and falls)
Holy Mother! All my bones seem to be dislocated! (Enter Bayani, who comes also from the street) Friend, can you give me a little alms with which to kill my hunger? (Bayani bestows the alms, and Makapagal, at that instant recognizing him, arises) Is it indeed you, Bayani? God!

Unang Yugto

Ang tagpuan ay ang bahay ni Datu Balintawak. Sa likuran ay naroon ang isang trensiyera, katapat ng isang ilog. Sa bandang kanan ay matatagpuan ang pintuan ng kanyang bahay, ay mula roon ay mamamasid ang sumusunod; pinto ng kwartel sa kanan, at sa bukana noon ay nakaposisyon ang isang bantay na may sukit na sundang sa baywang, may diyabelinsa balikat, at pana sa kamay.

Unang eksena. Papasok si Makapagal mula sa langsangan, taglay ang isang tungkod ng magsasaka; maya-maya’y dumating si Bundok, suot-sundalo.

MAKAPAGAL: Ang anong saklap ng katandaan! Ang walampu’t walong taon sa buhay ng tao Ay katumbas ng walampu at walong ulit Na paglalayag sa isang bangkang Marupok, Maliit;

Katawan ko’y hukot, Paa’y nanginginig, Ang dila ko’y manhid
At ang aking paningin, Malabo, mata’y may ulap na takip; Katal ang mga labi, Bingi ang pandining, At magulo ang isip;
Siya…ang tungkod ko! (Mabibitiwan ang tungkod, na buong hirap na dadampultan.)

Ang bigat! (Hahakbang, matatalisod, babagsak) Inang bana! Lahat nang buto ko’y ano’t wari’y Nagkalasog-lasog! (Papasok si Bayani, mula sa lansangan) Kaibigan, Mangyaring ako’y pagkalooban ng kaunting limos, Pamatid nitong aking kagutuman. (Maglilimos si Bayani.
Makikilala siya ni Makapagal, at magpipilit tumayo.) Ikaw nga ba, Bayani? Bathala!
BAYANI: Yes sir, it is indeed I, he who has sworn to be a soldier all his life.

MAKAPAGAL: Ah, Bayani, how the times do change! The beggars of yesterday are now the rich, conducting themselves haughtily in their golden palaces; and those who yesterday had something are those who today are mendicants, imploring charity in order to live.

The authorities of former times are those whom we see now in the persons of the newest soldiers; and those who once were slaves are today highest in authority. All this is due to the rapid career of the people, which has made progress. Our best men must study this in order to form an idea of the future. Who will make an end of this misery, since to live it necessary to beg—and do not you all, forget the wealth of my riches in olden times?

And my son?...Poor fellow! I have disposed of my last grain of rice, and of our sons they made a platoon of soldiers to guard our town. (Looks into the street) What can this crowd of gentlemen coming along there mean? (A group of townspeople enters the yard)

BAYANI: Opo, tanda, tunay ngang ako, Akong nanamatang magiging kawal Habang nabubuhay.

MAKAPAGAL: A, Bayani, Anong laking pagbabago ang panahon! Anong kahapong-mahihirap ay siya ngayong mayayaman, At mapagmataas na nabubuhay sa kanilang palasyong ginintuan; Sila, na may-kayakahapon ay siyang pulubi ngayon Nanlimos ang habag at mabuhay nang sa gayon,

Ang awtoridad noon ay siya ngayong pinakabagong kawal, At ang mga alipin noon Ay siya ngayong namamanginoon; Lahat nang ito ay bunga ng mabilis Na pagsulong ng tao, Ng pag-unlad. Nararapat itong pag-aralan Ng pinakamahusay sa ating hanay, Nang ang hinaharap mamasdan Sa iisang larawan; Sino ang magbibigay-wakas Sa ganitong kasawian? Kinakailangan pang manlimos Upang mabuhay lamang? Kayong lahat; huwag kaligtaang noong panahon una ay limpak ang aking kong yaman;

At ang aking anak? Kawawang nilalang! Said na ang kahulihang butil Sa aking bigasan; Samantalaang ang aming mga supling, Ginawang pulutong ng kawal Na sa bayan ay pinangagbabantay; (Titingnan sa lansangan.) Ano kayang kahulugan ng paghangos dito Ng pangkat na ito ng kagainoohan? (Isang pangkat na mga taumbayan ang papasok.)
Are they volunteer soldiers? God bless them! They will spill their blood to defend our just cause. Who can this be who comes running now? (Bundok enters and embraces him)

*Ikalawang Eksena. Mga tauhan sa unang eksena, at si Bundok*

**Scene II. The same persons and Bundok.**

BUNDOK: Father!

MAKAPAGAL: Bundok! My son. (They embrace)

BAYANI: What a sad spectacle!

MAKAPAGAL: Are you then a volunteer soldier?

BUNDOK: No, sir; I was deceived when they recruited me, but since then I have been content to follow.

MAKAPAGAL: Content? And why?

BUNDOK: Because I can serve my country wholly, and would to God that I might continue serving it all the rest of my life!

MAKAPAGAL: True; but since your wife is dead and...my grandsons? Who will take care of my grandsons? Where will they be?

BUNDOK: I will entrust them to you and Supling.

MAKAPAGAL: Hindi po; Nilinlang nila ako nang ako’y Kanilang kunin, Ngunit ngayo’y natutunan ko nang Sumunod sa kanilang mga layunin.

BUNDOK: Hindi po; Nilinlang nila ako nang ako’y Kanilang kunin, Ngunit ngayo’y natutunan ko nang Sumunod sa kanilang mga layunin.

MAKAPAGAL: Sumunod ka sa kanila? At bakit?

BUNDOK: Pagkat nagagawa kong paglingkuran ang bayan Nang ganap; At kung nanaisin ng Bathala ay nais kong Maglingkod pa habang ako’y may hininga.

MAKAPAGAL: Totoo, Ngunit ngayong ang asawa mo’y patay na at...Ang aking mga apo? Sino ang mag-aalaga sa aking mga apo? Sila patutungo?

BUNDOK: Ipinagkakatiwala ko sila sa inyo At kay Supling!
BUNDOK: Supling is a very prudent young girl, and will consider her little brothers like a mother.

MAKAPAGAL: Where will you go?

BUNDOK: To the war!

MAKAPAGAL: Another time; and (if you go) where can we obtain anything to eat?

BUNDOK: I don't know!

BAYANI: How terrible!

MAKAPAGAL: And where…but remember, your companions are in your care. Go, then, and God go with you! (He salutes Bundok, who goes back to join his companions)

Already he is gone! How fast he runs – even now I cannot see him!

Ah, Bayani, I will go see my grandsons. I will beg that we may all eat.

Be careful, Bayani, and God guard you!

(He enters the road at the left, and Bayani, seeing, follows him with a glance. Ulila enters by the door at the right.)

Scene III. Bayani and Ulila.

BAYANI: Mother! (Salutes Ulila)

BUNDOK: Si Supling ay batang maingat, Ang mga kapatid niyang paslit At ituturing niya kung paanong Nagtuturing ang ina sa anak.

MAKAPAGAL: Saan ka patutungo?

BUNDOK: Sa digmaan!

MAKAPAGAL: Panibagong pakikipaglaban; At kung pumaroon ka nga, Saan naman kami kukuha ng ikabubuhay?

BUNDOK: Hindi ako alam.

BAYANI: Anong saklap!

MAKAPAGAL: At saan naman…Pakatandaan lamang: ang mga kasama mo’y Nasa iyong kalinga; Sumulong ka, kung gayon, At patnubay ka ng Poon! (Sasaludo siya kay Bundok. Babalik na si Bundok sa kanyang mga kasamahan)

Wala na siya! Kung tumakbo siya’y anong tulin, Isang kisap lamang ay wala na sa paningin! A, Bayani, Pupuntahan ko na ang aking mga apo, Mamamalimos ako nang kami’y may makain;

Mag-ingat ka lamang, Bayani, Samahan ka ni Bathala!

(Tutungo siya sa lansangan sa kaliwa. Susundan siya ng tingin ni Bayani. Papasok naman si Ulila mula sa pinto sa kanan.)

Ikatlong eksena. Sina Bayani at Ulila.

BAYANI: Ina! (Magbibigay-galang)
ULILA: Why are you sad? (Bayani takes her hand) Why does your body tremble? Why do you so suddenly shake off my hand? (Bayani runs into the cuartel) Gone already! Where are you going? Take care of what you do, you lunatic!

BAYANI: (From within) Mother, I will accompany you.

ULILA: Bayani! My son: where are you going?

BAYANI: (From within) To the war, mother.

ULILA: The javelin – my son carries a javelin! Wait for me! (Moves as if about to run) He has gone already, and scarcely heard me. Bayani! Already he has departed, and is far away; very far…there he is; now he is hidden. Ah, how difficult it is to have a son in the war. (Enter Bundok)

BUNDOK: Bayani!

ULILA: Señor Bundok!

BUNDOK: Where is Bayani?

ULILA: He has taken his leave, carrying a sword, javelin and arrow.

BUNDOK: Ah!


BAYANI: (Mula sa loob) Ina, sasamahan kita.

ULILA: Bayani, anak! Saan ba iyong tungo?

BAYANI: (Mula sa loob) Sa digmaan, Ina.

ULILA: Ang diyabelin – ang anak ko’y may taglay na diyabelin! Ako’y iyong hintayin! (Tila tatakbo) Wala na siya, At ako’y bahagya na lamang niyang nading; Bayani! Kay dali niyang naglaho, At ngayon, siya ay malayo na, Malayong-malayo…Hayun siya; Muling nawala! A, kahirap nitong may anak sa digma. (Papasok si Bundok)

Scene IV. Ulila and Bundok. Bundok enters hurriedly dressed as a military officer in full uniform and wearing his weapons.

BUNDOK: Bayani!

ULILA: Ginoong Bundok!

BUNDOK: Nasaan si Bayani?

ULILA: Siya’y yumao na, taglay ang espada, Diyabelin at pana.

BUNDOK: A!
ULILA: And he has gone to war. (Bundok makes a move to leave) Listen to me one moment, Señor Bundok.

BUNDOK: What is it, madam? I am in a great hurry because I have many things to do.

ULILA: My son has left me for the war. In case he is killed, who will look after me? Who will serve me in my old age – who will give me to eat? My God! Who will lead me to the cemetery? Who will do anything for me? Who? Nobody, nobody!

Everyone will pretend not to hear my lamentations, and the people will jest at my sad situation. He is my only young son, the only one who can prepare me well for the fatality of my old age. I believe that he respects me more than he likes anyone else in the world. Ah, and he is gone! He has marched off to the war! My God!

BUNDOK: Poor mother! In truth, I deplore your sentiment (feelings), but I cannot do anything in regard to it. I will leave you.

ULILA: One moment, sir.

BUNDOK: You must not detain me here; permit me to leave you. (Goes immediately)

ULILA: Señor Bundok!

ULILA: At napatungo na siya sa digmaan. (Akamg aalis na si Bundok) 357 Ako’y pakinggan muna, Ginoong Bundok.


Bawat isa’y magkukunwang hindi naririnig Ang aking pagdaing, At ang mga tao, sa aking pighati’y Magkakatuwa; Siya lamang ang aking batang anak, Ang tanging sandigan sa aking katandaan; Ako’y nananalig na ang kanyang paggalang Sa aki ay hindi matutumbasan ng pagkagiliw Niya kaninuman sa daigdigan; Ay, at ngayon, siya’y wala na! Naparoon na sa aking digmaan! Aking Bathala!

BUNDOK: Kawawang Ina! Ang totoo’y ikinasasama rin ng loob ko Ang inyong nadarama, Ngunit wala akong magagawa; Ako’y aalis na.

ULILA: Sandali lamang, Ginoo.

BUNDOK: Ako’y hindi na dapat pang magtagal; Hayaan na akong lumisan. (Mabilis na aalis)

ULILA: Ginoong Bundok!
BUNDOK: (From within) Adios! (Goodbye)

ULILA: I go to follow him. (She goes out)

**Scene V. Kampupot enters, coming hurriedly from the road at the left, and later Malawin, clad as a soldier, comes from the camarin.**

KAMPUPOT: Where can Mulawin be? Where can he have gone?

Ah, it cannot be, impossible…this separation will cause my death! What a war!...Oh…that very word makes my hair stand on end; be still, my heart; it destroys all prudence! He will seek arms and obtain them, even by force. (Mulawin enters)

Mulawin, my dear friend, (takes him by the hand) give up your arms; throw them to the bottom of the river, or surrender them to the military authorities.

MULAWIN: No!

KAMPUPOT: You can, Mulawin!

MULAWIN: It is impossible; we are at war.

KAMPUPOT: Yes, I know we are at war, but I know also that our future and fortunes are united by that war. We are two persons constituted one, for a you love me,
KAMPUPOT: (con’t) so also must I regard
the husband of his wife, and that with a
vehement love, with an affection without
limits and with eternal fidelity. We have
been united, not for this war, but to make
money, and I am saving it for the benefit of
our future sons, to the end that they may
study and become progressive in the course
of time. You go to the war and…Ah,
Impossible!

Are there not many men in the town? Why,
then, should they seek you, and why would
they tear your from my arms? They say that
the enemy is here – and what (of it)?
Perhaps it has been my fault that the enemy
has come upon us! And if I
am not guilty of this, why should they seek
to kill me?

Why? What is the right?

MULAWIN: You would detain me in
peace?

KAMPUPOT: Trust in me rather than in
your arms.

MULAWIN: No, it is impossible.

KAMPUPOT: Ah, you think more of our
arms than you do of me.

MULAWIN: No, but you cannot release me
(from war) by any such reasoning.

KAMPUPOT: Notwithstanding it is for
me?

MULAWIN: Perhaps.

Ay ganoon ko rin dapat na ituring Ang
kabiyak mo, Isang maigting na pag-ibig,
Pagmamahal na walang hanggan At
katapatang walang maliw; Tayo ay pinag-
isa, Hindi nang ukol sa digmaan, Kundi
upang kumite ng salapi; At iyon ay aking
iimpukin Para sa kapakanan ng ating Mga
magiging supling, Nang sila ay makapag-
aral At umunlad sa kinabukasan; Ikaw ay
paroroon sa digmaan at…A! Hindi maaari!

Wala bagang ibang lalaki sa bayan? Bakit
kailangang ikaw ang hirangin? Sa aking mga
bisig ay ilayo, Agawin? Sinasabing ang
kaaway ay narito na, Ngunit maano ba?
Marahil ay kasalanan ko
Kung siya man ay naparito 359
Kung hindi, ay bakit ako ang Pinaghahanap,
at nasang patayin?
Bakit? Sa anong matwid? (matuwid?)

MULAWIN: Matitiis mo bang ako ay
pigilin?

KAMPUPOT: Sa akin, Hindi sa sandata,
Ikaw ay manalig.

MULAWIN: Hindi, hindi maaari.

KAMPUPOT: Ay, Higit mong
pinahahalagahan Ang armas kay sa akin.

MULAWIN: Hindi naman, Ngunit hindi
mo ako mailalayo sa digmaan Sa
pamamagitan ng ganyang pagdadahilan.

KAMPUPOT: Kahit na sibihin kong Ang
ganoon ay para sa akin?

MULAWIN: Kahit na, marahil.
KAMPUPOT: Wretch without any heart! You do not love me!
MULAWIN: I love you more than my life, as Heaven knows.
KAMPUPOT: You love your death-dealing arms more that you do me.
MULAWIN: No, but I love my native land more than even my life.
KAMPUPOT: I am your wife.
MULAWIN: In that case, I love my country better than all the wives in the world!
KAMPUPOT: Compassionless one! Cannot you understand that it is my death sentence?
MULAWIN: I have nothing bad…
KAMPUPOT: If you do not throw your arms into the river I will commit suicide by throwing myself into the water, where all my breaths will speedily end.
MULAWIN: Kampupot! (Bundok enters from the cimarin)

**Scene VI. The same persons and Bundok.**

**Ikaanim na eksena. Ang mga naunang tauhan at si Bundok.** (360)

BUNDOK: Mulawin, why are you here? Enter the Camarin. (Mulawin in the action of entering)

BUNDOK: Mulawin, an’t narito ka? Pumasok ka sa kamarin. (Papasok si Mulawin sa kamarin)
KAMPUPOT: (To Mulawin) Wait! (To Bundok) My God!...

BUNDOK: (To Mulawin) See now (Mulawin still in action of entering)

KAMPUPOT: (To Mulawin) One moment! (To Bundok) Have compassion!

BUNDOK: Have you anything to say regarding Mulawin?

KAMPUPOT: Yes, sir, regarding my husband.

BUNDOK: (To Kampupot) I have already said that he is already gone. (Mulawin enters the camarín with Kampupot)

And if you wish to say something regarding Mulawin, talk to the Datto. (In the action of leaving)

KAMPUPOT: Wait a moment! 75

BUNDOK: You must not detain me, because I have important work to do. Goodbye. (Move as if to enter the Datto’s house)

KAMPUPOT: Compassionless Wretch! (Enters the road at the left Lakan-Salian enters the road at the right, whistling to Bundok, who awaits him. Lakan-Salian is dressed as a military chief of the Chinese)

KAMPUPOT: (Kay Mulawin) Hintay! (Kay Bundok) Diyos ko!

BUNDOK: (Kay Mulawin) Nakita mon a… (Papasok pa rin si Mulawin sa camarín)

KAMPUPOT: (Kay Mulawin) Sandali lamang! (Kay Bundok) Maawa ka!

BUNDOK: Ikaw ba’y may sasabihin Hinggil kay Mulawin?

KAMPUPOT: Oo, Ginoo – Hinggil sa aking asawa.

BUNDOK: (Kay Kampupot) Sinabi ko nang siya ay wala na. (Papasok na sa kamarín si Mulawin kasama si Kampupot)

At kung may nais ka pang sabihin Hinggil kay Mulawin, Sa datu ka kailangang makipag-unawaan. (Akma nang lalabas)

BUNDOK: Sandali lamang!

BUNDOK: Ako’y di na dapat pang pigilin Pagkat marami akong mahalagang gawain; Paalam (Akmang papasok sa bahay ng datu)

KAMPUPOT: Walang awing sukab! (Tutungo sa lansangan sa kaliwa Si Lakan-Salian ay papasok mula sa lansangan sa kanan, huhuni kay Bundok, na naghihintay sa kanya. Si Lakan-Salian ay suot-hepe ng military ng mga Tsino)
Scene VII. Bundok and Lakan-Salian.

LAKAN-S: Military chief! (Bundok waits and salutes him with his head) Why is the town disturbed? Why all this supply of arms in the Camarin? Why? (Lakan-Salian seizes Bundok’s hand) Answer me, or else…

BUNDOK: I don’t know, my lord King.

LAKAN-S: (Wringing Bundok’s hand) What? You had better tell the truth if you don’t want to be pounded to pieces! Answer me!

BUNDOK: My God! The Datto is the man who knows!

LAKAN-S: Traitor! (Pushes him) Where is Gat-Salian, my traitor son? Soldiers! (The soldiers leave the camarin) Where is the Datto? (No one answers) Animals! I will break all your bones! (Move as if about to precipitate himself upon the soldiers. Suddenly Bituin appears in the door, richly clad.)

Scene VIII. The same former personages and Bintuin.

BITUIN: What rumor is this? (Looks at Lakan-Salian, is frightened and steps back. Both men see her and their anger disappears. She recovers her presence of mind and speaks angrily) What! How has anyone dared to bring a Chinaman in here!

Ikawalong eksena. Ang mga naunang tauhan at si Bituin.

BITUIN: Anong kahulugan ito? (Titingnan si Lakan-S, kakabahan at uurong. Makikita siya ng dawalang lalaki, at ang kanilang galit ay mawawala. Mabubuhayan ng loob at galit na mangungusap.) Ano ito? Sino ang nangahas na magdala dito ng isang Tsino?
LAKAN-S: I am a true Tagal; and I am Lakan-Salian, father of your husband, and your king!

BITUIN: Formerly Lakan-Salian was a true Tagal, and the father of my husband, but he is no longer so. You have sworn an alliance with the Chinese, as your uniform shows, and are fighting in behalf of them.

My husband is a Tagal without shame, and for that reason he has no father who has despised his own people has been a traitor to the honor of his ancestors.

LAKAN-S: I am a true Tagalog; and I am Lakan-Salian, father of your husband, and your king!

BITUIN: Noon, si Lakan-Salian ay Tagalog na tunay At ama ng aking asawa; Ngunit ngayon ay hindi na; Kayo ay nakipagkasundo sa mga Tsino Na gaya ng ipinapakita ng inyong bihis; Samantalang kami, Sa kanila ay nakikidigma.

BITUIN: (con’t) Ang asawa ko’y Tagalog Na walang sukat isinusumpa Ng sarili niyang bayan at kapwa, At dumungis sa dangal Ng mga ninunong namanata.

BITUIN: (con’t) Ang asawa ko’y Tagalog Na walang sukat isinusumpa Ng sarili niyang bayan at kapwa, At dumungis sa dangal Ng mga ninunong namanata.

BITUIN: Kawal! (Darating ang mga kawal at mag-aantabay)

LAKAN-S: Where is my son?

BITUIN: I have told you already that you have no son here.

LAKAN-S: Where is Gat-Salian?

BITUIN: You have not done your duty.

LAKAN-S: Wrath of heaven! (Long pause) Hear me, Bituin, my dear daughter. (Bituin steps back on hearing the word ‘Daughter’)

BITUIN: Sinabi ko nang dito ay wala kayong anak.

BITUIN: Ang mga tungkulin ninyo’y Inyong isinantabi.

BITUIN: Ngitingit ng langit! (Mahabang kahahimikan) Dinggin mo ako, Bituin, Mahal kong anak. (Si Bituin ay bahagyang uurong pagkarinig ng salitang “anak”)

BITUIN: Nasaan ang aking anak?

BITUIN: Nasaan si Gat-Salian?

BITUIN: Nasaan si Gat-Salian?
LAKAN-S: I do not despise the answers that you give me, since I know that they are caused by your excessive defense of our race, but I wish you to understand the true reason; I wish you clearly to see all the truth of your misfortune. I wish to save you (the race) from a certain death.

BITUIN: I will listen-speak!

LAKAN-S: Hingis-Khan is a skillful warrior, and God has favored him in the field of battle. They call him Hay-Wang, king of the seas of the world. His cannons are better than ours, his soldiers are unequalled, and his officers (chiefs) are wise. More than this, he possesses great riches, immense riches. His authority is ample because he is under the orders of the great King (of) Sung-Song. He has come, not to fight us, but to Fraternize with us for all time, in virtue of his sworn oath.

He will introduce the progress of his country so that we also may not be tardy but prosper like his people. We shall have commercial reciprocity with him, and our gold will complement his valor.

They pray to God with even more fervor than we do ourselves, and invite us to follow them, so as to liberate ourselves from the infinitude of the misfortunes of this life.

BITUIN: Nakikinig ako. Ipagpatuloy ninyo.

LAKAN-S: Hindi ko iginagagalit Ang mga salita mo sa akin. Pagkat batid kong ang mga iyon Ay bunga lamang ng malabis mong Pagtatanggol sa ating lipi; Ngunit nais kong iyong unawain Ang tunay na dahilan sa pagkakagayon Ng mga bagay-bagay; Nais kong makita mo nang buong linaw Ang katotohonan ng iyong kasawian; At nais ko ring ikaw (ang lipi) Ay iligtas sa tiyak na kamatayan.

BITUIN: Ipagpatuloy ninyo.

LAKAN-S: Si Hinghis-Khan ay batiking mandirigma Na sa larangan ng labangan ay pinagpapala; Ang turing sa kanya ay si Hay-Wang; Hari ng mga karagatan ng daigdigan; Ang kanyang kanyon ay higit na mahusay, Ang mga tauhan niya ay walang kapantay, At matalino ang kanyang opisyal; Higit pa sa mga ito, siya ay nag-aangkin Ng dakila, ibayong yaman; At dahil sa siya ay nasa pag-uutos Ng dakilang Hari(ng) Sung-Song Ay ganoon na lamang Ang kanyang kapangyarihan taglay. Naparito siya Hindi upang sa atin ay makipagkaibigan, Ayon na rin san kanyang salitang sinumpaan;

Sa atin ay ipakikilala niya Ang pag-unlad ng kanyang bayan Upang tayo’y di mahuli at sumulong Na gaya ng kanyang mga mamamayan; Sa kanya, tayo ay makikipagkalakalan At ang ginto natin, Sa tapang niya tumbasan;

Kung magdasal sila sa Diyos Ay higit pa sa ating pananalangin 363 Ang kanilang anyaya, Sila’y ating sundin Nang sarili nati’y mapalaya Sa sanlakasang kasawian at hilahil.
Hinghis-Khan is a man of courage (of good heart). His officials and soldiers are good friends and loyal in their friendship. They respect the Filipino (Tagalog) who does not disobey (transgress) their sacred proposition. They have eight great ships, beautiful and mighty. To them are added the allied forces of Sulu, Ibabao, Leyte, Kamigingat and other provinces.

Those who affiliate themselves with the Chinese will be well treated and considered; and those who are disobedient will not encounter anything worse than disappointments and afflictions.

The King Magdangal, my haughty nephew, has been driven by them as far as (into) the jungle of the Pampangan forests. They will not kill him out of consideration for me and my pleadings. I am very dear to them. My famous nephew Gat-Dula has also come to join in with us in the arm of Hinghis-Khan, to help him liberate us from our misfortunes. What more? Why, then, should not you also join with us? Do you imagine yourselves to be stronger, more illustrious or braver than all the Filipinos whom he has conquered? Answer me, my beloved daughter-in-law

BITUIN: No, sir, we have no greater strength, fame nor valor, but we have been dignified by God with what little we have.

Si Hinghis-Khan ay lalaking matapang (May mabuting puso); Mga opisyal niya’t tauhan Ay mapagkaibigan at tapat sa salitaan; Kanilang igagalang ang mga Pilipinong (Tagalog) Hindi lalaban Sa kanilang banal na alay; Mayroon silang walong barko, Malaki, mariikit, kagulat-gulat; Idagdag pa ang magkakaanib na puwersa Ng Sulu, Ibabao, Leyte, Kamigingat At iba pang lalawigan;

Sinumang makianib sa mga Tsino Ay kanilang igagalang At isasaalang-alang; Sinumang sumuway ay walang tatamuhin Kundi kasawian at kapighatian

LAKAN-S: (Ang Haring Magdangal, Palalo kong pamangkin, Ay itinaboy nila sa kalooban Ng gubat ng Pampanga; Kundi lamang dabil sa akin At sa aking pagmamakaawa, Siya ay matagal nang pinatay na nila; Ako’y sadyang mahal sa kanila; Ang bantog kong pamaking Si Gat Dula ay nakianib na rin Sa amin sa hukbo ni Hinghis-Khan Upang tumulong sa pagpapalaya sa atin Mula sa ating mga kasawian; Ngayo’y ano pa? Bakit hindi kayo makianib sa amin? Inisip ba ninyong kayo’y Higit na malakas, higit sa dakila O matapang kaya Kay sa mga Pilipinong Kanya nang naapula? Sumagot ka, mahal kong manugang.

BITUIN: Hindi, ginoo, Wala kami ng ganoong mas malakas na puwersa, Kabantugan o katayugan; Ngunit kami’y pinaringal naman ng Diyos
But we believe that our love for our country is greater than what which is professed by that multitude of Filipinos of our race who do not understand how to suffer, who have no honor, who respect the past epoch nor regard the present, nor yet who have faith in the future.

LAKAN-S: You are in a deep obscurity (You are laboring under a delusion).

BITUIN: The clarity of my intelligence is natural.

LAKAN-S: You are scorning deliberately the mature opinion Of our brothers, and you do not join in the good wishes which we extend to the Chinese.

BITUIN: We never have scoffed at the union of our brothers, and we do not disagree with the good wishes of anybody. Those Filipinos (Tagals) who have joined Hinghis-Khan have ceased to already be our brothers because they have voluntarily separated from and cast aside the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ and the sacred scripture of our race; the infamous persecution of which we are the object on the part of Hinghis-Khan cannot be called a treaty offered by the Chinese to our unfortunate people.

LAKAN-S: You don’t know how to recognize favors!
BITUIN: Indeed! And we are indebted to anybody for favors?

LAKAN-S: You are not grateful, nor do you love your husband even a little.

BITUIN: Lakan-Salian!

LAKAN-S: It is true: if Gat-Salian insists further silly resistance, without doubt he will die, including all his (your) subjects. You are the only one who can free them with a word; yours, Bituin, will be sufficient to save them from committing suicide.

BITUIN: From committing suicide!

LAKAN-S: Yes, suicide, if you choose; it is embarking upon a war without hope of any end save certain death for those who hazard fighting it, since Hinghis-Khan is stronger than they. Why does not Gat-Salian join forces with Hinghis-Khan? He will certainly die (otherwise). You hear me? Your husband will certainly die! (Bituin bows her head, weeps and covers her face with her hands) Have you thought of that yet? (Bituin keeps her head bowed and raises her hands to heaven)

BITUIN: Oh, holy Mother! (She almost falls, but Lakan-Salian supports her; but at that moment she recovers herself, drawing away from Lakan-Salian) Go away!

BITUIN: Ganoon nga ba? Kami pala ngayo’y may utang pang loob!

LAKAN-S: Walang utang na loob! Wala kang pagmamahal sa asawa mo, Munti man.

BITUIN: Lakan-Salian!

LAKAN-S: Totoo: kapag ipinagpilitan Ni Gat Salian ang pagmamatigas, Walang dudang siya’y mamatay Pati na ng lahat ng kanyang (lyong) nasasakupang Ikaw lamang, Ang sa kanila’y makapagpapalaya; 365 Ang pangungusap mo, Bituin Ay sapat na upang sila ay maligtas Sa pagpapatiwakal.

BITUIN: Pagpapatiwakal!

LAKAN-S: Oo, pagpapatiwakal, Kung siya mong gugustushin; Kayo’y sumusuong sa pakikidigmang Walang kahihinatnan kundi kamatayan Sa inyong mga nakikipaglaban, Pagkat si Hinghis-Khan Ay higit na makapangyarihan; Bakit hindi pa makianib si Gat Salian Kay Hinghis-Khan? Siya’y tiyak na mamamatay! (Si Bituin ay yuyuko, mananangis, tatakpan ng mga palad ang mukha.) Pinag-isipan mo na ba Ang ganoong kapalaran? (Mananatiling nakayuko si Bituin habang ang mga kamay ay itataas sa langit)

BITUIN: Ay, Inang Banal! (Halos bumagsak. Maagap na tutulong si Lakan-S, ngunit mabilis na makapainimbang si Bituin at lalayuan si Lakan-S) Lumayas kayo!
LAKAN-S: My daughter! (Bituin makes no answer, pointing Lakan-Salian to the door, indirectly dismissing him. She insists on his going. Pause) Captain, conduct her to your room, where she can recover herself, as it appears that she is indisposed. (Bundok enters, takes her by the hand and leads her into the house)

Scene IX. Soldiers; Mulawin musters them in the centre of the stage.

MULAWIN: We are intranquil. The respectable Bituin is no better of her infirmity, from which she suffers with frequency when troubled to excess. But soon she will improve, and then we can take vengeance. (Bundok enters)

BUNDOK: Soldiers, sharpen your talibones and your arrows, sew up your shoes, repair your equipments, and let everyone look to his arms. The soldier who goes on this march without having sharpened well this talibon and arrows will be punished severely. Mulawin, go fetch the Datto from the oratory in the barrio (ward) of Malilim. You have already seen what has transpired here, so let each one do his part. Remember. (Mulawin salutes, bowing his head) God go with you (Bundok enters the street) Enter the Cuartel.

LAKAN-S: Anak ko! (Hindi sasagot si Bituin, at ituturo ang pintuan upang ipahiwatig na nais niyang palayasin ni Lakan-S. Ipagmamatigas niya ang ganoon. Bahagyang kahihimik.) Kapitan, Samahan mo siya sa iyong silid Upang siya’y makapamahinga, Pagkat mukhang hindi mainam Ang kanyang pakiramdam. (Papasok si Bundok, aagapan sa kamay Bituin at ihahatid siya sa loob ng bahay.)

Ikasiyam na eksena. Ang mga sundalo. Titipuin sila ni Mulawin sa gitna ng tanghalan.

MULAWIN: Tayo’y nahaharap sa kaguluhan; Ang kagalang-galang na Bituin Ay nananatiling may karamdaman; Madalas siyang magkasakit Lubha kapag naliligalig nang malabis; Ngunit di maglalaon at siya ay gagaling At saka gagawin ang paghihiganti natin. (Papasok si Bundok)

BUNDOK: Mga kawal, Ihasa ang iyong mga talibon at busog; (366) Tahin ang inyong sapatos, Kumpunhin ang inyong kagamitan, At hayaang bawat isa Ang magsinop ng kanyang sandata; Ang kawal na nasama sa lakad na ito Nang hindi nagahahasang mainam Ng talibon at busog Ay parurusahang marubdob; Mulawin, sunduin na ang Datu Sa oratoryo ng Baryo Malilim; Nasaksihan mo na ang dito ay naganap, Kaya bawat isa ay gawin na ang atas, Ay tuwina’y tandaan. (Magbibigay-galang si Mulawin, yuyukod) Samahan ka ng Diyos. (Patutungo sa lansangan) Pasukin ang kuwartel.
Scene X.

BUNDOK: Certainly Lakan-Salian is already an enemy to the people…Lakan-Salian! Swine! Thy heart will rot in the venom of its own treachery. (Pause) There are truths that a man need not weigh and balance. Who would think that Lakan-Salian would put up for sale and make a ridiculous show thereby of his honor, his frenetic love for his country, all his forces by land and sea, his faith in God and all the ardor of the people that Heaven has confided in him? Disgraced and unfortunate people! You will feel suffering, the weight of the authority of Hinghis-Khan, the king who is not of your race…Ah! (Rubs his brow as if to try to remember something King Sula’s orders! I had forgotten all about them!) 80 (Immediately enters the street at the right)

Ikasampung eksena.

BUNDOK: Sadya ngang si Lakan Salian Ay naging kaaway na ng sambayanan… Lakan-Salian – Hayop! Ang puso ninyo’y mabubulok sa kamandag Ng sarili nitong kataksilan. (Sandaling titigil) May mga katotohanang Di na kailangan pang timbangin; Sino ang makapagsasabi Na ang sarili niyang dangal, Masidhing pagmamahal sa bayan, Lahat ng kanyang lakas Sa lupa at dagat, Pati na ng kanyang paniniwala Sa Diyos at sa alab ng taumbayang Ipinagkatiwala sa kanya ng langit Ay kanya palang ipagbibili at Gagawing isang kahiya-hiyang palabas! Inaglahi at sinawing bayan! Kayo’y magdurusa, Inyong babathinang bigat ng paghahari ni Hinugis-Khan, Isang haring hindi ninyo kalipi; A! (Hihimasin ang noo na mistulang mayroong nais alalahanin.) Ang mga utos ng apala si Haring-Sula! Ano’t nakaligtaan ko na! (Mabilis na tutunguhin ang lansangan sa kanan.)

Scene XI. From the left will be heard the notes of a bugle or cornet, announcing the arrival of the Datto. Gat-Salian and Bituin, both gorgeously arrayed and seeking for Bundok, enter the stage from the road at the left.

GAT-S: Bundok! (Louder) Captain! He did not hear me. He did not turn his head. He went fast. (Whistles at Bundok, but he, not hearing, Gat-Salian becomes infuriated and tears his hair. Bituin enters, coming from the house)

Ikalabing-isang eksena. Mula sa kaliwa ay mariring ang tunog ng tambuli o trumpeta na nagahayag ng pagdating ng datu. Sina Gat Salian at Bituin, kapwa makisig ang bihis, ay papasok sa tanghalan mula sa daan sa kaliwa, naghahanap kay Bundok.

GAT-S: Bundok! (Mas malakas) Kapitan! Hindi niya ako narining; Hindi siya lumington man lamang. Kay bilis niyang lumakad. (Huhuni kay Bundok, ngunit hindi naman mariring; magagalit at hahabutin ang sariling buhok. Papasok si Bituin mula sa bahay.)
BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Bituin!

BITUIN: You have finally decided to go? ...Answer. (Pause) Your silence indicates a frightful deed; your eye burn and make me tremble. I observe by your movements that your desire has made you decide forcibly to abandon me...my prayers have not softened your heart, and you do not consider my tears in the slightest!

I have loved you because you swore to adore my all your life. Is this, then, the true fulfillment of your promise? I have indeed been torn away from the power of my family, where alone (only) I could do as I pleased, set aside and abandoned on account of this devastating war! Answer me, you!

GAT-S: Oh!

BITUIN: Pardon me, amiable friend, if my declarations have wounded your modesty! I understand you excessive love for me. I have voluntarily wounded your sentiments to the end that you should not abandon me. I have no other life than your love, and it is death for me if you are ever absent from my side, or if you do not take me with you wherever you wish to go. I am willing to share your fate. (Lit. “Divide my luck with you.”)

GAT-S: You!

BITUIN: Nagpasiya ka na rin sa pag-alis?

Sumagot ka. (Sandaling titigil) Ang katahimikan mo’y nagpapahiwatig Ng isang pasiyang nakapangangamba; Ang mga mata mo’y nag-aalab At sa akin ay nakapanginginig; Napapansin ko sa iyong mga kilos Na ang nasa mo ay siyang nagtulak sa iyo Upang sapilitang iwanan ako...Ang mga dalangin ko Ay hindi nakapagpalambot sa puso mo At ang pagluha ko Ay hindi mo pinahalagahan kaunti man;

Inibig ko pagkat ikaw ay sumumpang Ako’y sasambahin habambuhay; Ito ba, sa gayon, ang katuparan Ng sumpang yaon? Tunay na ako nga’y natiwalag na Sa kapangyarihan ng mga kaanak, Doo’y nagagawa ko ang sariling kaagustuhan; Ngayon ay nasantabi ako at napag-iwanan Dahil sa malupit na digmaan! Ikaw, tumungon ka!

GAT-S: O…!

BITUIN: Pagpaumanhin ako, butihing kaibigan, Sakali mang ang mga tinuran ko’y Nakasugat sa iyong katimpian; Nauunawaan ko Ang malabis mong pag-ibig sa akin; Sinadya kong ika’y saktan Upang ako’y huwag mong iwan; Wala akong ibang buhay Liban sa iyong pagmamahal, At kapag nawalay ka sa piling (368) At siya kong kamatayan; Kaya’t isama mo ako Saan ka man pumatungo; Handa akong makihati Ssa iyong kapalaran.

GAT-S: Ikaw!
BITUIN: I, your true wife! Did not you swear by chance that you would never leave me without my previous consent? In that case I will not permit you to go, and in the name of this new being, which is beginning to grow in me from the bottom of my soul, I beseech you to keep true to your oath.

GAT-S: Bituin! Bituin!

BITUIN: Why is it that you wish to leave me?

GAT-S: My native land…

BITUIN: Your country is mine; and why must not I be defended as well as she? Cannot women indeed shoot arrows as well as men?

GAT-S: Blind power! Useless warrior! Bituin, you say it well. You are indeed…no, impossible! I shall go tomorrow.

BITUIN: Let us go, then (together)!

GAT-S: We will go to nobody other than you; your situation needs especial care (sic), inasmuch as your son will soon be the light, and I may also see you ambushed by Hinghis-Khan, who has passed over (the sense here is really overrun rather than simply passed over) our territory with the intention of scattering the race with thousands of Malay warriors. Ambitious Chinamen!

BITUIN: Ako, Na asawa mong totoo! Di ba’t sumumpa kang ako’y di iiwan Lubha pa’t labag sa aking kagustuhan? Dahil diyan, di kita papayagang umalis, At sa ngalan ng buhay Na si sinapupunan ko’y pumipintig, At nagsisimulang sumibol Sa kaibuturan ng dibid, Nagsusumamo ako: Tumupad ka sa iyong salita.

GAT-S: Bituin! Bituin!

BITUIN: Bakit nais mong ako’y iwan?

GAT-S: Ang aking lupang tinubuan…

BITUIN: Ang bayan mo’y bayan ko rin Bakit hindi ako ipagtatanggol Kung paanong ipinagtatanggol sita? Hindi kaya makatutudla ang babae Na kasing-husay ng mga lalaki?

GAT-S: Bulag na kapangyarihan! Walang silbing mandirigma! Bituin, tinuran mo nang mahusay, Tunay ngang ikay….Hindi, hindi mangyayari! Bukas ako aalis.

BITUIN: Kung gayo’y tayo nang dalawa!

GAT-S: Walang ibang patutunguhan Kundi sa iyo; Ikaw, sa lagay mo, Ay nangangailangan ng tanging kalinga Dahil sa ang iyong anak Ay maaring masawi sa pakikidigma; At maaring ikaw man ay tambangan Ni Hinghis-Khan, Siyan a sumakop sa ating nasasakupan, At naglalayong ikalat ang lipi Sa pamamagitan ng kanyang libong Malayong mandirigma; Palalong Tsino!
They desire to break us on the wheel of slavery! Ah! What we know, Bituin; what we know! But sometimes they have to pay dear for their consequences (lit. “the activity of your desire”), and in case they succeed in taking our country, all they will get will be only that which they have sprinkled over with their venomous blood. This that I predict will be certain (of fulfillment) because it is reasonable, and because that which is reasonable must be accomplished, since God flagellates by means of reason.

BITUIN: Yes, the reasonable thing will (must) be completed, but it cannot be that you should abandon me. I can perceive that which you prophesied, without necessity, will kill me with grief. Do not go.

BITUIN: Oo, kinakailangang gaawin at tapusin Ang makatwirang bagay, Ngunit hindi maaring ako’y Basta iwanan na lamang; Nakikita ko, at malamang na maganap Ang lahat ng iyong tinuran, Na sa kalungkuta’y siya namang Sa akin ay papatay; Kaya’t huwag kang umalis, Ako ay huwag iwan.

GAT-S: I shall return soon.

GAT-S: Ako nama’y babalik kaagad.

BITUIN: You insist on going then?

BITUIN: Ang pag-alis ay iyo pa ring Ipinagpipilitan, Ganoon ba?

GAT-S: I desire to secure to you in the highest degree as it is merited, your honor, and to make for our future sons the happiest possible name for glory and generosity.

GAT-S: Ang nais ko lamang ay pangalagaang ganap Ang karangalan sa iyo’y karapat-dapat, At ipagkaloob sa ating mga magiging anak Ang sukdulang luwalhati at saganang bukas.

BITUIN: I am haughty enough with the mere fact of you being your wife, and as for our future sons, there is a superfluity of the honor of their father, for which they will be

BITUIN: Ang maging asawa mo’y Angking dangal ko na; At para sa ating mga magiging supling Ang dangal ng kanilang ama’y Labis at labis na Upang sila ay iagalang ng buong balana; Hindi ba’t tayo’y tunay na mayaman? Hindi ba’t tayo’y may dugong
respected by all peoples. Are not we indeed rich? Is not our blood noble? Have Not we authority? What further inheritance would you have for our future sons?

GAT-S: I would that they should have (had) an excessively powerful father.

BITUIN: Indeed, and are not you sufficiently powerful already? Perhaps you have not exposed yourself already? Perhaps you have not come off victorious in innumerable battles? Is that not enough? Is not it true that in the burning of Cainta (the town) the fire began to burn your very clothes before you managed to wrench yourself free from the hands of the enemy? What, what do you call that? Ah, no; you will (must) not go!

GAT-S: Bituin…here is an officer who comes running and is very tired. (Enter Bundok)

Scene XII. The same a Bundok, who enters from the street, carry a letter.

BITUIN: What can it be?

BUNDOK: My God!

GAT-S: What is this?

BUNDOK: A letter from King Sula. (Hands the letter to Gat-Salian who hastily reads it)

bughaw? Hindi ba’t tayo’y makapangyarihan? Sa ating mga magiging anak Ay ano pa ang hindi nila Mamamana?

GAT-S: Kung ako ang tatanungin, Ay nanaisin kong magkaroon sila Nga isang amang sukudulan ang kapangyarihan.

BITUIN: Tunay, Ang angkin bang kapangyarihan Ay hindi pa sapat? Marahil ay hindi ka pa ganap na kilala; Marahil, ang iyong mga tagumpay Sa laban ay kulang pa; Hindi pa ba sapat ang lahat? Hindi ba totoo sa laban ng Cainta, Ang suot mong damit ay sukat magsilab Bago ka nakaigpaw sa pigil na kaaway? Sa ganoo’y ano ang tawag mo? A, hindi! Hindi ka aalis!

GAT-S: Bituin…Pinuno itong dumarating, Humahangos At katawa’y tila pagod. (Papasok si Bundok)

Ikalabindalawang eksena: Sila pa rin, kasama si Bundok, na papasok mula sa lansangan, taglay ang isang liham.

BITUIN: Ano kaya nag dahilan?

BUNDOK: Diyos ko po!

GAT-S: Bakit, ano iyon?

BUNDOK: Sulat mula kay Haring Sula. (Iaabot ang sulat kay Gat-Salian. Agad babasahin ni Gat Salian ang liham)
BITUIN: From King Sula! What can it be? Captain, what does it mean, and why did you run so?

BUNDOK: It was nothing less than the urgency of the order(s).

BITUIN: Do you know the contents of the letter?

BUNDOK: I do not, my lady.

BITUIN: Does the King order the Datto to take part in some battle?

BUNDOK: I know nothing, señora.

BITUIN: Are there enemies on the outskirts of town?

BUNDOK: I do not think so, madam.

BITUIN: Do they (the sultans) oblige us, then, to fight?

BUNDOK: I do not know, your highness.

BITUIN: What tidings can you give me regarding our actual successes?

BUNDOK: I know nothing, madam.

BITUIN: Is it certain that the Datto will go tomorrow with his soldiers?

BUNDOK: I do not know, madam.

BITUIN: What most terrible men! They urge on the war, they

BUNDOK: Walang anuman, Maliban sa pagmamadaling ihatid ang liham.

BITUIN: Alam mo ba ang laman ng liham?

BUNDOK: Hindi po, kagalang-galang.

BITUIN: Nag-utos ba ang hari Upang lumahok ang datu sa anumang labanan?

BUNDOK: Hindi ko po alam, ginang.

BITUIN: May kalaban bas a kanugnog ng bayan?

BUNDOK: Palagay ko po’y wala, ginang.

BITUIN: Kung ganoo’y ang mga Suluanon ang nagnais Na kami’y makipaglaban.

BUNDOK: Hindi ko po alam, kamahalan.

BITUIN: Balitaan mo ako Tungkol sa ating mga tagumpay.

BUNDOK: Wala po akong alam, ginang.

BITUIN: Tiyak bang ang datu ay susulong bukas Na kasama ang kanyang ang mga tauhan?

BUNDOK: Hindi ko po alam, ginang. 371

BITUIN: Ano bang mga tao ito? Sila’y nakikipagdigma, nag-utos,
give orders about it and execute them, and if you ask them anything they know absolutely nothing. Is that why you can give me no information.

BUNDOK: Perhaps I might, but my duty…

BITUIN: Thanks: I respect your sacred obligation.

GAT-S: You may go now. (Bundok salutes, bowing his head and entering the Camarin)

Scene XIII. Bituin and Gat-Salian.

BITUIN: Do you know the contents of the letter?

GAT-S: No.

BITUIN: You have really decided to march away?

GAT-S: I don’t know.

BITUIN: That is always the way! You begin by saying you know nothing, and then you suddenly keep silence.

GAT-S: You are keeping me back from my work?

BITUIN: Where are you going?

GAT-S: To write orders. (Enter the Cuartel)

BITUIN: Oh God, Lord, free our people!
Scene XIV. Bituin and Lakan-Salian, who comes from the street.

LAKAN-S: Bituin!

BITUIN: Here again!

LAKAN-S: Where is Gat-Salian?

BITUIN: He is very busy.

LAKAN-S: I will await him. (Goes to left of stage, Bituin to right. Pause.) What a great day! Come, amiable Hinghis-Khan, come and cultivate this neglected earth for which you have waited so long. This country where I was born I wish to see rich and flowering, and also adorned with heavy and luxuriant sheaves of rice.

I hope to God that you may be happy, you have brought here your pleasant willingness, you who bridge over the seas, who penetrate the forests and cross the mountains, suffering a thousand changes in fortune without other design than to enrich and develop in progress this my poor and unfortunate country. Would go God that you might be happy all your life!

ikalaging-apat na eksena. Sina Bituin at Lakan Salian; ang huli’y magmumula sa lansangan.

LAKAN-S: Bituin!

BITUIN: Narito na naman kayo!

LAKAN-S: Nasaan si Gat-Salian?

BITUIN: Marami siyang pinagkakaabalaahan.

LAKAN-S: Hihintayin ko siya. (Tutungo sa kaliwang bahagi ng tanghalan. Si Bituin naman ay tutungo sa kanan. Katahimikan.) Kay gandang araw! Halina, butihing Hinghis-Khan, Halina’t linangin Ang lupang natiwangwang Na kay tagal mo ring inasam-asam; Ang lupaing itong aking sinilangan Ay nais kong mamasid na namumukadkad At yumayaman, Napapalamutian ng saganang palay;

Dalangin ko sa diyos Na ika’y lumigaya, Ikaw na nagkusang magdala ng saya, Tumawid ng dagat, Bumagtas ng gubat, Umakyat ng bundok, Nagdusa sa pagpaparaya, Pagkat walang pakay kundi pagyamanin Kundi paunlarin ang aba At sawimpalad kong lupa; Nawa, ang diyos, sa habangbuhay mo’y Ilayo ka sa dusa! hinahagkan Ng mayuming hangin ng kahilagaan;
LAKAN-S: Ah, with the life of today it seems that already I can foresee that our country seizes its chance
For aggrandizement, and is enwrapped with fine silk of the color of ripe straw, and which has a playful appearance each time it is caressed by the gentle breeze, just as the (rice) paddies look when they feel the kiss of the soft north wind.
I can see millions of spears or rice, waving gently, offering their abundant grain to sustain the life of the poor farmer who sowed the seed. It seems as if I could see the strong dykes which surround the water in the irrigation ditches, which sings and purls as it flows along in its infinite grace.
Oh amiable Hinghis-Khan, my wish is that you may be happy all your life!

BITUIN: That heaven may curse you! Why do you wish to have this country (as) the object of your wicked designs when it is the abode of peace and wellbeing the mother country of thousands of noble descendants, and where rest the bones of our ancestors?
Oh! To what period of gloom and darkness are you guiding my country? It seems as if I could see today deep-rooted in you the seeds of ambition, of infamy, of slavery and of a bitter death.
BITUIN: (con’t) It also seems as if I could see that from today you will appear to prosper and show adequate and proper results for the golden age, but…Aye! Your sons have separated from you, they see you now only from a distance, directing their glances without the power to avail themselves of what is their proper and exclusive right. They await no other end than to find death in the abysm of impatience which quickens their souls in the moment of agony which presages their destruction (dissolution?). Oh false Hinghis-Khan! May heaven curse you!

LAKAN-S: How blind is your (form of) thought! (I still say) May you be happy, loved Hinghis-Khan. Oh, my fortunate country, you may indeed be happy when you welcome your new redeemer! What riches you will have! It seems as if I could see your great jungles transformed into beautiful villages, your hovels into great houses; your seas will have find ports where all the nations will gather; your commerce will flourish everywhere; during the day all will be hard at work, and at night they will amuse themselves by singing the happiness of which you (Hinghis-Khan) are conducting them. Oh, ancestors of the Filipino people! Open your sepulchers, help me fix the course and end of the life of your sons!

BITUIN (con’t) Tila ba akin ring natatanaw
Na ikaw nga ay yayaman hanggang Katandaan, Ngunit…Ay! Ikaw ay mawalay sa iyong mga supling, Kayo’y nagtatanaw, Ngunit may agwat, may hadlang; Ang sa-ganang kanilang angking karapatan Ay hindi makuha, hindi matamasa; Wala silang tadhana kundi kamatayan Sa pagkalumagi at kabagutan;
Tila nagdudumali ang mga kaluluwa: Biglain ang dusa sa isang kisap Yamang tutunguhí’y tiyak na pagkasuka! Ay, balatkayong Hinghis-Khan! Sumpain ka ng kalangitan!

LAKAN-S: Bulag na pag-iisip! Sinasabi ko pa rin: Nawa’y sumulong ka, Mahal na Hinghis-Khan! O, mapalad kong bayan, Ika’y liligaya salubungin lamang Ang bagong manunubos! Nakikita ko ang hinaharap: Ang iyong malalawak na kagubatan Ay magiging maririkit na pamayanann; Ang mga dampa ay mapapalitan Ng malapalasyong tahanan; Ang iyong karagatan ay matatayuan Ng mahuhusay sa daungan At dOO’y magtitipon Ang lahat ng bansa; Pakikipagkalakalan ay siyang uulad Saang dako man; Sa umaga, ang lahat ay masipag sa paggawa, At sa gabi, silay nakakatuwa, Nag-aawitan ng kaligayahang ikaw, Hinghis-Khan, Ang nagpapasimuno’t siyang nagtatakda; O, mga ninuno ng bayang Pilipino, Magbangon kayo sa inyong libingan At ako ay tulungan, Nais kong itumpak ang buhay Ng inyong mga anak, Nais kong bigyang-wakas Ang mga paghihirap.
BITUIN: Oh, my beloved country, garb yourself in mourning because already one has come who would sprinkle you with the smoking blood of your honored sons. How many misfortunes have they prepared for you!?

If you could come out of the present you could see another time, when your leafy woods would be dried up with the heat of ambition, your shacks would burn day and night, your seas would be crowded with ships of war and destroyers of the people; …agony would be everywhere, our commerce would be monopolized by other capital; industry would have decayed because of the revolution, which would last a long time, and the people would have nothing to do at night but to think about the future. Oh, ancestors of the Filipino people! Open your graves and contemplate the corpse of the race (town?) of your sons.

LAKAN-S: Blind and ungrateful one!

BITUIN: Indeed, and I am blind or ungrateful because I see clearly the people’s misfortune?

LAKAN-S: What misfortune have I foretold? Is it a misfortune indeed that Hinghis-Khan should conduct us to the plane of the most illustrious people in the world? IS it a disgrace indeed what he should cause us to fraternize with strong peoples who will aid us in our progress? Could you call it a misfortune that he secures our escape from the spilling of the blood of our citizens who are intent upon suicide? Answer.

BITUIN: Ay, sinta kong bayan, Maghanda sa dusa; Ngayo’y narito na ang isang may nasa Na ang lupa’y diligin ng mainit na dugo Ng mararangal mong supling; Anong kasawian ang nililikha Para sa iyo?

Kung hahakbang ka sa labas ngayon Ay matatanaw mo ang bukas: Malalabay na puno ay matutuyo Sa tindi ng palalong pag-iimbot, Mga dampa’y madadarang gabi’t araw, Karagata’y magsisikap Sa mga sasaykan ng digamaan; Pagdurusa’y abot-abot; Kabuhaya’y aangkinin ng ibang capital; Industriya ay hihinto bunga ng kaguluhang Sa mahabang panaho’y tiyak na ma magtatagal, At sa sambayanahan ay walang magagawa Kundi ipaghimutok sa mga gabay Ang kinabukasan; Ay, mga ninuno ng bayang Pilipino! Bukdan ang inyong mga himlayan At masdan ang mga bangkay, Ang lipi ng inyong mga supling!

LAKAN-S: Bulag! Walang utang na loob!

BITUIN: Kaya? O baka naman ako’y bulag at Walang utang na loob dahil aking nakikita nang malinaw Ang kasawian ng bayan?

LAKAN-S: Anong kasawian ang aking binanggit? Kasawian kaya kung si Hinghis-Khan Ay maghatid sa ating hanay Ng pinakamagigiting na lahi Ng sadaigdigan? Kahihiyan kaya ang pakikipagkapitan Sa malalakas Na pawang tutulong sa ikauunlad? Kasawian bang matatawag Kung si Hinghis-Khan ay kumilos Upang maiwasan ang pagdanak ng dugo Ng mamamayan nating nais magpatiwakal? Sumagot ka!
BITUIN: Such people have a natural inclination for annihilation to the very last, for that reason they cannot conduct us anywhere except to the brink of the direst poverty. This fraternity of which we have spoken has no other significance than the enslavement of the weak by the strong. That we will spill our blood indicates not our suicide but merely the defense of our proper rights and of the honor of our honored village (tribe). Is it not so?

LAKAN-S: Bituin, how obstinate you are.

BITUIN: My God!...

LAKAN-S: You are unfortunate; you would conduct people whom heaven has confided to us to the haven of a certain death. You respond to the life of the people which you find under your dominion – how? Indeed, do not you understand how useless is your truly disastrous resistance?

BITUIN: We are not ruined at all, but in case he (Hinghis-Khan) should succeed, we should like in exchange a name which should figure in the history of our Filipino people race as illustrious, and which may serve as an aureole for our sons. God has confided to us the lives of our subjects, so that we may lead them to death if that were necessary, but, for the present, our conscience is at peace and our heart serene, because we know by experience how to do our full duty.

LAKAN-S: And what is your intention?

BITUIN: Ugaling manlipol ng taong gaya niya; Sa dahilang iyan, Tayo’y di maaakay saan man Liban na sa pinakaabang pagdurusa! Ang pakikipagkapitang iyong sinasabi Ay walang iba kundi ang pang-aalipin 375 Ng malakas sa mahina; Ang pagbububo ng dugo ay di pagpapatiwakal Kundi pagtatangol sa angking karapatan At karangalan ng sintang bayan (tribo), Hindi baga?

LAKAN-S: Anong tigas ng iyong ulo.

BITUIN: Bathala!

LAKAN-S: Ika’y sawimpalad; Itutulak moa ng bayan Sa tiyak ng kamatayan – Ang bayang ipinakatiwala na sa amin Ng langit! Paano kang tumutugon Sa pangangailangan ng mga taong Iyong nasasakupan, paano? Tunay, hindi mo nauunawaan Na saying lamang ang inyong pagtutol, Walang patutunguhan kundi Pagkawatak-watak.

BITUIN: Kami’y hindi nagkakawatak-watak; Ngunit kapag siya (Hinghis-Khan) ay magtagumpay, Ang nais nami’y isang pagalang Lalaging magiting sa kasaysayan, At luwalhati ng aming mga supling; Ipinagkatiwala sa amin ni Bathala Ang buhay ng bayan; Kung kinakailangang’y pangungunahan naming sila Hanggang kamataayan; Ngunit sa kasalukuyan, Ang diwa namin ay tahimik Pagkat batid namin sa karanasan Kung paanong tupding ganap Ang katungkulan.

LAKAN-S: Ano naman ang iyong hangarin?
BITUIN: We wish that our hoped-for independence not be turned aside.

LAKAN-S: And who wants to turn it aside? Who? Your natural stupidity is what makes you rave.

BITUIN: Sir!...

LAKAN-S: Nothing more. You have terminated our conversation. You need not wait to intercede for your people. Will not Gat-Salian come?

BITUIN: I do not know, sir.

LAKAN-S: Tell him to seek me in the chapel of the barrio (Ward) of Pinagbakajan (Enters the street)

BITUIN: Traitor! Shameless! Heartless!

Scene XV. Bituin and Gat-Salian, and later Bundok and the soldiers.

GAT-S: Who is the man who was there just now? (Bituin is terrified by the sudden appearance of Gat-Salian) Who is it? (Pause) What means your silence? Wrath of Holy God! Bituin!

BITUIN: Beloved Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Ah, I cannot permit you to call me beloved so long as you neglect to answer my question.

BITUIN: You are my husband.

BITUIN: Na ang layong kalayaan Ay huwag waling-halaga.

LAKAN-S: At sino ang nais magwalang-halaga? Sino? Ang angkin mong kamangmangan Ang sanhi ng iyong pagbubusa.

BITUIN: Ginoo…

LAKAN-S: Sukat na! Tinapos mon a ang usapan; Di mon a kailangang ipaglaban pa Ang iyong nasasakupan; Si Gat-Salian kaya’y hindi parito?

BITUIN: Hindi ako alam, ginoo. 376

LAKAN-S: Sabihin mo sa kanya Na naroon ako sa kalye Ng Baryong Pinagbakahan. (Tutungo sa lansangan).

BITUIN: Taksil! Walanghiya! Walang habag!

Ikalabinlimang eksena. Sina Bituin at Gat Salian, at pagkatapos ay si Bundok at ang mga kawal.

GAT-S: Sino ang lalaking kanina’y narito? (Magigitla si Bituin sa biglang pagdating ni Gat Salian) Sino siya? (Katahimikan)

ANONG KAHULUGAN NG PANANAHIK? Sumpa ng Diyos na banal! Bituin!

BITUIN: Mahal na Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: A! Hindi ko tutulutang tawagin akong mahal Hanggaat hindi tinutugon Ang aking mga katanungan.

BITUIN: Asawa kita.
GAT-S: Don’t you wish to be loyal to me?

BITUIN: Is that necessary?

GAT-S: Necessary! Is it then necessary that you should not be loyal to me, as you seem to think? In your answer I shall understand the matter.

BITUIN: It will be better if you do not understand me, and that you should not discover my thought, Gat-Salian.

GAT-S: What manner of speech is this? What forms are these?

BITUIN: The words and customs of a wife.

GAT-S: You have lied; the words and customs of a wife must be loyal, and as yours are not so, you are not my wife.

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: I have spoken.

BITUIN: As you are very good, take back what you have said.

GAT-S: Who is the man you had here?

BITUIN: A…a Chinaman.

GAT-S: A Chinaman! A Chinaman in my house? And what did he want?

BITUIN: Isang…isang Tsino.

GAT-S: Isang Tsino! Isang Tsino sa aking pamamahay! At anong gusto niya dito?
BITUIN: He came to invite us to join forces with Hinghis-Khan. Soldiers (the soldiers come from the cuartel under command of Bundok), follow up that Chinaman by that path (points to the soldiers. Detain him. (To Gat-Salian) I beg you to pardon me.


GAT-S: I wish to see him hanged to this tree to serve as a repast for the village crows. Follow him up.

BITUIN: No, hear me, Gat-Salian: I do not wish you to kill this man.

GAT-S: He is our enemy.

BITUIN: I know it, but…


BITUIN: But…This man who…I do not wish him to suffer any misfortune; do not punish him.

GAT-S: I!...And why? What do you want to say, Bituin? Who is this Chinaman? (She keeps silence) Oh, Curse of God! My will is benumbed and my head is dizzy. I do not wish to offend you, Bituin, but, hear me: Who is that man, who?

BITUIN: I am afraid of you.

GAT-S: Liar! (Seizes Bituin’s hand and shakes it violently) I clearly see the color of blood! Do you know the Chinaman?


BITUIN: Yes, Gat-Salian.

GAT-S: Sinungaling! (Hahanapin ang kamay ni Bituin at maharas na yuyugyugin) Malinaw kong nakikita Ang kulay ng dugo! Kilala mob a ang Tsino?

BITUIN: Oo, Gat-Salian.
GAT-S: And who is he, then? (She is silent) Ten thousand curses of heaven! (He pushes Bituin) Bad wife! You already know my acts when my soul is infuriated. I am very angry now, but I wish to let you go. What is that man? (She is silent) Ah, woman cursed by all the world! I can stand you no longer! You will be selling me? You have brought into my premises a Chinamen and have been seducing my subjects; he knew my wife and did not wish to speak to me. What is that? What does it signify?

Soldiers, who is that Chinaman who has been here?

Why did you not ask him? (He is silent for a moment) Nothing — you are all in combination with the enemy. You are traitors in my pay. Why should not you see yourselves burn in the flames of a formidable bonfire? Bundok, take Lady Bituin and those soldiers and burn them up! (The soldiers are about the march)

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: I have already sentenced you.

BITUIN: Pardon! (She kneels before Gat-Salian)

GAT-S: Enough!

BITUIN: However great Gat-Salian is, (for that reason) it should not cause you to be disgusted. When you ask me who that Chinaman is, you are very much disgusted.

GAT-S: At sino siya, hala na? (Muling tatahimik si Bituin) Sanlaksang sumpa ng langit! (Tatabigin si Bituin.) Masamang asawa! Alam mo gawi ko kapag damdam’y nanggaluyos, Gaya ngayong lubha mo akong ginagalit; Ngunit hahayaan kita; Sino ang lalaking iyon? (Tahimik lamang si Bituin) A, babaing sinumpa ng buong daigdig! Hindi na ako makapagpipili sa iyo! Ipagkakanulo mo ako? Tinanggal na mo sa aking pamamahay Ang isang Tsino Ang ang mga sakop ko’y iyong tinutukso; Kilala niyang ikaw ay asawa ko Ay sa ika’y ayaw niyang makitungo; Anong ibig sabihin ng lahat? Anong kalangunan?

Mga kawal, Sino ang Tsinong naparito?

Bakit hindi ninyo inusig? (Saglit na mananahimik) Wala – Lahat kayo’y kasapakat ng kaaway; Mga taksil na aking kinakalinga; Bakit hindi pa kayo magasunog na lahat Sa liyab ng malaking siga? Bundok, Dakpin si Bituin at ang mga kawal na iyan At lahat sila’y bayaang masilab! (Akmang tatalima ang mga kawal)

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Iginawad ko na ang kaparusahan.

BITUIN: Patawad! (Luluhod kay Gat-Salian.

GAT-S: Sukat na!

BITUIN: Kung gaano kadakila si Gat-Salian, Paumanhin niya’y marapat lamang Na magkagayon din; Nang usigin mo ako Hinggil sa Tsinong iyon, Nabitiwan mo ang iyong pagpipigil.
GAT-S: These are merely excuses! (To Bundok) Burn them!

BITUIN: Pardon!

GAT-S: A thousand times no!

BITUIN: Then I will tell you.

GAT-S: Who?

BITUIN: Well, then, you will be obliged to know that this Chinaman is...Lakan-Salian!

GAT-S: Ah, my father! Oh! (Extends his hands to Bituin and Bundok and draws them to the centre, the others following behind them. He insists that they come) Soldiers, Bituin – we have judgment! We have judgment!

_RAPID CURTAIN_

**ACT II**

_Saloon of the Datto’s house, decorated with a quantity of arms used in antiquity. At both sides are large benches of narra-wood without varnish; in the background is a large painting symbolizing Justice as a woman who bears in her left hand a scale-balance and in her right a sword. Under the painting one may read the following inscription:_

(Inscription is lacking in original manuscript)

**IKALAWANG YUGTO**

(Sa sala ng bahay ng datu, napapalamutian ng maraming sinaunang armas; sa mgakabila ay naroong ang dalawang bangkong narra, walang pintura; sa likuran ay matatagpuan ang malaking larawan ng babaeng kumakatawan sa Hustisya, tangan sa kaliwang kamay ang timbang, at sa kanan, ang espada; sa ilalim noon ay mababasa ang sumunod:)

Ang nakasulat ay wala sa orihinal na manuskrito
Facing this picture and cemented to the wall is a precious chair or tribunal adorned with fine red silk, which completely covers it. To both sides of the picture on the walls, and conveniently arranged, are to be seen javelins, knives, krises, axes, bows, arrows, and lances of different forms.

Two doors open at the sides. In the background is set a table on which may be seen a stone inkstand, quill pens, parchment, paper and various books. Near the table and hanging from the centre of the arch is a lamp which consists of a silver play full of oil from which protrude a number of wicks, all of them burning. As the curtain rises Gat-Salian is seen asleep, stretched out at full length on the divan. Lakan-Salian has crept up behind him with a sharp dagger in his hand and is on the point of stabbing him when Bundok suddenly appears and overpowers him by force, possesses himself of the dagger, and drags the old man to the opposite side of the room.

Scene I. Gat-Salian, Lakan-Salian, and Bundok

LAKAN-S: It appears that I am not to assassinate my son; but he will die and the country shall live.

BUNDOK: Assassin! Would take the life of our Datto, your son, with your own hands?

LAKAN-S: Kill me!

Katapat ng larawan, at nakakabit sa dinding, ang isang makisig na uuan na ganap na nabibihisan ng mamahaling sedang pula; sa makgabilang panig ng larawan, mainam na nakaayos sa dinding ang mga dyabelin, punyal, kris, palakol, pana at busog, at iba’t ibang sibat;

Dalawang pinto ang nabubukasan sa magkabila; san bahaging likuran ay naroong rin ang isang mesang kinapapatungan ng isang batong suksukan ng panulat, balahibong pluma, balat ng tupa, papel, at iba’t ibang aklat; malapit sa mesa, at nakasabit sa gitna ng arko, ay isang lampara, na binabuo ng isang sisidlang pilak na puno ng langis, at kinatitirikan ng ilang mitsang pawang may sindi. Sa pagbubukas ng tabing, makikitang si Gat-Salian ay tuwid na natututulog sa isang pagpag; gumagapang sa likuran niya si Lakan-Salian, may taglay na matalim na punyal, at akmang mananaksak, nang sa biglang darating si Bundok at siya ay gagapiin. Maaagaw ng huli ang punyal, at ang matanda ay kanyang hihihalin a kabilang panig ng silid.

Unang eksena. Gat-Salian, Lakan-Salian, at Bundok

LAKAN-S: Mukhang hindi ako magtatagumpay Sa pagpatay sa aking anak! Ngunit masasawi rin siya At ang bayan ay mabubuhay.

BUNDOK: Mamamtay-tao! Papatayin ninyo ang aming datu Na sariling ninyong suplang Sa pamamgitan ng sarili ninyong kamay?

LAKAN-S: Ako’y patayin na!
BUNDOK: I certainly shall, but not right away. You are a perverse monster. For your arm you have infamy, for your means treason, for your end crime. You are the incarceration of the human beast, a man of action but an animal in will (spirit)!

LAKAN-S: Oh! (He pushes Bundok aside and throws himself upon Gat-Salian, but the two seize his knife just as Bayani and Mulawin appear and seize his arms).

BUNDOK: Do you see who is resting on the divan? Do you know him? Perhaps at this very moment he dreams of the blessing of his father, and you, that same father, comes to pierce his heart with the dagger of your bloody perfidy in the moment of his repose. (Lakan-Salian trembles)

Yes, tremble all over! You feel the implacable lash of remorse? Already the flames lick at the black soul of the homicide! Listen! The son who kills his father is a monster, but the father who assassinates his son is the embryo of all the crimes in the calendar rolled together.

LAKAN-S: Kill me!

BUNDOK: Do not be impatient. I will do it after you have shed tears of blood, of the powerful poisons which well up from your infamous heart. Why would you assassinate the Datto? In order to sell entirely to Hinghis-Khan the beautiful land

BUNDOK: Talaga, Ngunit hindi kapagkaraka; Kayo ay balighong hamilaw! Sandata ninyo’y kasamaan, Paraan ninyo’y kataksilan, At krimen ang nais ninyong kamtan! Sa katauhan ninyo’y nabuhay Ang taong halimaw – Tao kung kumilaw ngunit Hayop kung mag-isip.

LAKAN-S: O…! (Tatabing si Bundok at susugod kay Gat Salian, ngunit maagaw ng dalawa ang kanyang punyal; siyang pagdating nina Bayani at Mulawin, at kukunin ang kanyang sandata)

BUNDOK: Nakikita ba ninyo ang nahihimlay sa papag? Kilala ba ninyo siya? Marahil sa mga oras na ito Ay pinapanaginapan niya ang basbas Ng kanyang aa, At kayo na ama nga niya Ay naparito upang tarakan ang kanyang puso Ng madugong kataksilan Sa oras pa naman ng kanyang pamamahinga. (Manginginig si Lakan-Salian)

Sige, manginig kayo! Nadarama na ang walang-hanggang pagsisisi? Ngayon pa lamang Ang dinidilana na ng apoy Ang imbing pagpatay! Intindihin ninyo: Halimaw ang anak na pumtay sa ama, Subalit ang amang sa sariling anak Ay kumitil Ay siyang ugat ng lahat ng krimeng Maaaring isipin.

LAKAN-S: Patayin mo na ako!

BUNDOK: Huwag kayong magmadali; Papatayin ko kayo Matapos kayong lumuha ng dugo, Ng mabagsik na kamandag Na dumadaloy sa puso ninyong imbi; Bakit tangkang patayin ang datu? Upang ganap na ipagkanulo kay Hinghis-Khan Ang lupaing
BUNDOK: which Heaven has granted us? Infamous wretch! You are an eternal insult to the Malay race. You are the maggot which destroys and poisons the root of the great tree of our race.

Your filthy blood you have mixed with that of the Tagals! What do you care whether the Fatherland be overwhelmed if by its fall you manage to secure to yourself some miserable, sordid (petty) advantage?

Get out, and do not detain us so long as one remains who does not conform with our infamy! In the mean time we will discuss the matter face to face and deliberate as to what punishment your perfidy merits and demands that we should impose upon you. You may nurse the hope that history will curse you forever. (Lakan-Salian beings to tremble again, more violently) Tremble, tremble, while you wait, but we know it signifies fear and not repentance, nor will it save you in the slightest from the fatality of the curse which the nation fulminates against you. (Lakan-Salian weakens and falls upon his face on the floor) What! Is your conscience so heave that you cannot stand up! You may thank your lucky stars that I have been able to overcome the evil desire which brought you here, and prevent you from committing an execrable crime upon (the person of) your only son.

LAKAN-S: Kill me, I beg of you!

BUNDOK: itong kaloob ng Diyos sa atin? Kamural-dumal kayo! Walang-hanggang dungs sa lahing Malayo. Kayo ang uod na lumalason at pumapatay Sa dakilang puno ninyong marumi Sa dugo ng mga Tagalog ay inyong isinali! Hindi ninyo alintana kung ang Inangbayan Ay malugami

Kung kayo naman ay makapagkakamit Ng kahit na karampot na buti!

Lumayas kayo, At kami’y huwag pigilin Hangga’t may nalalaging kaluluwang Sa masama ninyong nasa ay sumasalunga! Sa ngayo’y haharapin naming Kung anong parusa ang marapat na ipataw Sa inyong sala; Asahan ninyong susumpain kayo ng kasaysayan Sa habambuhay. (Muling mangininig si Lakan-S, ngayo’y higit na marahas)

Sige, manginig kayo, Maginig habang nag-aanatabay; Kahit alam naming ang kahulugan Ay takot, hindi pagtitika; Ang ganya’y hindi magliligtas sa inyo Kahit kaunti man Sa katiyakan ng sumpang ipupukol sa inyo Ng buong bansa. (Manghihina si Lakan-S at babagsak nang una ang mukha sa sahig) Ano? Ganyan ba kabigat ang buddhi? At ni hindi makuhang tumayo nang tuwid?

Pasalamatan ang mabuting palad At aking nabigo ang imbi ninyong layon Sa pagtungo dito, Aking napigilan ang isang krimeng Karumal-dumal Laban sa tangi ninyong supling.

LAKAN-S: Patayin na ako, Iniluluhog ko!
BUNDOK: Listen: Do you remember the nobles of the great King Sula, your nephew? You deceived them with fair words and false hopes, gathered them in a great assembly to treat of the public defense, and when they were all assembled and defenceless, ordered them all bound and thrown into a dark dungeon. You forced them to take part in your treason, and because they refused to do your will, you and none other, ordered their lamentable death. Do you remember? A moment later they were a mountain of cadavers.

LAKAN-S: Enough! (Bows his head and covers his face with his hands)

BUNDOK: You cover your face with your hands because both the darkness and the light put you to the blush; you will stop breathing because you yourself poison the air which you respire. All nature is sworn against your ambition. Disgraced one! (Lakan-Salian weeps) What is this? Tears! Here is a lion that weeps!

The wonder is that all this has not turned your heart to stone. The time has arrived when you must repent of all your wickedness. I shall have to kill you as I would kill a viper, and I will crack up into pieces your skull and your body and throw them out for the crows of Balintauak to feed upon. The dagger with which you tried to assassinate your son will serve to cut off your own venomous breath.

BUNDOK: Inyong pakinggan: Hindi baga natatandaan ang mga magigiting Ni Haring Sula na inyong pamangkin? Niloko ninyo sila Sa salitang matamis at maling pag-asa, Tinipon upang di-umanoy’ nang maipagtanggol Ang higit na marami; At nang matipon silang walang laban Ay iniutos ninyong lahat ay dakpin At ibilanggo sa presong madilim; Pinilit ninyo sila upang makilahok Sa inyong kataksilan, At nang sila ay tumanggig, Kayo at kayo rin ang siyang nag-utos Upang sila’y walang-awang patayin! Natatandaan ba ninyo? Hindi nagtagal At tinanghal silang bunton ng bangkay.

LAKAN-S: Tama na! (Lulupaypay ang ulo at ang mukha ay isusubsob sa mga kamay)

BUNDOK: Isusubsob ninyo ang mukha Pagkat kapwa ang dilim at liwanag At nagdudulot sa inyo ng hiya; Hindi kayo makakahina Pagkat kayo mismo ang lumason Sa hanging inyong sinsimsim; Ang buong kalikasan ay sumasalungat Sa inyong palalong layon; Kahiya-hiya kayo! (Mananangis si Lakan-Silan.) Ano ito! Luha! Isang leon lumuluha! Nakapagtatakang ang lahat ninyong sama Ay hindi pa nakasapat Upang ang inyong puso ay maging bato; Panahon na upang pagsisihan Ang lahat ng kasamaan; Kailangang patayin ko kayo Kung paanong pinapatay ko ang isang Makamandag na ahas; Dudurugin lo ang inyong bungo at katawan At itatapon upang pagpasasahan Ng mga uwak sa Balintawak; Ang punyal na gagamitin sa pagkitil Sa anak Ay siya kong itatarak Upang ang makamandag ninyong hininga Ay mabigyang-wakas.
(He raises the dagger and is about to stab Lakan-Salian in the breast when Bituin enters and seizes his hand, effectively checking him)

**Scene II. Gat-Salian, Bundok, Lakan-Salian, and Bituin**

BITUIN: Stay your arm, Bundok, and do not stain your hands with the black blood of the animal whom you see stretched out there. Pardon, and do not kill him. Leave the life to Gat-Salian our dear and warlike Datto, to whom it is owed.

BUNDOK: (To Lakan-S) You are very fortunate. (To Bituin) I will not kill him, but in a little while will pardon him. Already is free, my lady (releases him).

BITUIN: (To Lakan-S) Leave us instantly. I do not wish the Datto to see you, as it is not good for you nor yet for him. (Lakan-S retreats trembling to the door on the left and vanishes)

**Scene III. The same persons less Lakan-Salian. Gat-Salian is awakened by a nightmare and sits up. Quite a pause follows.**

GAT-S: Good God!

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Save me! Save me!

(Itataas ang punyal upang saksakin sa dildib si Lakan Salian. Nang sa darating si Bituin at pipigilin ang kamay ni Bundok)

**Ikawawang Eksena. Sina Gat-Salian, Bundok, Lakan Salian, at Bituin**

BITUIN: Pigilan ang bisig, Bundok, At huwag mantsahan ang kamay Ng maruming dugo ng hayop na nakahandusay; Magpatawad, at huwag siyang kitlin; Italaga ang utang na buhay kay Gat Salian, Ang ating bunyi, datung minamahal.

BUNDOK: (Kay Lakan-S) Mapalad kayong tunay. (Kay Bituin) Siya’y hindi papatayin, At bagkus nga’y patatawarin; Ituring ninyo siya’y Malaya na, 383 Iginagalang na Bituin. (Palalayain si Lakan-Salian)

BITUIN: (Kay Lakan-S) Lumayas na kayo kaagad; Hindi kayo dapat Makita ng datu Pagkat makasasama sa inyo At sa kanya rin. (Nginig na uurog si Lakan-S patungo sa pinto sa kanan; mawawala na)

**Ikatlong eksena. Sila rin, liban kay Lakan-Salian; gigisingin ng isang bangungot si Gat Salian; uupo siya; ilang sandaling katahimikan**

GAT-S: Mahabaging diyos!

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Iligtas ninyo ako! Iligtas ninyo ako!
BUNDOK: Here I am, my lord!

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Bituin!

BITUIN: Wake up, Gat-Salian! Here we are at your side. (He fully awakes)

GAT-S: Bituin, is it you?

BITUIN: Yes, your wife.

GAT-S: Bundok!

BUNDOK: Yes, my lord. (Pause)

GAT-S: It was nothing, a mere dream – a horrible nightmare.

BITUIN: Tell me: What did you dream?

GAT-S: I dreamed...I dreamed that my father was converted into a great ghost with eyes that burned. He measured me with his flaming vision, scourging me mercilessly with a serpent which held in his hand. I cried out, begging for help. I called you, Bituin, and I also called upon Bundok and other captians, including my soldiers, nobody heard me, and none of them even turned his face toward me from a great distance. In despair I called to my mother, who has long been in Heaven, and she came from Heaven to me, wrapped in waves of the purest cloud; she contemplated me weeping,
sighed heavily and cried out: “My son! My poor son!”

BITUIN: (Pause) Continue!

GAT-S: She called me, Bituin, she called me insistently and with arms extended to receive me: “Come, my son,” she said. “I would take you with me and lead you into the presence of God.” I tried to throw myself into my dear mother’s arms, but was overcome; an irresistible force held me back. When she saw that all my efforts were useless she knelt down before the phantom which made me suffer, before my father, and implored him to set me free. Instead of listening to her entreaties he only snarled the more, grasped me by the hair and shook me violently.

My body trembled like a leaf and thousands of blood-thirsty, devouring spirits appeared before me, ready to eat me up. They opened their mouths and displayed their huge grinning fangs and terrible sharp claws.

BUNDOK: How horrible!

BITUIN: And what happened then?

GAT-S: In the meantime I saw you in the distance, you, Bituin, and Bundok and all my subjects; you fell and died, and my village appeared to be burning like a tremendous forge which was smelting up everything Malay.

Tagib-hapis, Ang nagwika: “Anak ko! Kawawang anak ko!” (Katahimikan)

BITUIN: Ipagpatuloy mo.

GAT-S: Tinawatg niya ako, Bituin, Madamdaming tinawag niya ako ang Bukas-bisig upang ako’y yakapin: “Halina, aking anak,” wika niya; Isasama kita sa piling ni Bathala;” Pinilit kong gumapang patungo sa bisig Ng aking mutyang ina, Ngunit ako’y nagapo – Isang makapangyarihang lakas Ang sa akin ay pumigil; Nang Makita niyang ako’y palayain na; Sa halip na pakiggan ang kanyang Panambitan, Ang aking ama’y lubha pang umangil, Hinablot ang aking buhok At marahas aking niyugyog;

BUNDOK: Nakakatakot!

BITUIN: At anong nangyari?
the inhabitants of my district hide themselves in terror in the secret places of the woods, and heard the women and children raise to God their clamors, which blended noisily with the curses of the old men, the sick, and those who had been wounded by the enemy.

BUNDOK: Terrible!

GAT-S: Only a moment later everything, and all the people, had been reduced to ashes. Oh, unfortunate Balintauak!

BITUIN: And where were you?

GAT-S: The fatal moment arrived. My mother gave a cry of supreme grief at the same time that my father threw me to the lions which had been impatiently waiting for me.

Then began the greatest horror of all: the monsters rended my body, my flesh and all my bones, destroying each part as fast as they snatched it as they snatched it. My soul returned quickly to the arms of my compassionate mother, who embraced me warmly, and... Oh!

I heard the gnashing of teeth of my executioners, who were chewing up the bones, which were all that were left of the matter (body) they seized upon to devour. All was over. Already I was in the attitude of ascending with my mother to the throne of God, when I saw you, my beloved Bituin, in the place where my father had thrown me.
BITUIN: And then?

BUNDOK: And then, sir?

GAT-S: Beside you I saw Bundok there also.

BITUIN: And then, and then? (Pause)

GAT-S: And the monsters ate you (both) also.

BITUIN: (To Gat-Salian) You are not a child; why should that bother you? Did not you say it was only a dream?

GAT-S: Yes, but it was a horrible dream.

BITUIN: That may all be, but it is over now and faded away.

GAT-S: That is true, but there remains in my mind a fearful impression prophetic of gloom and in my heart frightful presentiments.

BITUIN: Be tranquil.

GAT-S: Thanks, Bituin. I will leave here in a moment and go to write orders. Bundok, come. (Gat-Salian and Bundok leave by the door at the left)
Scene IV. Bituin, and afterward Ulila.

BITUIN: Orders! Always orders, which put into motion thousands upon thousands of soldiers which they move like one man, without any will and without even a bare glance at the life or death to which they are led. (Ulila appears and kneels behind Bituin)

ULILA: My lady, pity me!

BITUIN: Arise, Madam Ulila. How can I serve (help) you?

(Raises her)

ULILA: I have come to ask permission to take away my son, your ladyship, who is armed with a javelin and knife under the orders of the official my lord Bundok. He is the only one who is left me of the three young men (sons) I had: one fell in the battles of Cainta, and the other was also killed, killed at the fight at Polo.

BITUIN: Well, what do you want now?

ULILA: I desire greatly that my only son be not required to serve any longer in our army, because he has rendered great services already to the people and has fought in battle times enough.

Ikaapat na tagpo. Bituin, at pagkunwa’y si Ulila.

BITUIN: Kautusan! Sa tuwina’y mga kautusan sa nagpapakilos sa libo-libong kawal Na tila ba iisang nilalang Na di nagdadalawang-isip, Na ni hindi sumusulyap Sa buhay o kamatayan kanilang patutunguhan. (Darating si Ulila at luluhod sa likuran ni Bituin)

ULILA: Awa mo po, kamahalan!

BITUIN: Tumayo ka, Ginang Ulila; Sa iyo’y may maipaglilingkod ba? (Itatayo si Ulila)

ULILA: Ako po ay naparito upang humingi Ng inyong pagsang-ayon na ang aking anak Ay aking makuha, kamahalan; Siya po ay may diyabelin ay Kris At nasa pag-uutos ng pinunong Bundok; Sa tatlo kong anak ay siya na lamang Ang nabubuhay pa; Ang isa ay nasawi sa labanan sa Cainta At ang isa nama’y sa labanan sa Polo.

BITUIN: Ano ang gusto mo ngayon?

ULILA: Ninanais ko pong tunay Na ang tangi kong anak Ay huwag nang manilibhan Sa ating sandatahang-lakas Pagkat Malaki na ang kanyang nagawa Sa taumbayan, At ilang ulit na siyang nakipaglaban.
BITUIN: We understand. The Datto is busy (occupied) just now with his orders. Aye, Madam Ulila! These orders strike me with terror; one word is enough with its prophecy of gloom, the *budiong*¹ of battles, or the simple signal given with the shining Kris, which glitters in the sunlight, to put in motion all the soldiers.

The order can change the battle formation in an instant: now the troops present the aspect of a great serpent, again the character of a *cotta*² which vomits thousands upon thousands of arrows; now suddenly fall flat upon their faces; they kneel, retreat, advance;

but always they keep (steadily) on firing poison arrows which seem to form a network suspended in the air (space); later they advance farther, and still farther; later laughter and tears; later vigor and weakness, agony and merriment, life and death, all at the same time between the torrents of blood and mountains of corpses stretched out each one in his own gore;

BITUIN: Amin pong nauunawaan…Ang datu ay abala pa sa kanyang mga kautusan; Naku, Ginang Ulila! Ang mga kautusan yao ay nakapagbibigay-takot sa akin; Isang salita lamang ay tigib na Ng masamang pangitain; 387 Ang budyong O payak na hudyat ng kislap ng Kris Sa tama ng araw Ay sukat nang makapagpakilos Sa lahat ng kawal;

Isang utos lamang ay sapat na Upang mabago ang kaayusang pandigma; Ngayon, ang mga kawal ay tila Dambuhulanl ahas; Maya-maya’y isang kutang dumudura Ng libo-libong palaso; Maaaring ang mga kawal ay maghati-hati At masinop na magsikalat O kaya’y maging isang makitid na guhit Na tuwid na tuwid; Maaaring biglang magsilundag Nang magkakasabay; Magsidapa Yumukod Umurong Sumulong!

Ngunit sa tuwina’y nagbubuga Ng makamandag na palasong sa kapal Ay tila dagim na nakaamba sa hangin; Susulong maya-maya, At susulong pa Hanggang sa kaaway ay makasagupa; Saka mariring ang pagtatagis Ng mga espada, tabak, patalim; Pagbubunyi, kamatayan; At halakhak, panangisan; At lakas, kahinaan; Pagdurusa, katuwaan; Buhay, pagkamatay Ng pawang kasanib ng daloy ng dugo

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¹ (From Riggs) A Pampanga dialect word meaning a fight with Bolos or short words at close quarters. It also conveys the idea of imprecations and defiant invitations to join battle while taunting the enemy by word and by gesture.

² (From Riggs) Fort of stone with walls about 20 feet high; the word is from the Moro Dialect.
BITUIN: (con’t) many without heads, without feet, some with their bodies cut in two, the flesh destroyed and only the bones left, all being mutilated (Kampupot suddenly enters)

Scene V. The same (persons) and Kampupot.

KAMPUPOT: My lady: save the life of an unhappy wife! They have torn from my arms my dear friend Mulawin. If he marches away and leaves me I shall die, a victim of their mortal cruelty. I shall die without a doubt. Scarcely a month has elapsed since God sanctioned and sanctified our loves, and we swore to join fortunes for life.

BITUIN: What…well, what do you want?

KAMPUPOT: That you recommend to the person in charge of the soldiers that he (Mulawin) be dismissed, because I fear the javelin and do not wish to see him armed with that terrible weapon.

BITUIN: We will wait a moment, as the Datto is occupied.

KAMPUPOT: Thanks, thanks, my lady.

BITUIN: Not at all – don’t mention it (Enter Makapagal, Supling and four little boys)

KALIMANG EKSA. SILA PA RIN, AT SI KAMPUPOT.

KAMPUPOT: Kamahalan, Sagipin po ang sang hapis na asawa! Inagaw nila mula sa mga bisig Ang minanmahal kong kaibiganong Mulawin; Kapag siya’y lumayo At ako’y maiwan, Ako’y mamamatay na biktima Ng kanilang kalupitan; Walang salang ako’y mamamatay; Wala pang isang buwan Nang kami’y magsumpaang magsasama Sa hirap at sa ginhawa.

BITUIN: Ano…Sa gayo’y ano ang nais mo?

KAMPUPOT: Inyo pong pakisuyuan sinumang nakakaalam Na siya, si Mulawin, ay hayaang pauwiin, Pagkat ako’y nangangamba sa diyabelin At ayaw kong siya’y makikitang Nagtatagalay ng ganoong sandata.

BITUIN: Maghintay tayo Pagkat ang datu ay abala pa.

KAMPUPOT: Salamat po, Salamat po, kamahalan.

BITUIN: Walang anuman, Kayo’y huwag mag-alala. (Papasok sina Makapagal, Supling at ang apat na batang lalaki)
Scene VI. The same, Makapagal, Supling, and the four little boys

MAKAPAGAL: My lady Bituin~

BITUIN: Come in: what do you wish?

SUPLING: I have said that you would be very charitable.

BITUIN: You were (are) seeking a little aid for these children?

SUPLING: No, your ladyship. I was looking for their father. (Weeps)

BITUIN: Speak: What do you wish? Where do you suppose their (your) father is?

SUPLING: No, your ladyship. I was looking for their father. (Weeps)

BITUIN: Speak: What do you wish? Where do you suppose their (your) father is?

MAKAPAGAL: Madam, do you see this young virgin and these (four) little ones? They are my grandchildren (grandsons), sons of Bundok. They will die with me of hunger if by change my son their father should be killed or disabled in the war.

He enlisted as a private soldier without influence and rose to the rank of sergeant. Already he has been wounded several times in the war, but thanks be to God his life and forces are so far intact. I desire that he should go on serving (God and) the country all his life, but my daughter-in-law, the mother of these little ones, has been dead these twenty days, and in spite of (the outpouring of)

Ika-anim na eksena. Sila rin – Makapagal, Supling at ang atap na batang lalaki.

MAKAPAGAL: Pinagpipitaganang Biuin…!

BITUIN: Pumasok ka; Ano ang iyong nais?

SUPLING: Umaasa akong kayo po Ay magiging mapagkawanggawa.

BITUIN: Humihingi ka ba ng tulong Para sa mga batang ito?

SUPLING: Hindi po, kagalang-galang; Hinahanap ko po ang kanilang ama. (Luluha)

BITUIN: Magpaliwanag ka: Ano ang iyong nais? Sa palagay mo’y nasaan Ang kanilang ama?

MAKAPAGAL: Ginang, Nakikita baga ang dalagang ito At ang atap na batang paslit? Sila’y mga apo ko,Anak ni Bundok; 389 Mamamatay sila gutom, paris ko Kung ang kanilang ama na anak ko Ay masawi o mapinsala sa digma;

Nagsimula siya bilang pinakamababang kawal Nang hindi umaasa kaninuman, At ngayo’y sarhento na; Ilang ulit na siyang nasugatan Sa larangan, Ngunit salamat sa Diyos – Hanggang ngayon ay buhay siya At ang puwersa niya’y buo pa. Nais kong siya’y patuloy na magsilbi Sa Diyos at sa bayan Habang siya’y nabuhay; Ngunit ang aking manugang Na ina ng mga batang ngayo’y nakikita Ay namatay may dalawampung araw na, At sa kabila ng
Scene VII. Gat-Salian and Bundok enter by the door at the right.

BUNDOK: …the superiority of the force of the enemy-

GAT-S: No, Bundok no. I know all that. It will not do to delay, as Hinghis-Khan will then see anew the severity of the punishment he has inflicted upon our incomparable village. He will set down a hard lesson in the pages of history, written by many a cunning blade in this cruel war. Ah, yes! He will kill many Tagal heroes, he will gain and occupy much territory, but every palm in our village will cost him much sweat, great anguish, much blood spilled out and many tears from orphaned families of his country. He will conquer districts and whole countries but he can (will) never conquer the noble heart that receives him with true friendship:

Ikapitong eksena. Gat Salian at Bundok, kapwa darating mula sa pinto sa kanan.

BUNDOK: …Ang kalamangan ng kaaway…

GAT-S: Hindi, Bundok, Hindi; Lahat ng iyan ay aking alam; Ang pagpapaliban ay hindi makabubuti Pagkat ikatutuwa lamang ni Hinghis-Khan Ang bigat ng parusang kanyang naipataw Sa ating pamayanahan; Mabigat na aral ang iwan niya Sa mga pahina ng kasaysayan, Na isusulat ng mga nakasusugat na talim Nitong malupit na digmaan; Ay, Oo! Maraming bayaning Tagalog ang kanyang Papatayin; Makaslaw na lupain ang kanyang 390 Sasakupin; Subalit bawat puno sa ating baryo Ang sa kanya ay pipigil; Kailangang siya muna ay maniphayo, Kailangang munang dumanak ang dugo At luha ng mga uulilahin sa buong lupa; Sasakupin niya ang mga pook at mga bayan ngunit hindi niya masasaklaw Ang magigiting na puso Na sa kanya ay tunay na nakipagkaibigan:
the cruelty of these Chinese has caused such a deep wound in our breasts that it can never be cicatrizied so long as there remains one of our sons’ sons. (Enter Bituin)

Scene VIII. The same former persons and Bituin.

BITUIN: I was looking for you.

GAT-S: Here I am. What do you want?

BITUIN: Have you written the orders of which you were speaking to me a moment ago?

GAT-S: Yes.

BITUIN: And dispatched them already?

GAT-S: What do you ask me that?

BITUIN: Because I must know. I am your wife.

GAT-S: That is true, but there are certain things in which the wife has no business to meddle, because it offends the more intelligent husbands, and if you believe the contrary, I assure you that you are in a grave error, Bituin.

BITUIN: What you have said is right, but my question is not one of mere curiosity; it is the fulfillment of a duty which you have preached to me with frequency – that of charity.

GAT-S: What are you talking about?

BITUIN: Tama ang iyong tinuran, Ngunit pagtatanong ko’y hindi bunga Ng panghihimasok lamang; Iyon ay pagtupad ng katungkulang Lagi mong ipinangangaral – Pagkakawanggawa.

Malalim ang pagkakasugat sa ating dibdib Ng kalupitan ng mga Tsinong iyan, Bagay na hindi maghihilom Hanggat may nalalabing kahit isa Sa ating mga supling. (Papasok si Bituin).

Ikawalong eksena. Sila pa rin at si Bituin.

BITUIN: Hinahanap kita.

GAT-S: Narito ako; Ano ang nais mo?

BITUIN: Naisulat mo na baa ng mga kautusang Binanggit mo kanina?

GAT-S: Oo.

BITUIN: At naipalabas na?

GAT-S: Bakit itinatanong mo Ang mga bagay na iyan?

BITUIN: Pagkat kailangang malaman ko; Asawa mo ako.

GAT-S: Totoo, Ngunit may mga bagay Na hindi nararapat panghimasukan ng babae Pagkat nakaiinsulto Sa higit na mapag-isip na lalaki; At kung sinabi ko’y di mo pinaniniwalaan Bitui’y tinitiyak ko, Malaki ang iyong kamalian.

GAT-S: Ano ang sinasabi mo?
BITUIN: You must clearly understand that if the orders which you have written included the marching of the section to which belong the soldiers Bundok, Bayani, and Mulawin, you will involuntarily kill their unhappy families.

GAT-S: There are soldiers: if they are killed in the war none may weep for them because they (shall have) died gloriously. Moreover, it is my custom never to revoke a decreed order except in case of absolute necessity. When I fulfill my duty I do not permit myself to consider my friends, nor my parents, nor my family, nor my wife. I regard with nothing but stern justice and the balance of the law all these; all this you, too, must understand, my dear Bituin.

BITUIN: True it is, as I know, and I am proud that my husband is worthy the high office he discharges, but I beseech you that you will not refuse to save the lives of these soldiers, without whom their families (directs the words toward the door at the left) – Come in! (Enter Ulila, Kampupot, Makapagal, Supling, and the four children)

BITUIN: Are you brave to kill with our own hands such unhappy people?

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**Scene IX. The same, Ulila, Kampupot, Makapagal, Supling, and the four children.**

**Ikasiyam na eksena. Sila rin: Ulila, Kampupot, Makapagal, Supling, at ang apat na bata**

BITUIN: Dapat mong alamin Na kung sa mga kautusang ipinalabas Ay kabiling ang pagpapadala sa malayo Sa mga kawal na sina Bundok, Bayani at Malawin, Ay ikaw na rin ang tutuising Sa kanilang sawing mag-anakan Ay siyang kumitil.

GAT-S: Sila ay mga sundalo: Kapag sila ay masawi sa digmaan Ay walang dapat na magluksa Pagkat ang ganoon Ay maluwalhating kamatayan; Isa pa, hindi ko ugaing Bumawi ng utos, liban na lamang Kung sadyang kinakailangan; Kapag ako’y tumutupad ng tungkulin, Hindi ko hinahayaang manghimasok Ang kaibigan, magulang, pamilya, At maging asawa; Lahat sila’y tinatanaw ko Nang ayon ito ay dapat mung maunawaan, Bituin kong pinakamahahal.

BITUIN: Totoo, gaya ng alam ko, At karangalan ngang ang aking asawa Ay angkop sa mataas na tungkuling Kanyang tinutupad; Ngunit ako’y sumasamong huwag tanggihang Iligtas ang buhay ng mga sundalng Kapag mangawala ay siyang pagkasawi Ng mga pamilya – (Nakatuon ang salita sa mga naroroon sa pinto sa kaliwa) Halikayo! (Papasok sina Ulila, Kampupot, Makapagal, Supling, at ang apat na bata)

BITUIN: Dapat mong alamin Na kung sa mga kautusang ipinalabas Ay kabiling ang pagpapadala sa malayo Sa mga kawal na sina Bundok, Bayani at Malawin, Ay ikaw na rin ang tutuising Sa kanilang sawing mag-anakan Ay siyang kumitil.

BITUIN: Sapat ba ang tapang upang patayin Ng sariling kamay ang mga sawing nilalang?

BITUIN: Totoo, gaya ng alam ko, At karangalan ngang ang aking asawa Ay angkop sa mataas na tungkuling Kanyang tinutupad; Ngunit ako’y sumasamong huwag tanggihang Iligtas ang buhay ng mga sundalng Kapag mangawala ay siyang pagkasawi Ng mga pamilya – (Nakatuon ang salita sa mga naroroon sa pinto sa kaliwa) Halikayo! (Papasok sina Ulila, Kampupot, Makapagal, Supling, at ang apat na bata)
BITUIN: Yes, you, the just man! To sign the orders you have written without knowing that you issue the death warrants of these people who are here in your presence. If you do not change your mind in the matter which I have just indicated I shall feel very much as if my husband is the executioner of them all.

GAT-S: I do not understand you.

BITUIN: (To Ulila) Speak!

ULILA: (To Gat-S) My lord, you know that I had three sons: one of them died in the battle of Cainta and the other fell in the fight at Polo. Bayani is the only one left me. He, like his brothers, has been in the service of the country since the beginning of this terrible war. I have no relatives in any part of the country, sir. Bayani is the only one who remains. If he should die I would be left alone in the world like a little, weak and weary boat in the midst of a sea tossed by tempests.

You, my lord, will also have sons; then you can the better 98 Appreciate something of what I suffer. I say something, because your sufferings are not like mine, since you are rich while I am in actual misery (poverty).

GAT-S: (To Kampupot) And you?

BITUIN: Oo, ikaw, Ang lalaking makatarungan! Lumagda sa mga kautusang siya namang Kamatayan ng mga taong Narito ngayon sa iyong harapan; Huwag mong palitan ang iyong utos At tunay kong daramdaming ikaw Na aking kabiyak Ang berdugo nilang lahat.

GAT-S: Ako?

BITUIN: (Kay Ulila) Magusap ka!

ULILA: (Kay Gat-S) Panginoon, Batid ninyong anak kong lalaki ay tatlo: Isa ang namatay sa labanan sa Cainta At ang isa nama’y sa Polo; Ngayon’t si Bayani na lamang Ang nalalabi sa akin; At siya, paris ng dalawang kapatid Ay naglingkod na sa bayan Sapul sa pagsisimula ng digmaan, Wala ako ni isang kaanak saan mang pang Ngi lupang ito, Ginoo, Si Bayani lamang; kapag siya’y namatay ay mapag-iisa ako Sa daidig na ito Na gaya ng isang malili, mahina At marupok na bangkang sinisiklot Ng alon sa dagat; Ikaw, panginoon, ay magkakaanak rin At makakaranas ng katitting ng aking paghohihiap; Katiting ang wika kom sapagkat Tayo’y hindi magkapareho; Ikaw ay mayaman samantalang ako ay tigib Sa kahirapan.

GAT-S: (Kay Kampupot) At ikaw naman?
KAMPUPOT: Mulawin is my husband, my lord. Today he is under your orders – he took the uniform and abandoned me. I do not wish Mulawin to be a soldier, sir. I cannot bear to see it, my lord. The javelin chills my blood and makes my whole body tremble.

Eight years of pure and constant relation; fervent and tender, has been the paradise where slipped away the flower of our youth, (and) when we finally came to reveal it all to my relatives, I saw that they would not admit my desire, so I left my friends, my fireside, my cradle, my family, my inheritance.

Ah, if I had only known that the day would arrive when he would take up arms in this war, I would have sacrificed my passion, contenting myself with loving him from a distance as long as he lived. We have loved. My lord, since childhood, and never had a single little quarrel to mar our vehement affection.

I followed him, and less than a month elapsed before we stood a God’s altar and swore not to separate until the tomb. He, for my eyes, is the true universe; he is my life, and the very breath of my soul: want my husband to go to war. I and he, if you wish, will remain in your house to be watched by you without end,
KAMPUPOT: …but in the name of God, of your fathers, and of this your virtuous wife, I beseech you to remove the javelin from sight! I am afraid of him (Mulawin), sir; I am afraid of him.

GAT-S: (To Makapagal) And you?

MAKAPAGAL: I…what do you want me to say? You know me and my son Bundok also. You know, moreover, that these children are the sons of him who recently buried his wife. I am not very feeble, and it is all I do to beg. Bundok is the only one who gives us anything to eat. For my part, I am no longer able to fight in my old age. I am glad to see my son defending our cause, but these little boys wrench my heart with their useless weeping; I cannot bear to see them so. On the other hand, if Bundok should die or be disabled, how would his sons live; who would feed them?

Oh, in the horrible state in which they find themselves I have been almost hoping that I might see them die before their father. I believe, fatality, with relation to his sons, for his family; as for these orphans and myself, we are dying of hunger. Our house will be confiscated, and the future of my grandsons vacillates and trembles in the tenebrous shades of a most unfortunate and dark futurity.

KAMPUPOT…Ngunit sa ngalan ng Diyos, Ng mga ninuno, At ng inyong butihing kabiyak, Ang samo ko’y ilayo ang diyabelin Sa aking paningin! Nangangamba ako para sa kanya, ginoo. Nangangamba ako para sa kanya.

GAT-S: (Kay Makapagal) At kayo naman?

MAKAPAGAL: Ako’y…ano ang nais ninyong sabihin ko? Kilala ninyo ako at si Bundok Na aking anak; Inyo ring nababatid na anak niya Ang mga batang naririto; Kalilibing lamang Ng kanilang ina; Ako po ngayo’y mahinang-mahina na, Pamamalimos na lamang ang aking nakakaya; Si Bundok ang tanging anak Na sa amin ay bumubuhay; Sa katandaan ay di ko na kaya Ang makipaglaban, At aking ikinagagalak na makita Ang aking anak na nagtanggol Sa aking adhika; Ngunit dahil sa walang-tuos pananangis Ng mga musmos na ito, Ang puso ko’y dumurugo At di matitiis na sila’y Makita Sa ganoong tagpo; Sa kabilang panig, kapag si Bundok Ay masawi o mapinsala, Paanong mabubuhay ang mga anak niya? Sinong magpapakain sa kanila? Ay, sa abang kalagayan ito, Naiisip kong Mabuti pang Mamatay na silang una sa kanilang ama; Naniniwala ako, kamahalan, Na sa pamilya ni Bundok, Ang kamatayan niya ang siyang huling dagok; Yamang mamatay rin sa gutom Itong mga ulila niya at maging ako; Ang aming tahana’y aabuhin Ng walang-galang na kaaway; Ang aming ari-aria’y sasamsamin, At ang hinaharap na aking mga apo’y Walang katiyakan sa mabuway at sawing lagay Nitong madilim na kinabukasan;
MAKAPAGAL: See how pale they are – since this morning they have eaten nothing.

GAT-S: Oh, enough of Bundok! (Bundok enters)

Scene X. The same and Bundok.

GAT-S: Where are Mulawin and Bayani?
(To Ulila) You, madam, you ought to be haughty because of the glorious aureole with which good fortune has crowned your old age. You had three sons, two of whom fell in battle; if you were grieved and mourn them do so, not because you have lost them, but because our unfortunate country has been deprived of two of its most heroic defenders. Bayani shall not go to battle if you do not wish him to.

You, madam, are one of the few wives in the world who is able to recognize who much she loves her husband. Happy are those who have so loyal and affectionate wives of this country so passionate as you are, because then we should have no soldiers to defend the Tagal nation.

KAMPUPOT: My lord!...

GAT-S: Do not be offended, madam, as I merely said that to show you that I wished to exalt you to the height to (upon) which you belong. Mulawin may remain here, if you so desire.

MAKAPAGAL: Masdan kung gaano sila kaputla – Mula kaninang umaga’y wala silang Anumang kinakain.

GAT-S: Ay, sapat na ang hinggil kay Bundok! (Papasok si Bundok)

Ikasampung eksena. Sila rin at Bundok.

GAT-S: Nasaan sina Mulawin at Bayani?
(Kay Ulila) Dapat ninyong ikarangal, ginang, Ang magandang kapalarang putong sa katandaan; Tatlo ang inyong anak, At dalawa ang nasawi sa digmaan; Kung dapat mang ipagkaluka ang ganoon, Ay hindi sapagkat ang bayan ay nawalan Ng dalawang magigiting na bayaning Nang dahi sa kanyang nakipaglaban; Si Bayani ay hindi tutungo sa digmaan Kung kayo ay aayaw; Kayo, ginang, ay isa sa mangilan-ngilang KabiyaK na nakaalam kung paano Magmahal sa asawa; Mapapalad silang mayroong kabiyaK Na tapat at mapagmahal na paros ninyo; Ngunit di ko ninanais

Na ang lahat ng asawa ng bayang ito Ang maging sing-mapagmahal Na kaparis ninyo, Pagkat kung magkakaagayon Ay mawawalan ng kawal na magtatanggol Sa bayang Tagalog

KAMPUPOT: Kamahalan!...

GAT-S: Huwag ipagdamdam, ginang; Nais ko lamang kayong itaas sa luklukan Na dapat ninyong kalagyan; Mananatili rito si Mulawin Kung siya ninyong hiling.
GAT-S: Señor Makapagal, you are one of those old men who honor the Tagal race. I know that in your breast burns the sacred fire of patriotism, but your decrepitude rebels against you so that you are not able to take up arms and hunt (down) the enemy.

(To Supling) You, Supling, are the successor of your mother to look after you little brothers. Consider (me) as a second actor. These children…Ah!...you are the young buds springing from our mother soil, spill our blood for your liberty, we are sacrificing our riches to clear the path of your future.

We desire to work and not to lie at ease while the sun shines bright, and not a cloudlet interposes between that burning face and you in the orient (east) of your eternal felicity. (Enter Bundok, Bayani, and Mulawin)

Scene XI. The same, Bundok, Bayani, and Mulawin.

BUNDOK: Command me, sir.

GAT-S: Your families have been begging that I dismiss you from the army. You may leave if you wish. Bayani, answer!

Scene XI.

GAT-S: (Kay Makapagal) Ginoong Makapagal, Kayo ay isa sa matatandang Sa liping Tagalog ay marunong gumalang; Alam kong sa inyong dibdib ay nagliliyab Ang banal na pagkamakabayan, Lamang, ang angking katandaa’y sumasalungat Upang manandata at tumugis sa kaaway.

(Kay Supling) Ikaw, Supling, Ang papalit sa inyong ina Upang mag-aruga sa mga kapatid; Ituring mo aking pangalawang ama; At ang mga batang ito, ay! Kayo ang murang usbong ng Inangbayan; Mga anak ko, parini ko!

Scene XI.

(Lalapit sa kanya ang mga bata.) Kami’y magbububo ng dugo Para sa inyong kalayaan! Kami’y mag-aalay ng yaman Magliwanag lamang ang inyong kinabukasan; Layon naming magsikhay, Panaho’y huwag masayang Hanggang sumisikat ang araw; Hindi naman tutulutang mamagitan Ni maliit mang ulap na maatatangkang Magpadilim sa inyong walang-hanggang Kaligayahan. (Papasok sina Bundok, Bayani, at Mulawin)

Ikalabinsang eksena. Sila rin, Bundok, Bayani, Mulawin.

BUNDOK: Pag-utusan po, kamahalan.

GAT-S: Sumasamo ang iyong pamilya Upang ikaw ay aking itiwalag Sa sandatahang puwersa; Maaari kang lumisan kung nais, Bayani; Sumagot ka!
BAYANI: Yes, sir: I will leave the army when I am a corpse (cadaver), or when the war ends. I am (have been) a soldier not because I was drafted nor to seek honors in the campaign – no, sir! I voluntarily presented myself as a soldier to fulfill the obligation which imposes itself upon every Tagal in these critical times for our people. For that reason I beg of you, my lord, that you favor me by assuring my mother that I am free for a short time only. I will return soon to your side.

ULILA: Bayani! My son!

BAYANI: Mother, our people…

ULILA: Yes, but your mother…You do not return to see the grey hairs of your mother. I am already extremely feeble, my son. Do not abandon me.

GAT-S: You, Mulawin?

MULAWIN: My lord chief, I repeat all that Bayani has said, and I may also add that until today I have not really served our country. On that account I beg with insistence that you permit me to serve and to do my full duty.

My wife is convinced that I love her much, but I am going to war because I do not wish to remain behind to be the laughing stock of all my fellow citizens, and to be the only one who does not go out to defend our country. Permit me to go to war.
KAMPUPOT: Mulawin! In the name of God! My lord Datto!

MULAWIN: It cannot be.

KAMPUPUTPOT: How can I love knowing you are to be found in the thickest of the fight? My lord Datto!...

GAT-S: And you, Bundok?

BUNDOK: It is the greatest satisfaction for my spirit to find myself at the side of my father and (my) sons, but greater still is the emotion I feel when I hear the roar of the cannon, for there my brothers are pouring out their blood while I am safe in my house. It cannot be. I am able to endure the greatest sacrifices, but they are all less than not to fight or assist where and whenever my country calls me. Consider, my lord Datto, that to be at home for me is death, while in the field of battle is my life.

SUPLING: Father!

CHILDEN ALL: Papa!

GAT-S: I am convinced of your patriotism and this will be proof enough of your military merits for as long as you live. But now I desire that you should stay with your families.

BUNDOK: But, my lord…

SUPLING: Ama!

LAHAT NG MGA BATA: Itay!

GAT-S: Paniwala ko Sa inyong pagka-makabayan, At yao’y sapat nang katibatyan Ng taglay na kagalingan sa pagkikipaglaban Habang kayo ay nabubuhay; Ngunit ngayon ay nais kong kayo ay sumama Sa inyong mga pamilya.

BUNDOK: Ngunit panginoon ko…
GAT-S: I have settled it already. You may put up your arms and need not use them except in case of an assault by the enemy upon our town itself. Ladies, I have compiled with your supplications.

ALL: Thanks, my lord!

Scene XII. The same and Lakan-Salian, who waits on the threshold of the door, Gat-Salian observing him cover his eyes and turn his face to the other side, extending his arms and opening his hands as if he would disguise himself. Lakan-Salian is uniformed as a Chinese Captain. Bituin and Bundok look at him as if he excited them. The former appear to be uneasy and timid, as if they beheld disagreeable climax (approaching). Lakan-Salian contemplates all with serenity. Pause.

LAKAN-S: Gat-Salian, so this is the way you receive your father?

(Gat-S turns and stares at his father) 102

GAT-S: Pardon me; your clothes surprised me. From what I had heard already I understood that you had seceded voluntarily from our country, but I could not credit the reality until today. Now I have confirmed it. And that being the case, what do you want?

LAKAN-S: I wish to be alone with you.

GAT-S: To talk about the war?
LAKAN-S: Yes

GAT-S: In that case you can tell me what you want. I have nothing to conceal from these good people when matters of public interest are being discussed. I merely beg you to be brief, because I have very pressing duties demanding my immediate attention.

LAKAN-S: You appear very extravagant when you talk.

GAT-S: I speak as speaks the Datto.

LAKAN-S: I am your father.

GAT-S: My duty merits my attention more than my father. Some duty constantly calls me to complete it, so please be brief. What is the mission which brought you here?

LAKAN-S: Ingrate!

GAT-S: Let us stick to the subject – what is it you wish?

LAKAN-S: You are my legitimate son – I wish to think over your rebellious conduct. I wish to lead you into the path of reason. He who today follows you will surely be thwarted in this hopeless revolution. You do not see the profound abyss which lies before you, (and) into which all your lives will certainly fall.

GAT-S: Kung ganoon ay sabihin na Ang gustong sabihin; Wala akong ikinukublisa mabubuting taong Nangaririto, kung kagalingan ng lahat Ang pag-uusapan; Mangyaring dalian na lamang ang pakay Pagkat marami akong mahigpit na tungtukling Dapat na gampanan.

LAKAN-S: Wari’y palalo kang labis Kung mungusap.

GAT-S: Ako’y datu, At ganoon ako kung mungusap.

LAKAN-S: Ama mo ako.

GAT-S: Ang tungkulin ko’y nangangailangan Ng higit na pansin Kaysa sa aking ama; May mga tungkuling nararapat ganapin Kaya ang sasabihin ay mangyaring madili; Anong misyon ang nagtaboy sa inyong pakay?

LAKAN-S: Walang utang na loob!

GAT-S: Huwag natin ibahin ang usapan – Diyo’y ano ang inyong pakay?

LAKAN-S: Ikaw ay tunay kong anak; Nais kong pakaisipin mo Ang suwail na pag-uugali, Nais kong akayin ka sa landas Ng katuwiran; Sinumang sa inyoy ay sumunod Ay tiyak na masasawi sa rebolusyon Walang kahihinaan; Hindi ninyo nakikita Ang malaking kapahamakang Tiyak ninyong babagsakan.
GAT-S: The road which we follow today is the path of reason in that it is the same as that which traces our duty. It does not present complications because its path is on other than that of the wellbeing of the country. There are abysses before our feet, but glory lies over them for us. We shall continue, because if we retreated a single foot we should curse God.

LAKAN-S: Your stubbornness is infamous and stupid. The Chinese have come and offered their true friendship, but you treat it with scorn when you should accept it with the joy and gratitude of one who gains a great good without having expected it. They purpose to ally themselves with us. The oath of the agreement is accompanied by the most solemn sacredness and if, indeed, they cheat us, I believe God will punish them.

GAT-S: Our stubbornness is not infamous nor stupid, because its true significance is the defence of the Tagal race, and in case we should, by the fortune of war, succumb in the encounter, our stubbornness will present us with the great White Horse, on which to mount our souls that they may be conducted (direct) to the mansion of God.

LAKAN-S: Ang katigasan ng iyong ulo Ang talamak at walang katuturan; Naparito ang mga Tsino upang Mag-alay ng tunay na pakikipagkaibigan; Ngunit iyong kinukutya Sa halip na tanggapin nang may katuwaan At pasalamatan, pagkat yao’y Isang kabutihang hindi naman inaasahan; Layunin nilang makiisa sa atin; Taglay ng kanilang pagkikipagkasunduan Ang ibayong kabanalan, At kung tunay ngang tayo’y lolokohin Ay Diyos na ang magpapataw Ng angkop na kaparusahan.

GAT-S: Ang pagmamatigas ay hindi kagaya Ng iyong tinuran, Pagkat ang tunay na kahulugan Ay pagtatanggol ng liping Tagalog; At kung sakali mang palaring Masawi sa digmaan, Dadalhin kami ng pagmamatigas Sa dakilang Kabayong Busilak Na sinasakyan ng kaluluwa Patungo sa kaharian ni Bathala;
GAT-S: (con’t) We do not need your alliance. Why have they need of ours — will it be to curtail our operations? In that case why do they invade our tranquil country? When they are bent upon such an affair their friendship covers up their crooked (evil) intention(s).

LAKAN-S: What a fool you are! These Chinese are wiser and more perfect than we are, and it is also their duty to lead us into the path of reason, because they take an interest in us which we do not attempt to divert. But you are stupid and understand nothing of all that. (Of course) If you do know it, you are only the more criminal because you do not heed the voice of reason, which is the same as the voice of God: in the first place because you oppose the civilization of the Tagals, and in the second place because you do not regard the divine maxims (of God).

GAT-S: The Chinese are not wiser nor more perfect than we; to a certain extent they can undertake the task of excelling our civilization; they are like those who kill others who have done time no injury; they are not men but lions, and those lions are no more perfect than the Malays. On the other hand, if it be true that we are men endowed with proper intelligence, how can it be said that these men (foreigners) are to lead us into the path of reason? And if so, how can we accept their responsibility for our progress? To what should we respond?

GAT-S: (con’t) Hindi naming kailangan Ang inyong pakikiisa, Bakit naman kaya ang pakikiisa namin Ay kailangan nila? Marahil ay upang kami ay saklawin! At bakit naman kaya nagnanais Na saklawin ang tahimik naming bayan? Sa mga ganoong masasamang pakay Ay pakikipagkaibigan nga ang panakip Na ipiningangatwiran.

LAKAN-S: Isa kang ulol! Ang mga Tsinong ito ay higit na matalino Ay higit na magaling kaysa sa atin; Tungkulin nilang akayin tayo Sa landas ng katwiran Pagkat minimithi nila na tayo ay tulungan; Ngunit ikaw nga ay ulol at sa lahat ng iyon Ay walang kaalam-alam; At kung alam mo Ay higit ka ngang criminal Pagkat hindi mo diniding ang ting na katwiran Na siya ring ting ng Diyos; Una, iyong hinahadlangan ang sibilisasyon 400 Ng mga Tagalog At pangalawa, hindi mo isinasalang-alang Ang mga banal na turo’y aral ng Bathala.

GAT-S: Ang mga Tsino’y hindi higit na matalino At magaling kaya sa atin; Sa isang banda’y maaari ngang kanilang Mahigitan ang ating kabahasan; Ngunit sila naman ay pumapatay sa mga taong Sa kanila ay walang kasalan; Hindi sila tao’y, sila’y mga leon At mga leong hindi mas magaling na maituturing Sa mga Malayong kaparis natin; Sa kabila bandaya kung totoo ngang Tayo’y may taglay na talinong angkop, Paano sasabihing ang mga dayuhang iyon Ang sa ati’y aakay sa wastong landasin? At kung ganoo nga, paano tatanggapin Na katungkulan nila ang kaunlaran natin? Saan tayo nararapat na tumungun?
GAT-S: It is impossible that you believe each one of us to be a lump of (senseless) stone, that we should not look after our own interests.

LAKAN-S: Idiot! They have accepted the responsibility for our civilization, not because we are lumps of stone, but because we have not the power and are not able to look after ourselves perfectly. Do you understand it now?

GAT-S: How do you prove that we are so very inexperienced? Have not we soldiers like theirs? Have not we ships and sailors manning them, with the ability to plow the seas from east to west? Are not we as rich as they? Have not we laws and a government that ordains and commands; and do not we indeed respect our laws? Do not we venerate the traditions of our ancestors? Do not we labor, think you, in the present to better our futures? Or do you think perhaps that we are children because we are black-faced and not yellow, like the skin of the Chinese? Or is it that you think...Ah! Enough. I beg of you not to speak to me again regarding the war, a subject with which you offend me!

LAKAN-S: Insolent! Ingrate!

GAT-S: Hindi ko maubos-maisip ang paniniwala ninyo – Na bawat isa sa amin ay walang-halagang bato Na hindi marunong mag-isip at magpakatao.

LAKAN-S: Ulol! Inangkin nila ang katungkulan Hinggil sa ating kaunlaran Hindi dahil sa tayo Ay mga walang-halagang bato Kundi dahil sa tayo ay walang lakas At walang kakayahang ganap na mangalaga Sa ating kapakanan. Ngayon ba’y iyo nana nauunawaan?


LAKAN-S: Walang galang! Walang utang na loob!
LAKAN-S: You already threaten me? Kill me, if you are brave! Kill your father! Thrust in your steel here! (Bare his breast) Scoundrel! (Pushes Gat-Salian.)

GAT-S: See now: you have attained to the moment when your bitter insults fairly blind me.

BITUIN: Lakan-Salian!

LAKAN-S: Silence, you she-viper!

BITUIN: I! I? Get out of here, you miserable, contemptible traitor, assassin of your own son!

GAT-S: Bituin!

BITUIN: Believe me, my lord Datto! (Snatches the dagger from Lakan-S.) With this very dagger he attempted to assassinate you when you are sleeping. It was fortunate that he was frustrated!

BITUIN: Ako? Ako? Lumalayas kayo, yagit, kasuklam-suklam na taksil, Berdugo ng sariling anak!

GAT-S: What do I hear? What do I see?

LAKAN-S: It is all true. What? – would you revenge yourself?

GAT-S: What? You? God! My dream! It matters little that we lose our father, so long as we hold our country safe.

BITUIN: Maniwala ka, panginoon kong datu! (Aagawin ang patalim mula kay Lakan Salian) Sa pamamagitan ng patilim na ito Ay tinangka niyang buhay mo ay kitilin Habang nahihimbing; Mabuti na lamang at siya ay napigil!

GAT-S: Ano itong aking naririnig? Ano itong aking namamasid?

LAKAN-S: Totoong lahat ang mga iyan! Ano? Paghihigantihan baga ako?


Curtain.

Tabing.
Act III

The secondary represents a forest. As the curtain rises Gat-Salian is seen seated under a tree. On one of its branches are hung his military uniform, his kris, his knife and his other arms.

Scene I. Gat-Salian, later Bundok

GAT-S: (Looking up) It is time to go, Bundok. (Enter Bundok)

BUNDOK: My lord Datto.

GAT-S: Are the soldiers ready?

BUNDOK: Yes, my lord.

GAT-S: Tell the chief that he may start them on the march.

BUNDOK: Very well.

GAT-S: You may go. (Exit Bundok by the door at the left) How calm the night is; it appears that our cause progresses well. My poor wife! How unfortunate Bituin is! What will you say to yourself when you wake up and find I am not by your side? Be patient, Bituin; be resigned. Our country calls me and it is certain that I must give you up (temporarily). How bad I feel… (pause) What a weight appears to rest upon my soul! I can feel the approach of death in my breast. What is that, Gat-Salian? Where is your former spirit?

IKATLONG YUGTONG

Ang tagpuan ay isang kabugatan. Pagbubukas ng tabing, si Gat-Salian ay makikitang nakaupo sa ilalim ng isang puno. Sa mga sanga noon ay nakasabit ang kanyang uniporme, Kris, patalim, at iba pang sandata.

Unang eksena. Si Gat-Salian, at pagkunwa’y si Bundok.

GAT-S: (Tatawagin si Bundok) Oras na upang umalis, Bundok. (Papasok si Bundok)

BUNDOK: Panginoong datu.

GAT-S: Handa na baa ng mga kawal?

BUNDOK: Opo Panginoong

GAT-S: Sabiha ang pinuno upang simulant na Ang pagsulong.

BUNDOK: Ngayon din po

GAT-S: Sige na (Lalabas si Bundok sa pintuan sa kaliwa.) Anong payapa ng gabi! Sa wari’y magtagtagumpay an gating mithi; Kawawa kong asawa! Sawimpalad na Bituin! Ano’ng iyong ibubulalas kapag nagising kang wala ako sa iyong piling? Magtiis ka, Bituin, At umasa, Ang bayan ay nananawagan at hindi Maiiwasang ikaw ay pansamalatang iwan; Mabigat ang aking damdamin… (Katahimikan) Anong dahilan itong pasang na kaluluwa!
GAT-S: (con’t) Ay, I feel that my vitality has left me; even my spirit seems to be moved entirely out of me. God! My dream last night! My dream last old courage and strength, which I need now, are all gone. (Pause) My wife will bear a son: shall I ever see my first born? (Places one hand on his forehead. Pause)

My son!
(In desperation)
And if indeed I perish in the battle to which I am going, receive from the affections of your mother the first and last kiss that I, your father, send you from his spot, my son! My breast is bursting. I must take my mind (away) from you…I am disturbed. (Takes down weapons) Come, Kris, my true friend! (Buckles on the belt and looks at it) Good!

(Bituin enters suddenly by the door at the right)

Scene II. The same and Bituin.

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: She! (He steps back, surprised)

BITUIN: What have you done? You escaped from my side? I will follow you, my husband, wherever you go. And what – are we two not one? Why are you willing to give up all the joys of life (lit. the middle of your body)? You are going to the war: if they wound you I wish to be right there to watch at the head of your bed; I wish to heal your wounds with my own hands;

GAT-S: (con’t) Damdam ko sa dibdib Ang kamatayang papalapit; Anong nangyayari, Gat-Salian? Nasaan ang iyong dathang tapang? A, wari bang tumakas na ang lakas; Maging kaluluwa ko’y umalis Sa ating lupang katawan; Bathala! Ang panaginip ko kagabing nagdaan! Nagbubulid sa puso ko Sa ibayong katatakutan! Ang dating tapang at lakas Ngayon ay lumipas. (Katahimikan) Ang kabiyaak ko’y nagdadalang-tao, Aking kayang makikita pa ang aking panganay? (Dadamhin ng palad ang noo, at tatahimik) Ang aking anak!

(Sa kawalang-pag-asa) 403

At kung tunay ngang ako’y masawai Sa labanang aking patutuguhang, Tanggapin na lamang sa pagmamahal Ng iyong ama mula sa pook na ito, O, anak ko! Tila sasabog ang aking dibdib; Kailangang ilayo ko ang isiapan Sa iyong alaala… Ako’y balisa; (Kukunin ang mga sandata) Halina, aking kris, kaibigan kong tunay! (Itatala sa baywang at titingnan) Kay inam! (Biglang sisipot si Bituin sa pintuan sa kanan)

Ikalawang eksena. Sila rin at si Bituin.

BITUIN: Gat-Salian!

GAT-S: Ikaw! (Mabibigla)

BITUIN (con’t): if you triumph, I wish to be the first to enjoy your victories, by being present. I wish to see you flourishing your Kris in the field and advancing against the enemy’s army. I wish to gaze upon you as a great king, from the position of the reconquered. Is not it true that I am our wife? And further than that, who has the right to enjoy these victories?

GAT-S: Beloved woman (wife)!

BITUIN: What do you want me to do? I cannot let you go alone into this battle. I do not know why my heart quakes so.

Gat-Salian, I have terrible presentiment: will you listen to me?

GAT-S: What is it?

BITUIN: Will not you postpone this battle until another day?

GAT-S: Ah, impossible!

My troops are awaiting me at this very moment, and I must go. The battle was planned by King Sula, and my army must cooperate with our other troops; the order His Majesty gave is final; if I do not arrive at the time the order set, our downfall is certain, and I shall be responsible. Let me go in peace!

BITUIN: Is it that…

GAT-S: Mahal kong asawa!

BITUIN: Ano ang nais mong gawin ko?

Hindi ko mapapayang ang labanan ay mag-isa ka; Hindi k alam kung bakit ang dibdib ko’y Ganito kumaba! Gat-Salian, malubha ang aking mga pangamba, Maaari bang dinggin ang aking sasabihin?

GAT-S: Ano?

BITUIN: Maari bang ipagpaliban ang labanang ito?

GAT-S: A, imposible!

Naghihintay ang mga tauhan ko sa oras na ito At kailangang lumakad na ako; Ang paglalaban ay binalak ni Haring Sula At ang puwersa ko’y kailangang Makiisa sa kanila; Hindi magbabago ang utos ng kanyang Kamahalan; Kung hindi ako dumating sa takdang oras At tipanan, Tiyak na kam’y magiging talunan At ang ganoon ay dahil sa aking kagagawan! Kayo ako ay mapayapa nang hayaan!

BITUIN: Hindi kaya…
GAT-S: Be silent, I tell you; if you insist...I will kill myself!

BITUIN: Christ save you!

GAT-S: Be resigned, Bituin; one embrace.
(He embraces her and is in the attitude of leaving)

BITUIN: Stop! Take my gold chain! (she winds it several times around his neck, like a collar) God keep you!...goodbye!

Scene III. The same and Mulawin.

MULAWIN: My lord, pardon me for having come without having previously advised you. As you had ordered me not to take part in the fight I went this morning to reconnoitre the positions of the enemy to discover what I might, and to spy on them, but one of the enemy caught me with a patrol and led me away a prisoner between (within) their walls. At nightfall came one, a compatriot of ours, who was received by Hinghis-Khan with the greatest honors at a distance of about four fathoms from where I was. This countryman of ours, after divulging to Hinghis-Khan various important secrets regarding our positions, the number of our soldiers, the state and number of our arms, said that they (the enemy) could not retreat to the east because the pass will be cut off by our soldiers; that the main body of the enemy placed in rearguard will be attacked at the same time as those troops which held me prisoner; that the first to arrive would be you,
MULAWIN (con’t) : My lord, with all your men; that in order to upset your plans it would be necessary not to relinquish their pursuit of you there, unless they, our enemies, had to make a heavy attack sometime (elsewhere?) before reaching Balintauak.

This traitor (guide) delivered to Hinghis-Khan various documents stolen from the dispatch-case in the quarters of King Sula, and presented the enemy also with a rough hand sketch of our dispositions.

GAT-S: And…go on. 107

MULAWIN: From that very moment they urged forward their preparations for the projected movement, arming themselves, their beasts carrying the necessaries; then the wicked traitor, the ingrate who revealed (to) the enemy all our secrets, passed before me, and I asked him where we were going. He told me that from his tranquil town tomorrow morning at dawn the enemy would be contemplating the ashes of our beloved Balintauak. For this reason I was filled more with the idea of getting away (to report) than with the idea of the risk of my being killed. Moreover, I was (am) able to tell you all I had seen and heard, so taking advantage of the passing and confusion of troops and officers, I slipped away, hiding myself deep in the nearby forest.

Panginoon, At lahat ng inyong mga kawal; Na upang masira ang inyong mga balak Ay kinakailangang kayo ay tugisin, At huwag tutugutan, Liban na lamang kung sila, ang mga kaaway Ay sumalakay sa isang piling lugar Bago dumating sa Balintawak;

Ang taksil na iyon ay nagbigay pa kay Hinghis-Khan Ng mga kasulatang ninakaw mula sa himpilan Ni Haring Sula, pati ng isang guhit Ng ating kinalalagyan.

GAT-S: Ituloy mo…

MULAWIN: At sila ay naghanda sa pagkilos Nag-arms, nagdala ng mga kinakailangang gamit; At ang imbing taksil, Ang hayup na naglahad ng ating lihim sa kaaway, At nagdaan sa aking harapan; At tinanong ko siya kung saan pupunta; Sinabi niya sa akin, Na mula sa tahimik na bayang iyon, Sa kinabukasan ng madaling araw, Ay panonoorin ng mga kalaban ang abo Ng ating Balintawak na minamahal; Sa dahilang iyon, Ninais ko ang tumakas bagkus na mapatay, Upang sa inyo ay iulat Ang lahat ng aking nasaksahan; Sa pagkakagulo ng mga puno at mga tauhan Ako’y sumalisi at nagkubli sa kalapit na gubat;
They followed me with a perfect shower of arrows which sang in my ears, and one of a multitude of them pierced my left breast. I am ignorant, my lord, of the name of the wretch who sold our people, but I (shall) know his face when I see him – he is a friend of yours, and I have frequently seen him in your house.

GAT-S: The infamous wretch! That makes him the more perversely criminal – the worst of men! To think that he has sold my village of Balintauak, the loveliest spot in my dear country, to Hinghis-Khan! Bundok!

Ako ay hinabol at pinalulan ng mga palasong Humahaginit sa mga tainga, At nangyari ngang tumimo Sa kaliwang dibdib ang isa; Hindi ko alam, Panginoon, Ang ngalan ng taksil na nagsanla sa bayan Ngunit kapita ang Hinghis-Khan ang mukha Siya’y aking makikilala; Siya’y inyo ring kakilala pagkat Sa inyong tahanan ay madalas ko siyang Makita.

BUNDOK: My lord Datto.

GAT-S: Let the alarm signal be given immediately throughout the town, so that everyone may arm himself. The enemy is likely to attack us here at any minute. See that the women, old men and children retire on (to) Polo, with all those who are useless for the battle which they wait to fight for the defense of our town. . The troop of the north, which is under the orders of Lord Di-Matinag, shall take up its post on the walls of the west of the barrio of Ibabao. Then, if the enemy moves, they will resist the attack in force and prevent his entering the town. If the enemy retreats they must (shall) pursue him with prudence and be ready to cooperate opportunely with me, so that I can check him on the right flank.

BUNDOK: Panginoong datu!

GAT-S: Kaagan na hudyatan ang buong bayan Upang bawat is a ay makapanandata; Maaaring anumang oras ay salakayin tayo; Tiyaking ang mga babae, matatanda at bata Ay magtungo sa Polo, Kabilang ang lahat ng hindi maaaring makipaglaban; Ang mga tropa sa hilaga Sa pamamahala ni Heneral Di-Matinag Ay hihimpil sa hanggahan ng kanlurang bahai Ng Baryo Ibabao; Kapag kumilos ang kaaway, Kanilang hahadlangan ang salakay upang sila Ay hindi makapasok sa bayan; Kapag umurong ang kaaway, Kailangang tugisin nila habang Sa aking ay nagahandang makiisa Sa pagsalakay ang kanang panig;
In case Di-Matinag should exhaust his means of defense he must retreat to the middle of the town little by little and without disorder. If the enemy follows him he will fall a prisoner to our power alive or dead; then I will be on guard at Bagong-Nayon in union with the troop of the east. The west wing, commanded by (the chief) General Lord Punsalon will wait in the Plaza of our dear Balintauak to defend it from assault by whatever means he deems best. Tell him that into his hands we commit the heart of our beloved country.

Say, moreover, to General Di-Matinag that in case the enemy moves on the spot where I am, he must immediately send me half his force under command of that excellent officer Mallasi, arraying it on the prairie of Di-Malibot, moving by the road from Liko to protect my left flank and reinforce me if necessary. Also tell the chief wagon-master that I want him to prepare immediately plenty of both food and ammunition. And I…wait a minute…let us see now. Do you want me to write out all those orders for you?

GAT-S: (con’t) Upang mapangalagaan ang aking kaliwang panig At saklolohan kami kung hinihingi; Sabihan mo rin ang punong tagapag-ingat Ng mga panustos-sa-digma upang Sa aki’y kaagad ihanda ang pagkain at bala. At…sandali…Gusto mo bang isulat ko ang lahat Ng aking habilin sa iyo?

BUNDOK: No, my lord. I have them well in mind. (Bundok salutes and leaves)

GAT-S: (con’t) to protect my left flank and reinforce me if necessary. Also tell the chief wagon-master that I want him to prepare immediately plenty of both food and ammunition. And I…wait a minute…let us see now. Do you want me to write out all those orders for you?

BUNDOK: Hindi na, panginoon, Ang lahat ay malinaw na naakatitik Sa aking isip. (Sasaludo at aalis)
Scene V. Supling and her little brothers enter by the door at the left. Some of the children hold to the plaits of her skirt and others to her camisa.

SUPLING: Leave me a in peace! Where do you suppose I could get you any rice just now?

FIRST CHILD: I am very hungry.

2ND CHILD: I also.

SUPLING: Right enough; but what can I do?

FIRST CHILD: Let us go into town.

2ND CHILD: We will beg for rice.

SUPLING: Ay, little brothers! Gladly I would do it but already I am exhausted. I can walk no farther; my knees are weak, and I am sick. Oh! (sits down)

FIRST CHILD: That doesn’t make any difference, sister!

2ND CHILD: Come on! (Supling weeps and stretches out her hand to the first child)

FIRST CHILD: Get up now! (He stretches out his left hand to his brother) 109

2ND CHILD: Come on, sister!


SUPLING: Tigilan ninyo ako! Ngayo’y saan ninyo ako pagnanakawin Ng bigas na kakanin?

UNANG BATA: Ako’y gutom na gutom.

IKALAWANG BATA: Ako man.

SUPLING: Tama na, Ano ang ating magagawa?

UNANG BATA: Pumunta tayo sa bayan.

IKALAWANG BATA: Doo’y mamalimos tayo ng isasaing.

SUPLING: Ay, mga kapatid ko! Gusto ko nga sana ngunit ako’y pagod na pagod na; Ni hindi na ako makahakbang, Tuhod ko’y nanginginig Ako ay may sakit! Ay! (Uupo)

UNANG BATA: Walang kuwenta iyan, Ate.

IKALAWANG BATA: Halika na! (Iiyak si Supling at ilalahad ang kamay sa Unang Bata)

UNANG BATA: Tumayo ka na riyan! (Hawakan ang kaptid na lalaki)

IKALAWANG BATA: Halika na, Ate.
SUPLING: Ay! But I cannot stand on my feet. I cannot rise for very hunger. (She braces herself and rises, but falls back to the earth) I die! (sobs) Holy Mother!

FIRST CHILD: It cannot be; follow me.

2ND CHILD: Don’t cry any more; come on!

SUPLING: No, I will wait for grandfather; he will come soon.

FIRST CHILD: And if he does not come?

2ND CHILD: And if he does not come soon?

SUPLING: He will come in a moment, little brothers, he will come; just wait a moment.

FIRST CHILD: I won’t wait!

2ND CHILD: Nor I. (Both of them weep)

SUPLING: Holy mother! Don’t cry! (Takes both of them up on her lap) Enough now!

FIRST CHILD: Sister, I will go alone.

2ND CHILD: I will follow you.

SUPLING: Come. (Makes another seat also for the two larger boys.)

FIRST CHILD: I am hungry

2ND CHILD: I want something to eat.

SUPLING: Ay! Hindi ako makatayo man lamang Dahil rin sa kagutuman. (Piliit na tatayo ngunit babagsak sa lupa) Mamatay na yata ako! (Hihikbi) Inang Banal!

UNANG BATA: Hindi maaari, Sumunod ka sa akin.

IKALAWANG BATA: Huwag ka nang umiiyak, Halika na.

SUPLING: Ayoko, Hihintayin ko ang Lolo, Maya-mayay darating na siya. 408

UNANG BATA: At kung hindi?

IKALAWANG BATA: At kung hindi siya dumating kaagad?

SUPLING: Kaagad siyang darating, mga kapatid, Darating siya; Maghintay lamang tayo.

UNANG BATA: Ayoko maghintay.

IKALAWANG BATA: Ayoko rin.

SUPLING: Inang Banal! Huwag kayong umiyyak! (Kakalungin ang dalawa) Tama na!

UNANG BATA: Ate, ako lamang ang aalis.

IKALAWANG BATA: Susunod ako.

SUPLING: Kayo’y magsiupo. (Pauupuin ang dalawang malaking bata)

UNANG BATA: Nagugutom

IKALAWANG BATA: Gusto kong kumain – Kahit na ano.
SUPLING: Wait and…see who is coming! (They rise and look in the direction she indicates)

FIRST CHILD: Aye! Here comes grandfather.

2ND CHILD: Grandpa is bringing us dainties! (Frisks with pleasure)

FIRST CHILD: Come, Grandpa; run!

2ND CHILD: There (here) I come! (They run to meet Makapagal)

Scene VI. The same and Makapagal, who enters with a handbasket and two ears of maize, all of which he offers to Supling.

FIRST CHILD: Give me half!

2ND CHILD: Give me all of it!

SUPLING: Be still! If you don’t behave I won’t give you anything!

FIRST CHILD: Sister!

SUPLING: Here, take this. (Gives him a piece of the maize-ear)

2ND CHILD: Give me some!

SUPLING: Take this (Gives them the other piece)

2ND CHILD: It is very little; give me more!

SUPLING: Mahintay – Tingnan ninyo kung sino ang dumarating! (Tatanaw ang mga bata sa itinuro ni Supling)

UNANG BATA: Ayan! Dumating na ang Lolo!

IKALAWANG BATA: May pagkain ang Lolo! (Tuwang-tuwang kikilos)

UNANG BATA: Dali, Lolo, takbo!

IKALAWANG BATA: Nariyan na ako! (Takbong sasalubong. Kapwa sila tatakbo upang salabungin si Makapagal)

UNANG BATA: Aking ang kalahati!

IKALAWANG BATA: Akin lahat!

SUPLING: Tuamhimik kayo! Kapag hindi kayo tumahimik Hindi kayo bibigyan kahit ano!

UNANG BATA: Ate!

SUPLING: Heto, kunin mo! (Ibibigay ang kapirasong mais)

IKALAWANG BATA: Bigyan mo ako.

SUPLING: Heto (Magbibigay ng kaunti)

IKALAWANG BATA: Ang unti naman! Dagdagan mo pa!
SUPLING: It is as much as your brother has.

2ND CHILD: I am hungrier than he is.

SUPLING: Enough!

MAKAPAGAL: My poor grandsons! Ay, Supling, cook the rice quickly so the children can eat, for already they are dead of hunger! And you, why do you not take a little?

SUPLING: I am not hungry.

MAKAPAGAL: (You are) Not Hungry!

SUPLING: Yes, sir, I am; but before all, my little brothers…

MAKAPAGAL: Poor little girl! She will certainly go (lit. she is going to Heaven!)

SUPLING: You are tired, grandpa; rest while I go to cook the rice (Exit, followed by the children)
Scene VII. Makapagal and Kampupot

KAMPUPOT: My lord Makapagal!

MAKAPAGAL: Kampupot! Why have you come so far to the front now?

KAMPUPOT: Ah, sir, Mulawin has gone I know not where. He took his javelins and did not even hear him go; he did not come back even to see my face. Holy Mother!

MAKAPAGAL: Leave him to do his duty.

KAMPUPOT: But the Datto has already dismissed him from the army!

MAKAPAGAL: My son Bundok, too, without any necessity went off and joined the army, leaving behind these little ones.

KAMPUPOT: Did Bundok go also?

MAKAPAGAL: Did not I just tell you think minute? Ah, they are fine men! Mulawin…ah, Mulawin is also a fine young man.

KAMPUPOT: Yes…sir….but, why should he leave me?
MAKAPAGAL: And what would you have him do? Would you have him stay in the house like a…Enough, you are no child, and there is not necessity for telling you the reason. Don’t you see that the town is threatened?

KAMPUPOT: Threatened?

MAKAPAGAL: I have heard in the town that…

Scene VIII. The same and Ulila. She enters with a large bundle of clothes on her head. Later enter Supling and the Children.

MAKAPAGAL: Ulila! Why are you so careful of your bundle?

ULILA: Ay, sir! (Sets the bundle down) How can you be at peace here?

KAMPUPOT: Who is coming?

MAKAPAGAL: Be still and...(hears a confused noise at a distance)

ULILA: Do you hear it?

KAMPUPOT: The roar of battle! And Mulawin is here…God in high heaven!

ULILA: Oh Lord, God, save my boy!

MAKAPAGAL: Keep still, so that we can hear!

Ikawlong eksena. Sila rin at si Ulila. Papasok siya na may sunog na balutan ng damit; sina Supling at ang mga bata ay darating kapagkunwa.

MAKAPAGAL: At anong gusto mong gawin niya? Ang manatili siya sa bahay na tila bag – Sukat na, Ikaw ay hindi na bata at hindi na Kailangang sabihin pa sa iyo ang kadahilanan; Hindi mob a alam na ang bayan ay nanganganib Sa banta ng kaaway?

KAMPUPOT: Nanganganib?

MAKAPAGAL: Balita ko sa bayan ay…

MAKAPAGAL: Ulila! Ano’t ingat na ingat sa iyong dala?

ULILA: Naki, ginoo! Paano kayong nakapanahimik dito?

KAMPUPOT: May darating ba?

MAKAPAGAL: Pumanatag kayo at…(Makakarinig ng pagkakaingay mula sa malayo)

ULILA: Narinig ba ninyo?

KAMPUPOT: Ang dagundong ng labanan! Si Mulawin ko ay naroon at…Bathala sa kaitaasan!

ULILA: O, Panginoon, Bathala, Iligtas mo po ang aking mahal na anak!

MAKAPAGAL: Manahimik kayo upang aming marinig!
ULILA: There is nothing for us to hear unless it be the order that nobody may remain in the town, and that we must all retire (to) on Polo. Bituin has gone already.

MAKAPAGAL: Yes?

KAMPUPOT: Let us go! Holy Mother, but I am afraid of here!

MAKAPAGAL: Supling, children, come quickly! (Enter Supling and Children) Pick up the sack of clothing and let us go.

SUPLING: Why sir? (She places the bundle upon her head)

MAKAPAGAL: Ready? Let us go, then; follow me!

ALL: Ay!

Scene IX. Gat-Salian, officers, soldiers, and all the (fighting) populace. A new background will be shown on the curtain, and another curtain will appear representing the town of Balintauak; the curtain used in Act I of this drama will also be employed. Gat-Salian is the centre of the stage; to his left is the army and on the right are the inhabitants of the town, composed of warriors, (strong) women, old men and a few children.

ULILA: Walang dapat pakinggan Liban sa kautusang magtatagubilin Na tayo’y magsiliksas sa kabayanan At magtungo sa Polo; Si Bituin nga’y doon na napatungo.

MAKAPAGAL: Ganoon ba?

KAMPUPOT: Tayo na! Inang Banal, sa lugar na ito Ako’y kinakabahan!

MAKAPAGAL: Supling, mga bata, Parini kayong madali! (Papasok sina Supling at ang mga bata) Dalhin ang balutan ng damit at tayo na!

SUPLING: Bakit, ginoo? (Susunungin ang balutan)

MAKAPAGAL: Handa na ba kayo? Tayo na, kung gayon, Ako’y sundan ninyo!

LAHAT: Ay!
GAT-S: Soldiers, my beloved people: do you hear that distant crying, which reaches even to this spot? Do you know what it means? It is nothing else (less) that the insult(s) of Hinghis-Khan to our sacred rights, mingled with curses upon our valiant soldiers. Look with the eyes of your intelligence (i.e. Sharply) at what is going on at this moment in the barrio of Ibabao: do you see it? Do you see the horribly mutilated bodies, the bones that are broken and the blood that flows in the torrents without ceasing?

Those bodies are pieces of our bodies; those bones are our own bones; and that blood which flows is none other than the blood which runs in your veins. How many noble men do you see in agony there? Nevertheless, do you hear so much as a single groan? No; and you never will! They die with a smile on their lips, because they know that they have finished the most sacred duty of man. There they are, dying by hundreds everywhere.

They are our brothers, and yet more than our brothers, for the are all the same as we ourselves, since all of us are one body. There they are, remember they are there, some still living, with their heads and bodies bathed in sweat and blood, panting for fatigue though they and we were born. (Pause)
GAT-S: (con’t) Ah, how many corpses! Be disturbed, if you have souls, but do not weep if you are men! God forbid that the commotions significant of vengeance overpower you, for tears are not impelled by courage; do not weep now, but wait until we have finished defending our cause. In case there is found here some one or ones not wounded (in) to the heart by the sentiments of which I speak, he will depart, because he is incapable of feeling as a true son of our country should.

Whoever dies of grief and not of rage against the enemy, whether or not he fights, is in truth a woman, and therefore unworthy to carry the heavy weapons of our army. Ay! It is ordained that there must be a struggle this very moment. Do you hear the echo(es) that reach(es) even here. God! Do you know who is the author of the surprise which Hinghis-Khan gave us today? It was a traitor who is also our brother!

OMNES: Ah! A Traitor!

GAT-S: Yes, one of our brothers who sold to the enemy all our secrets of war. God may forgive him these but you cannot pardon such crimes because you are not God. So grave is this crime that it weighs upon your souls, and already it is impossible to revive (indecipherable) – which have been victims of his perfidy. The clamor of the battle continues raging, and every time we hear it, it is louder and nearer. Ah, prepare your souls!

GAT-S: (con’t) Ay, anong daming bangkay! Kayo’y mangabalisa, kung may kaluluwa Ngunit iwasan ang pagluha, kung lalaking tunay nga! Huwag itulot ng Bathala na kayo’y magapi Ng pagbingiganti, Pagkat ang luha’y hindi udyok ng tapang; Huwag lumuhang ngayon, Inyong hintayin ang pananagumpay Ng ating layunin; Sakaling mayroong sinumang hindi bagabag Ng damdaming aking inilahad – Ay umalis, pagkat siya’y manhid At di anak na tunay ng bayang nagsasakali.

Sinumang mamatay sa dalamhati at hindi sa galit Sa kaaway, mandirigma man o hindi, Ay babaeng maituturing sa katotohanan, At di nararapat na magtaglay ng armas Ng hukbong sandatahan; Ay! Nakatadhana ang paghahamok Sa panahong it; Dinig baga ang alingawngaw na abot Hanggang dito? Bathala! Alam ba ninyo kung sino ang sanhi Ng sa ati’y pagkakabigla ni Hinghis Khan? Isang kapatid na taksil!

LAHAT: Ha? Isang taksil?

GAT-S: Oo, isang kapatid na nagbenta sa kaaway Ng lahat ng ating ihim sa digmaan; Ang kanyang mga krimen ay mapapatawad Ng Diyos, ngunit hindi natin Pagkat tayo’y hindi diyos; Ang kalubhaan mg kanyang krimen Ay dalahing mabigat ng inyong kaluluwa; Kaylanma’y di na muling mabubuhay pa 413 Ang mga biktima ng kanyang pananalanta; Ang sigaw upang makidigma ay patuloy Na tumataginting, At tuwinang mariring ay nag-ibayo, Ang dagundong at tinig; A, diwa ninyo’y ihanda!
GAT-S: (CON’T) Tonight we shall have to struggle breast to breast. We will sell our blood dear, accepting nothing less than their lives in recompense. Remember how famous our Motherland is in battle; can we take a place of honor like that our forefathers held?

ALL: Yes, my lord, We can! We can!

GAT-S: Long live the motherland!

ALL: Hurrah! (Exeunt at the left)

Scene X. Bituin, afterward Kampupot.
She enters at the right, looking behind her full of surprise, her body so shaken that she can scarcely keep her feet. In the interior a fire is described in the distance.

BITUIN: Oh God! Why hast thou visited us and sent so severe a punishment upon our town? (Pause) O, horrors! The flames are devouring remorselessly all the houses of my beloved town! Ay! I can no more return to see it! Tomorrow it will certainly be converted into ashes! Men without heart, why do you destroy by force my town, so dear, so beautiful? …Ah, assassins of humanity!

BITUIN: Ay, Bathala! Bakit’ kami’y inyong dinalaw At ang aming bayan ay binagsakan Ng kay-lupit na kaparusahan? (Tatahimik) Ay, anong hilakbot! Ang apoy ay walang tugot na lumalamon Sa lahat ng bahay ng sawi kong bayan! Ay, hindi na ako makakababalik Upang ang lahat ay muling mamasid! Bukas ay tiyak na abong tatanghalin Ang lahat-lahat! Mga walanag-pusong lalaki! Bakit ninyo winawasak ng dahas Ang aking bayang marikit at pinakamahal? A, mge berdugo ng sangkatauhan!
BITUIN: If before burning my unfortunate town you had considered what these houses would cost in sweat and sacrifice, perhaps your hands would have trembled and also your hearts would have suppressed their (natural) ferocity and delayed it until you die(d). How many precious houses will you burn tonight? The sacred heritage of my ancestors has ended! Wrath of God! (Looks again inside) Ay, how burns my gallant watch-tower! The flames that leap upward fail by only a little to pierce the very heavens.

The branches of the arigues trees and even the roof of my magnificent house, which I can see from here, are turning into flames…Goodbye to the pleasures and the pleasant home of my childhood! This is the last goodbye which I shall give…it is forever! (Pause) Ah! (She hears a great noise. Bituin makes as if she would run, trembling with fear)

My house is sinking down in the flames! The house of my fathers – ay! (She weeps – pause) Cruel ones! You are destroying my orchard, my paradise, the most beautiful hanging gardens of any in the district! Ah, my Gat-Salian; there you are, my dear husband….there in the middle of the fire is all my love, my pleasure, my death, nothing less!

(Weeps) Where has Gat-Salian been? He will have been whipping the enemy? There may have wounded him? He may be dead already! (Pause) O God, what fatal thoughts I have!

BITUIN: Bago sana sinonog ang sawi kong bayan Ay inyo munang inisip kung ano ang halaga noon Sa pawis nami’t pagpupunyagi, Sana’y nangatal ang sarili ninyong kamay At napigil ang pusong likas na mabangis Hanggang sa bangis ay maglaho; Ngayong gabi’y ilang itinatanging tahanan Ang inyong tutupukin? 414 Ang banal na pamana ng mga ninuno ay wala na! Sump ng Diyos! (Mulinh tatanaw sa looban) Ay, kung magliyab ang aking toreng bantayan! Ang pagdila ng apoy ay halos umabot na Sa kalangitan!

At maging ang bubong ng marikit kong bahay Ay tanaw ko mula rito, nagliliyab Unti-unti nagiging abo… Paalam sa pugad ng ligaya at katuwaan Ng aking kabataan! Ito ang huli kong paalam…Hanggang katapusan! (Tatahimik) A! Mariring ang pagkakaingay; anyong tatakbo, sa takot ay nanginginig)

Abong inuunos na ng apoy ang aking taniman, paraiso, Ang pinakamagandang hardin-sa-ulap sa dakong ito!

A, aking Gat-Salian! Naroon ka, mahal kong asawa Sa pusod ng apoy, Pag-ibig ko, ligaya, kamatayan At lahat-lahat na!

(Mangangis) Nasaan ka si Gat-Salian? Ginagapi kaya niya ang kaaway? Maaaring siya ay kanilang sinugatan! Maaaring siya ay kanila nang pinatatay! (Tatahimik) O, Diyos ko, ano’t ako’y nag-iisip Ng kaysamang kaparlaran?
BITUIN: Why dost thou not grant some consolation to this unhappy one who invokes Thine (lit. your) aid? Ay, the dream – the dream of Gat-Salian! (Enter Kampupot)

KAMPUPOT: My lady, Mulawin has left me; ay, how bad he is! I say, he is not bad; he is a good fellow, but...but he left me. And where can he be now?

BITUIN: I don’t know.

KAMPUPOT: And you don’t even know where he might be?

BITUIN: I suppose he is there among the flames.

KAMPUPOT: My lady! Oh! Tell me that he is somewhere else! I had supposed him there, so I try to find somebody to tell me the contrary. You, my lady, are very pious; do me the favor to tell me that Mulawin is not to be found in the middle of the flames.

BITUIN: I cannot tell a lie. I believe that he must be there with the Datto, fighting against Hinghis-Khan.

KAMPUPOT: Great God, do not consent that my Mulawin be there! Let me die first, Of God, but save my husband!

BITUIN: Bakit hindi ako aluin? Akong sawimpalad na sa iyo ay nagdadasal? Ay, ang panaginip! Ang panaginip ni Gat-Salian! (Papasok si Kampupot)

KAMPUPOT: Kagalang-galang, Ako’y iniwan ni Mulawin, Anong sama niya! Hindi, siya nama’y mabuting lalaki Ngunit...ako’y kanyang iniwan; At ngayo’y nasaan na kaya?

BITUIN: Hindi ko nalalaman. 415

KAMPUPOT: Hindi mo alam kung saan siya Maaaring nagpunta?

BITUIN: Siguro’y naroong sa sunog.

KAMPUPOT: Kagalang-galang! Ay, sabihin sa aking siya’y Nasa ibang lugar! Ang ganoo’y pumasok na nga Sa aking isipan, Kaya pinilit kong humanap Ng sinumang magasabing ako’y namamali! Ikaw, kagalang-galang, ay tunay na matimtiman: Mangyaring sabihin lamang sa aking Na si Mulawin ay hindi kapiling Ng apoy na nangangalit.

BITUIN: Ako’y hindi makapagsisinungaling; Naniniwala akong naroong siyang Kapiling ang datu at nakikipaglaban Kay Hinghis-Khan.

KAMPUPOT: Dakilang Diyos, Huwag ipahintulot na si Mulawin nga Ay naroong! Hayaan nang ako ang unang mamatay, O Bathala! Iligtas lamang ang aking asawa,
KAMPUPOT: I do not wish to see his corpse, nor do I wish to get news of his death. Perhaps they have not wounded him yet, Lady Bituin. Will you go with me to seek the Datto and Mulawin?

BITUIN: Let us go. (Exeunt at the left)

BITUIN: Tayo. (Lalabas sila sa kaliwa)

Scene XI. Makapagal, looking for someone; afterward Ulila. They enter at the right.

MAKAPAGAL: Supling! Where are my grandsons? Ay, ay where will I find them? (Enter Ulila)

ULILA: Are they there? (Without looking at Ulila)

MAKAPAGAL: Supling – I feel as if I should drop at any minute!

ULILA: Have you looked for them all through the woods?

MAKAPAGAL: Heavens! Why do you torment me so pitilessly? Why don’t you show me the spot where I can find my grandsons, my poor little boys! You, madam Ulila, were with my grandsons. Don’t you know where they are?

ULILA: We have all been scattered since a platoon of the enemy pursued us; Kampupot also disappeared into the thickest part of the forest. We all of us owe our lives to you.

ULILA: Kami’y nagkawatak-watak nang salakayin Ng isang pangkat ng mga kaaway; Naging si Kampupot ay nawala Sa pinakamasukal na pook ng kagubatan; Sa inyo’y utang ang lahat naming buhay;

MAKAPAGAL: Supling! Ang mga apo ko’y nasaan? Ay, ay, saan ko sila hahagilapin? (Papasok si Ulila)

ULILA: Sa kagubatan ba ay hinanap na ninyo sila?

MAKAPAGAL: Langit!

ULILA: Kami’y nagkawatak-watak nang salakayin Ng isang pangkat ng mga kaaway; Naging si Kampupot ay nawala Sa pinakamasukal na pook ng kagubatan; Sa inyo’y utang ang lahat naming buhay;

MAKAPAGAL: Heavens! Why do you torment me so pitilessly? Why don’t you show me the spot where I can find my grandsons, my poor little boys! You, madam Ulila, were with my grandsons. Don’t you know where they are?

ULILA: We have all been scattered since a platoon of the enemy pursued us; Kampupot also disappeared into the thickest part of the forest. We all of us owe our lives to you.
ULILA: You defended us without any weapons, and with only a club stood off the enemy while we were hiding ourselves in the thicket. And you: how did you manage to save yourself?

MAKAPAGAL: Our soldiers arrived, and punished the enemy severely.

ULILA: Whence and at what time did they come?

MAKAPAGAL: Ay! My grandsons! Where are my grandsons?

ULILA: They must be in the forest. You must not worry about them, as there are many people in those thicket, since half the town was unable to get away to go to Polo; the roads were interrupted by the enemy, so many took refuge here. Your grandsons are well known by everyone, and will come to no harm.

MAKAPAGAL: I cannot live without seeing my grandsons; they are my life. I will go to seek them.

ULILA: Wait for them here. They ought to come in very soon.

MAKAPAGAL: Not at all! I can wait longer. I fear they have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The enemy will kill them; they are capable of doing it. But they must kill me first! (Exit at the right)

ULILA: Kami’y iniligtas Nang walang anumang tangang sandata, At sa pamamagitan ng isang pamalo lamang Ay hinadlangan ang kaaway Samantalang kami’y nagkukubli sa kadawagan; At kayo, paanong iniligtas ang sarili?

MAKAPAGAL: Dumating ang ating mga kawal, At malupit nilang pinarusahan Ang imbing kaaway.

ULILA: Kailan at anong oras Nang dumating sila?

MAKAPAGAL: Ay, ang aking mga apo! Nasaan ang aking mga apo?

ULILA: Maaaring nasa kagubatan sila; Huwag ninyo silang alalahinan Halos kalahati ng baya’y Hindi nakarating sa Polo At doon sa kagubatan ay nagkukubli; Ang mga daan ay hinadlangan ng kaaway Kayat doon sila nagpanakbuhan; Kilala naman ng lahat ang inyong mga apo Kayat sila’y kanilang pangangalangan.

MAKAPAGAL: Hindi ako mabubuhay Nang hindo nakikita ang aking mga apo; Aalis ako upang sila’y hanapin.

ULILA: Dito lamang kayo maghintay, Sila ay darating Maya-maya lamang.

MAKAPAGAL: Hindi, Ako’y hindi makapaghintay pa; Nangangamba akong sila’y nadakip Ng mga kaaway At sila’y papaslangin, Ang ganoo’t kayang-kaya nilang gawin; Ngunit ako muna ang dapat nilang patayin! (Lalabas sa kanan)
Scene XII. Ulila, afterward Supling and her little brothers. Ulila contemplates the fire for a moment.

ULILA: What a most terrible fire! Bayani, my son, is there! (Pause) Heavens! What sad thoughts I have! How my heart aches – how grief surges me! Enemies! What are they? Whence do they come and what do they want? What evil have we ever done them? (Supling enters with her little brothers) Supling, your grandfather is looking for you; he has just this minute gone out.

SUPLING: Ah! (Seems about to leave)

ULILA: Do not leave, as he will return soon. Where have you been?

SUPLING: In the thickest part of the forest. I saw many of our soldiers, dead.

ULILA: Where? Have you seen Bayani?

SUPLING: No, madam; but I was looking for him, too.

ULILA: Ay, my son! Somebody is coming.

SUPLING: I am afraid.

ULILA: So am I.
SUPLING: It seems to me I heard a deep sigh.

ULILA: (Looks within) Who is it? Perhaps it is my son Bayani who comes.

Scene XIII. The same, Makapagal, and Bayani. The latter come in, Makapagal sustaining Bayani, so gravely wounded in the beast he can scarcely walk.

MAKAPAGAL: Here I am, madam, and Bayani.

ULILA: It is certainly my son! (They meet and she sees the blood) What is that? Blood! (Steps back) Blood! Aye, they have killed the son of my soul – curse of heaven! (She embraces him fervently) My son: where is your wound? Searches over his breast) In the chest, in the heart! A mortal injury! Oh, what arrow has wounded you, to destroy the life of your poor mother as well as your own! No, you will not abandon me! My father and my mother abandoned me, but you, my son, never will. My son! (Embraces him)

BAYANI: Mother! (Expires)

ULILA: Dead! Already dead! (Hears the clash of arms)

MAKAPAGAL: Save yourself, Ulila, and go to my grandsons! This is the battle!

ULILA: Oh, my son! (Exit)

SUPLING: Tila ang narinig ko’y isang Maalalim na daing.

ULILA: (Maghahanap) Sino kaya iyon? Maaaring ang anak kong si Bayani Ang dumarating.

Ikalabintatlo eksena. Sila rin, at si Makapagal at Bayani. Si Bayani ay akay ni Makapagal, may malubhang sugat sa dibdib, at halos hindi na makalakad.

MAKAPAGAL: Narito na ako, ginang. At si Bayani itong aking akay.


BAYANI: Ina ko! (Mamamatay)

ULILA: Patay! Patay na siya! (Maririning ang tagisan ng mga sandata)

MAKAPAGAL: Iligtas na ang sarili, Ulila; Sa aking mga apo ay sumama na! Ang digma’y narito na!

ULILA: O, ang aking anak! (Lalabas)
Scene XIV. The same, Mulawin and Gat-Salian, supported by the former.

GAT-S: My country! (He dies and Makapagal and Ulila – should be Mulawin – gather about him)

ULILA/MAKAPAGAL: The Datto! (Mulawin stares at Gat-Salian)

MULAWIN: Dead already! Curse of heaven!

MAKAPAGAL: Mulawin, is it you?

MULAWIN: Yes, sir.

MAKAPAGAL: Where is Bundok, my son?

MULAWIN: I do not know, sir. Were not the soldiers terribly routed!

MAKAPAGAL: Yes.

MULAWIN: We left a perfect mountain of dead and wounded in the field.

MAKAPAGAL: And my son?

MULAWIN: I have not seen him, and...(receives an arrow in the breast) Holy mother! (Falls)

ALL: Jesus! (Mulawin writhes a moment and expires)

Ikalabin-apat na eksena. Sila rin, at sina Mulawin at Gat Salian, inaalalayan ng una.

GAT-S: Bayan ko! (Mamamatay na. Sina Makapagal at Mulawin ay dadalo sa kanya)

ULILA/MAKAPAGAL: Ang Datu! (Mamasdan ni Mulawin si Gat Salian.)

MULAWIN: Patay na! Sumpa ng langit!

MAKAPAGAL: Mulawin, ikaw nga ba?

MULAWIN: Opo, Ginoo.

MAKAPAGAL: Nasaan ang anak kong si Bundok?


MAKAPAGAL: Oo.

MULAWIN: Iniwan naming ang isang patas ng mga patay At sugatan sa larangan.

MAKAPAGAL: At ang aking anak?

MULAWIN: Siya’y hindi ko nakikita, At...(Tatamaan ng palaso sa dibdib) Inang Banal! (Babagsak)

MAKAPAGAL: Hesus! (Mamimilipit sa sakit si Mulawin at mamamatay)
MAKAPAGAL: Curse of heaven! Exterminated! Ah, why in the name of God do you kill us in this manner? Do you not hear the voice of conscience crying out that you should love one another? Before those corpses were mutilated did not there gush forth from your hearts torrents of tears of blood. Did not you suffer the stings of conscience for having killed, not only those who have done you no harm, but even those you did not know? Does not the fatal memory of these assassinations burn your soul? Are not you pursued by the ghosts of those who have fallen victims to your passion? Ah, poor humanity! When will the day arrive on which…Ah, an arrow went quivering through my grey hair!

Scene XV. The same, some Chinese soldiers and an officer, and afterward Bundok.

OFFICER: Capture that old Malay!

MAKAPAGAL: I am no soldier!

OFFICER: Where do you come from and what are you doing here?

MAKAPAGAL: I was coming from the town and seeking my son.

OFFICER: Liar! You are a spy! Come with us!

MAKAPAGAL: I…

OFFICER: Come along quickly, unless you want to die!

MAKAPAGAL: Sumpa ng langit! Lahat ay nangabos! Bakit kami’y inyong pinapatay Sa ganitong paraan, Sa ngalan ng diyos? Hindi ba ninyo naririning ang tinig Ng budhing nananangis ng pag-ibigan Na isa sa isa? Bago nangadurong ang mga bangkay, Hindi ba’t sa inyong mga puso’y May umagos ring luha at dugo? Any inyo bang buddhi ay hindi sinusurot Sa pagpatay ng mga taong Sa inyo’y walang kasalanan, At maging ng mga taong hindi Nakikilala? Hindi baga sa inyong kaluluwa’y Nakapagpapaalumpihit ang huling alaala Ng mga pagpatay? Hindi baga kayo minumulto Nga mga biktima ng inyong pagmamalabis? A, kawawang sangkatauhan! Kailan sasapit ang araw na…Ay, isang palaso ang humaging Sa aking putting buhok!

Ikalabinlimang eksena. Sila rin, sundalong Tsino at isang opisyal, at pagkaunawa’y si Bundok.

OPISYAL: Hulihin ang matandang Malayo!

MAKAPAGAL: Ako’y hindi sundalo.

OPISYAL: Saan ka galling at dito’y Anong ginagawa?

MAKAPAGAL: Galing ako sa bayan At hinahanap ko ang aking anak.

OPISYAL: Sinungaling! Ikaw ay isag epsiya! Sumama ka sa amin!

MAKAPAGAL: Ako’y …

OPISYAL: Sumama na ngayon din Kung ayaw mong mamatay.
MAKAPAGAL: O God, I obey Thy will
(They hear the clash of arms)

OFFICER: Soldiers, the enemy comes! Let us wait for them (Exeunt at the right) here.

MAKAPAGAL: They are leaving me behind!

BUNDOK: (From just inside the left entrance) Good soldiers, there goes the enemy your seek; the victory is ours! Let one section run over there to cut off their retreat; let those in the centre advance! In another moment they will be our prisoners!

MAKAPAGAL: Here I am in the middle of the battle, Between two armies! (Hears the whistling of arrows) How the arrows whistle~! I seems as if the universe was being destroyed. The earth is incandescent, the air flames and the heavens tremble. (Hears the voice of the Chinese officer at the right)

OFFICER: Brave soldiers, sons of war, do not lose your formation!

MAKAPAGAL: A criminal shambles! Holy heaven, why dost thou consent to such butchery? And I find myself in the midst of it…(Enter Bundok)

BUNDOK: Who are you?

MAKAPAGAL: O, Diyos ko, Susundin ko ang Inyong kagustuhan. (Maririnig ang ingay ng mga sandata)

OPISYAL AT MGA SUNDALO: Kawal, Dumarating ang kaaway! Abangan natin sila dito! (Lalabas sa kanan)

MAKAPAGAL: Iiwan nila ako!

BUNDOK: (Bahagya pang nakakubli sa pintuan sa kaliwa) Sundalong mahuhusay, Hayan ang tinutugis na kaaway; Atin na ang tagumpay! Hayaang isang pulutong ang pumaroon Upang hadlangan ang kanilang pag-urong; Hayaang ang nasa gitna naman ay sumulong! Maya-maya lamang, sila’y bilanggo na!

MAKAPAGAL: Narito ako sa gitna ng labanan, Sa pagitan ng dalawang hukbong sandatahan! Maririnig ang haginit ng mga palaso) Kung humaginit ang mga palaso! Mistulang winawasak ang santinakpan! Ang mundo’y nagliliyab, Hangi’y nag-aapoy at langit ay nanginginig! (Maririnig ang poses ng opisyal na Tsino sa kanan.)

OPISYAL: Matatapang na kawal Na anak ng digma, Huwag sirain ang inyong posisyon!

MAKAPAGAL: Anong pangit na tanawin! Mahabaging langit, bakit hinahayaan Ang ganitong patayan? At sarili’y narito sa pagitan ng… (Papasok si Bundok)

BUNDOK: Sino ka?
MAKAPAGAL: I am a…(receives an arrow in the breast and falls) Ay!

BUNDOK: (Recognizing Makapagal) My father! Already he is a corpse! (Sees Supling and the children, accompanied by Ulila) My sons! Come and let us save you. Our town has been destroyed and the blood of our fathers has been spilled. They must be avenged! (Exeunt omnes at right)

Scene XVI. Bituin and Kampupot enter at the left; afterward, Lakan-Salian, Hinghis-Khan, an officer and the entire Chinese army.

BITUIN: I have news of how our army has been scattered. Where shall I find Gat-Salian?

KAMPUPOT: And Mulawin?

BITUIN: I have run through the whole forest again and again but could not find a single person who could tell me where he was halted. What do I see over there? (Points to bodies)

KAMPUPOT: Corpses!

BITUIN: Why does my heart beat so? (The two approach the dead body of Gat-Salian, and Bituin recognizes him by the little gold chain he wore in his collar; she seizes it and trembles) My gold chain! (In the attitude of falling, but Kampupot supports her)
KAMPUPOT: My lady...heavens! (Pause, Bituin recovers herself)

BITUIN: My heart is turned to stone; my tears have tried up. (To the body) My friend! I will avenge your death! (Lit. avenge your life) (Kampupot recognizes the body of Mulawin)

KAMPUPOT: Mulawin! (Falls and dies)

BITUIN: Heaven help me! (Lakan-Salian enters. At that instant Bituin draws from Gat-Salian’s belt his Kris) Go away instantly and do not disturb the peaceful sleep of your victims!

LAKAN-S: Bituin! 119

BITUIN: Yes, it is I.

LAKAN-S: Save yourself, because the Chinese army is coming.

BITUIN: Chinamen! (Runs but comes back)

LAKAN-S: Save yourself – now!

BITUIN: Already I have come to the end of the world. (Enter the Chinese army at left and exit through right entrance. Bituin hides herself at right, but is seen by the audience) Pass, pass, soldiers; it is not you whom I need. (Pause. Enter Hinghis-Khan) Now; this is the officer, this is the king! Oh!

BITUIN: Langit, ako’y kahabagan! (Papasok si Lakan Salian. Sa yugtong iyon ay maagap na huhugutin ni Bituin ang Kris mula sa baywang ni Gat Salian.)

BITUIN: Langit, ako’y naging bato na; Mga mata’y wala nang iluluha pa. (Sa Bangkay) Kaibigan, ipaghihiganti ko Ang iyong kamatayan! (Makikilala ni Kampupot ang bangkay ni Mulawin)

KAMPUPOT: Kagalang-galang…Langit! (Katahimikan. Matatauhin si Bituin)

KAMPUPOT: Mulawin! (Babagsak at mamamatay)

BITUIN: Mga Tsino! (Tatakbo, ngunit babalik)

BITUIN: Mga Tsino! (Tatakbo, ngunit babalik)

LAKAN-S: Sarili’y iligtas ngayon din!

(Throws herself upon him and stabs Hinghis-Khan in the breast with a small dagger. He cries out and expires. The army also sets up a cry.)

BITUIN: Dead already!

LAKAN-S: What have you done? (Bituin approaches Lakan-Salian)

BITUIN: Gat-Salian, I have avenged you!

CHINESE OFFICER: Hinghis-Khan is dead!

BITUIN: I killed him!

OFFICER: You! (All seem about to attack her)

BITUIN: I will not remain alive to be taken prisoner! (Buries the Kris in her breast and falls)

LAKAN-S: Curse of heaven!

BITUIN: Triumph of ambition! Oh, Tagalog Tears, gush forth and succor us, converted into a mountain of corpses!

CURTAIN

(Sasalakayin si Hinghis-Khan at sasaksakin ng punyal sa dibdib. Dadaing si Hinghis-Khan at mamamatay. Magpapagibik ang hukbo.)

LAHAT: Hinghis-Khan!

BITUIN: Siya ay patay na!

LAKAN-S: Ano itong ginawa mo? (Lalapitan ni Bituin si Lakan Salian)

BITUIN: Gat-Salian, Ika’y naipaghiganti na!

OPISYAL: Patay na nga si Hinghis-Khan!

BITUIN: Pinatay ko siya!

OPISYAL: Ikaw! (Waring sasalakayin ng lahat si Bituin)

BITUIN: Hindi ako padadakip nang buhay! (Ibabaon ang punyal sa dibdib at babagsak)

LAKAN-S: Sumpa ng langit!

BITUIN: Tagumpay ng pagnanasang maitim! O, Luhang Tagalog, Hayo nang umagos at kami’y sagipin, Kaming lahat na natanghal na bangkay!

TABING
APPENDIX B

MANUSCRIPT OF AURELIO TOLENTINO’S KAHPON, NGAYON, AT BUKAS
ENGLISH / TAGALOG COMPARISON
Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas is a lyrical drama, was written by Aurelio Tolentino and was performed once in 1903. It is the second of what was supposed to be a trilogy of plays articulating the Filipino people’s capacity to be an independent state. While no timeline is specified, the action takes place during the Spanish colonial period and the beginning of the American colonial period, this second play articulated the experience of the people of the Philippines under Spanish rule. As in Luhang Tagalog, primary tensions lie between the pro-Filipino protagonists, lead by Tagailog and Inang Bayan, and traitorous Filipino characters who colluded with the Spanish and Americans, respectively, to help them take over the archipelago. The play was stopped short during the third act because American audience members were offended by the decision to trample the U.S. flag while calling for revolution.

The English translation of the text comes from Arthur Riggs’ *The Filipino Drama*, which were based on Spanish transcriptions of the original Tagalog manuscript submitted to the courts. The Tagalog language translations are a composite of several sources I consulted, including Arthur Riggs *The Filipino Drama*, Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio’s *The Seditious Tagalog Playwrights*, and a stand-alone copy of the play manuscript located in the UP Diliman library. Each copy was compared and cross-listed for discrepancies in the language.
KAHAPON, NGAYON,  
AT BUKAS

Teatro Libertad  
Compañía Tagalog  
Dakilang Palabas

Sa Jueves ika 14 nang Mayo nang 1903  
Ika 9 ng gabi

Nang mahadlikang dramang may tatlong  
acto titik ni G. Aurelio Tolentino at  
pinamagatang

KAHAPON, NGAYON, AT BUKAS
Kadugtong nang LUHANG TAGALOG

Buhay sa nagdaan, sa kasalukuyan at  
sasapiting panahon nang bayang Filipinas

***

YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND  
TOMORROW

Teatro Libertad  
Compañía Tagalog  
A Great Show

May 14, 1903  
9:00 pm

A noble three-act drama by Mr. Aurelio  
Tolentino entitled

YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND  
TOMORROW

A sequel to TAGALOG TEARS  
Depicting life was, is, and could be in the  
Filipino Nation.

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The Characters

Inang Bayan........................Philippines
(Mother Country)
Dilat na Bulag........................Spain
(Blind with open eyes)
Bagong Sibol.............................America
(New-Comer)
Masunurin...............................Filipino Girl
(Very Obedient)
Tagailog...............................Filipino People
(From the River)
Matang Lawin...........Spanish Government
(Hawk Eyes)
Malay Natin........American Government
(The one we know)
Asal Hayop........................Tagalog Traitor
(Beastly One)
Dahumpalay................Tagalog Traitor
(venomous Snake)
Haring Bata....................King of China
(Child King)
Halimau................................The Friar
(Lion)
Ualang Tutol........Filipino Countrymen
(Without objection to orders)

Inhabitants of the town, battalion of Tagalog Soldiers, Chinese Soldiers, a crowd of Red Cross girls, revolutionary officers and soldiers, children, band of music composed of Tagal soldiers, souls of the dead during the battle, the King of Death, regiments of infantry, artillery and engineers.

Manga Tawo

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Manga tawong bayan, manga Hokbong Tagalog, manga Hokbong Insik, Kapisanan ng Cruz Rojang babayi, manga kawal na revolucionario, mga batang lalaki’t babayi, bandang musica ng Hokbong Tagalog, mga kalulua ng nangamatay sa labanan, ang Haring Kamatayan, Regimiento ng Artilleria, Infanteria, at Ingenieria.
ACT I

An enclosed lot containing various banana trees and other plants, and in the centre a spreading vine.

Scene I.

Asalhayop and the inhabitants of the town, the woman on the right hand side and the men on the left. Each holds a gold cup in uplifted right in a happy attitude. Asalhayop, Masunurin, Ualangtutol, and the people of the town.

UALANGTUTOL: Let us drink; let us dance.

MASUNURIN: Let us shout with joy for Asalhayop.

CHORUS: Let us shout with joy for him.

1ST CHORISTER (male): May he have a happy life.

1ST CHORISTER (female): And preserve it for many years.

2nd CHORISTER (female): For many years.

UALANGTUTOL: May misfortune and sorrows never diminish his greatness.

2nd FEMALE: May it never be diminished.

3rd FEMALE: May his greatness shine by the glory that awaits him.

CHORUS: May it shine.

MASUNURIN: May all honor and favor abound for him.

CHORUS: May they abound.

BAHAGI I

(Ysang bakurang may sagingan at iba pang halaman sa tabi. Sa gitna ay isang balag.)

Labas I.


UALANGTUTOL: Mag-inuman, magsayawan.

MASUNURIN: Si Asalhayop ay ypagdiwang.

CORO: Ypagdiwang.

1ST CHORISTER (male): Mapala ang kaniyang buhay.

1ST CHORISTER (female): At lumawig habang araw.

2nd CHORISTER (female): Habang araw.

UALANGTUTOL: Dangal niya’y huagdadalawin ng siphayo’t ng hilahil.

2nd FEMALE: Huwag dadalawin.

3rd FEMALE: Dangal niya’y magluningning Sa ligayang sasapitin.

CHORUS: Magluningning.

MASUNURIN: Madlang puri, madlang biaya /Sa kaniya’y sumagana.

CHORUS: Sumagana.
3rd FEMALE: May all wealth, all happiness, be preserved for him.

CHORUS: May they be preserved.

ASALHAYOP: Beloved friends, I give ye thanks for all my life. Your solicitude for me is a grace for the future. Ye are my greatness, and ye are truly the support of my life.

(Lalapitang isa-isa ni Asalhayop ang mga Coro at ipipingki sa kani-kanilang copa ang kaniyang hawak.)

Let us dance, drink, and sing; let us forget sadness.

CHORUS: Let us drink.

Scene II. The same, Inangbayan and Tagailog.

INANGBAYAN: Ingrates; men without feelings; ye rejoice through the people mourn. Men without heart, without honor; what has become of your promise to accompany those who have gone?

Scene II. Sila Rin, Inangbayan, Tagailog.

INANGBAYAN: Mga walang loob
Mga walang damdam,
Kayo’y masasaya,
Bago’y naglululksa
Ang kawawang bayan.
Mga walang puso,
Mga walang dangal,
Nahan ang pangakong
Kayo ay dadamay
sa mga pumanaw?
(Asalhayop laughs loudly and points toward Inangbayan)

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Look at Inangbayan, the witch of evil omen. (*Chorus laughs*)

Go away, Inangbayan; speak not of the dead. (*Laughter in chorus*)

Let us drink.

CHORUS: Let us drink. (*In attitude of drinking contents of cups*)

INANGBAYAN: No! Do not swallow, do not drink the poisoned wine ye have in your hands (*Chorus laughs*)

Your souls will be disturbed; ye will be cursed for all time. (*Laughter in chorus*)

The dead bodies of your grandfathers and your fathers are yet warm in their graves. (*Laughter in chorus*) Think of the future; fight the enemies. (*Long laughter by Asalhayop and chorus*)

ASALHAYOP: Let us dance.

CHORUS: Let us dance. (*Asalhayop and chorus drink. Inangbayan will look at them with terribly angry eyes.*)

(Tatawa nang malakas si Asalhayop at ituturo si Ynangbayan)

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Masdan ninyo si Ynangbayan, / Ang buisit na manggagaway. / (*Magtatawanan ang Coro.*)

Humayu ka Ynangbayan, Huag sabihin ang patay. / (*Magtatawanan ang Coro.*)

CHORUS: Mag-inuman. (*Anyong iinumin ang laman ng mga copa.*)

INANGBAYAN: Huag! / Huag ninyong lagukin, huag ninyong mainom / Ang hinahawakang alak na may lason. (*Magtatawa ang Coro.*)

Ang inyong kalulua ay malilingatong, / Kayo’y isusumpa ng mga panahon. / (*Magtatawanan ang Coro.*)

Mainit pang tunay sa mga burulan / Ang bangkay ng inyong nuno at magulan. / (*Magtatawanan ang Coro.*) / Hayo at mag-isip ng tinutunguhan, / Hayo at bakahin ang mga kaaway. / (*Mahabang tawanan nila Asalhayop at ng Coro.*)

ASALHAYOP: Magsayawan.

CHORUS: Magsayawan.

(Coro: Magsayawan. (*Yinumin ni Asalhayop at ng Coro ang laman ng mga copa. Tititigitan sila nang kagulat-gulat ni Ynangbayan.*)
INANGBAYAN: Ye senseless ones; your present mirth is true contempt of the tomb of your noble race. What! Can ye not feel in the depths of your hearts the precursory chill of the death of the people? Are ye not ashamed of yourselves that ye can rejoice, being under the feet of Haring-Bata, the ambitious son of Hinghis-Khan?

ASALHAYOP: Our mother talks well, the witch!

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Give me some wine.

CHORUS: To us also.

INANGBAYAN: To me also.

ASALHAYOP: Do ye see her? Do ye see that she voluntarily asks, when she sees that we pay no attention to her? Inangbayan is a good woman.

(To Inangbayan) Behold the wine which I offer thee. (Gives her a cup). Let us drink. (Asalhayop and chorus lift their cups).

UALANGTUTOL: Long live Asalhayop!

CHORUS: Long may he live.

INANGBAYAN: Mga walang kalulua. Ang inyong mga kasayahan ngayon ay pagdustang tunay sa libingan ng ating marangal na lipi. Ano? Hindi baga ninyo nararamdaman sa ibutod ng inyong mga puso ang lamig ng kamatayan ng bayan? Hindi baga kayo nangahihiya sa sarili, ng talampakan ni Haringbata, ang masiging na anak ni Hingiskang?

ASALHAYOP: Mahusay manalumpati ang ating ina, ang manggagaway.

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Bigian ako ng kaunting alak.

CHORUS: Kami man.

INANGBAYAN: Aku man.


(Kay Inangbayan) Heto ang alak na alay ko sa iyo. (Bibigyan siya ng isang copa). Mag-inuman. (Ytaas ni Asalhayop at Coro ang kanilang mga copa).

WALANGTUTOL: Mabuhay si Asalhayop!

CORO: Mabuhay!
INANGBAYAN: May God curse him who does not repent the insult offered (against) Him (which has been offered Him) today. This is the true day of the death of the defenders of the people. This is the day of the downfall of our sad Balintauak. Accursed of God be he who does not repent. This malediction is from the bottom of my heart, and in proof of it...there goes! (She will dash the cup to the ground.)

ASALHAYOP: Inangbayan!

(Asalhayop will throw himself on her to strike her. Inangbayan will fall, amid the laughter of the chorus.)

ASALHAYOP: Witch! (Slaps her, followed by laughter of chorus. He immediately grabs her throat. Inangbayan rises.)

UALANGTUTOL: No; (To Asalhayop) loose her. (Asalhayop lets go)

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop, for thy insult to me, may thy traitor soul fall to the Apo in the hands of Madarangan. And ye, my beloved children, who have followed him, have been infected by his adverse fortune. Ye are cursing the honor of your grandfathers, in their tombs. Ah, never would I have believed that I could not place ye among the races that people this far East.

INANGBAYAN: Sumpayin nawa ni Bathala ang hindi magsisi sa paglapastangan sa araw ito! Yto ngang tunay ang araw ng kamatayan ng mga tagapagtangol ng bayan. Yto ang araw ng pagkalugso ng ating kahambalhambal na Balintawak. Sumpayin nawa ni Bathala ang hindi magsisi! / Taos sa pusu ko yaring sumpa./ At sa Katunayan ay...ayan! / (Ypupukol sa lupa ang copang hawak.)

ASALHAYOP/CORO: Ynangbayan!

(Biglang lalapitan ni Asalhayop si Ynangbayan at tatampilin. Si Ysangbayan at mabubual, kasabay ng pagtawa ng Coro.)

ASALHAYOP: Manggagaway! (Kasabay ng tampal at tawanan. Kasabay ng pagsakal sa kaniya at pagtindig ni Ynangbayan).

WALANGTUTOL: Huag! Bitiwan mo, Asalhayop. (Bibitiwan).

YNANGBAYAN: Asalhayop, paglapastangan mo sa akin ay nahulog sa Apo, sa kamay ni Mandaragan, ang taksil mong kalulua. At kayong mga nakianib sa kanya, kayong mga anak kong pinakamamahal, ay nangahawa na mandin sa kaniyang sawing palad. Dinudusta ninyo sa libingang dangal ng inyong mga nuno. / Ah! Hindi ko inakala kalian pa man, na kayo’y hindi ko maihahalobilo sa mga ankang nagkalat sa Dulong-Silanganan. /
INANGBAYAN: My sons, beloved Benjamins! Ye have taken the wrong path. Rectify your sentiments; repent of your offense to me and to the great day of the catastrophe of the people. If ye forget that day, ye will also forget the tombs of your ancestors. Ye have been completely blind. Open your eyes.

(The curtain will be raised instantly, showing tombs with inscriptions in antique letters, with black hangings and wreaths.)

INANGBAYAN: There they are! Look at them! (Tagailog and the chorus kneel and the cups fall from their hands, with the exception of Asalhayop, who turns his back to the tombs.)

INANGBAYAN: In these tombs are deposited the remains of Gat-Silan, Bituin, and thousands and thousands of other heroic soldiers of the people. Oh, now that ye have profaned this day and these tombs; now that ye have dragged into the mire of ingratitude the sacred constitution of our noble race, go on with your crazy feasting: go on, beloved sons, but I only ask that there, upon then, upon those tombs, there ye shall drink wine, dance and sing, tear and trample the mourning crepe with which they are hung, there make light of your own honor without ceasing.


(Biglang itataas ang tabing. Lilitaw ang mga libingang may pangalan sulat sa panahong una at may mga sabit na luksa at sari-saring putong).

YNANGBAYAN: Ayan at tanawin ninyo sila! (Mangagluluhuran si Tagailog at Coro at mangahuhulog sa kanilang kamay ang mga copang hawak, tanging hindi lamang si Asalhayop at talakitidan ang mga nasasabing libingan.)

YNANGBAYAN: Sa mga libingang iyan at nalalagal ang mga buto nila Gat-Silan, Bituin at laksa-laksang iba pang bayaning kawal ng bayan. / Oh! Yayamang nilapastangan ninyo ang araw na ito at ang mga libingang iyan; yayamang dinudusta ninyo ang dakilang pangalan ng inyong mga nuno; yayamang inilublob ninyo sa pusali ng kapalamarahan ang banal na kasulatan ng ating marharlikang lipi, ang ipagpatuloy na ninyo, mga bunsong ginigiliw, nungnit pakiusap ku lamang, na doon sa ibabaw nila, sa ibabaw ng mga libingang iyan, ay doon kayo mag-inuman ng alak, doon kayo magsayawan at mag-awitan, doon kayo sambilatin at yurakan iyang dangal.)
(Weeps and little by little directs her steps toward the tombs.) Dearly beloved sons, I bid ye adieu, I bid ye adieu! (The first curtain falls.)

Scene III. The same, Less Inangbayan.

TAGAILOG: My brothers...oh why are ye sad? Is it because ye remember that on this date the nation died? Ah, it is true.

It has been twenty years since then, twenty years of slavery. But now everything is prepared, if ye agree with my projects.

CHORUS: Tell us.

TAGAILOG: Would ye recover from the power of the enemy this land which he usurped from our fathers?

CHORUS: Immediately.

TAGAILOG: Come; let us all go and arm ourselves. (Ex. Om. Except Asalhayop)

Labas III. Sila rin, wala lamang si Ynangbayan.

TAGAILOG: Mga kapatid ko! ...Oh! Ano’t kayo’y nangalulumbay? Dahil baga sa pag-aalaala ninyo sa nalugsong buhay ng bayan sa araw na ito? Ah, tunay nga! Sapul noon hanga ngayon ay dalawangpuong taong nang sinkad, dalawangpuong taong pagkapaalipin. Ngunit huag. Ngayo’y nahahanda nang lahat. Kapag kayo’y umayos sa aking mga panukala...

CORO: Magsabi ka!

TAGAILOG: Ybig baga ninyong bawiin sa kamay ng kaaway itong baying sinamsam nila sa kamay ng ating mga magulang?

CORO: Ngayon din.

TAGAILOG: Tayu na’t magsandatang lahat.

CORO: Tayu na. (Alis na lahat, matitira si Asalhayop)
Scene IV. The same, Asalhayop solus.

ASALHAYOP: (Looking at them go out) Ignoramuses! These people have not had education; the dog or the carabao is better than they, because the animals live and know how to live, but these people do not. They are enjoying tranquility now. Why, then, should they voluntarily look for trouble? They say that our forefathers failed, and what of that?

If I should avenge them, would they return to life? They say they will reconquer (regain) the liberty of the people. Ha, ha, ha! And to what end? It is better to be rich slave than a poor freeman. Ignoramuses! (Thinks)

It is well; I will look for the Chinamen, I will look for the child-king, and I will tell him all that has occurred. Here is another opportunity to get money. (Turns, leaves the stage, but the child-king appears)

Scene V. The same; Asalhayop, Haring-Bata, and later Inangbayan.

HARING BATA: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: I lay myself at thy feet, great king, sovereign child.

HARING BATA: Thanks.

(Inangbayan appears and hides herself at one side, where she cannot be seen by the other two)

ASALHAYOP: I was going to your house, as I wanted to tell you something important.

HARING BATA: What is it?

Labas IV. Asalhayop. Tatanawin ang mga nagsialis.


Labas V. Asalhayop, Haring Bata, mamaya’y Ynangbayan.

HARINGBATA: Asalhayop.

ASALHAYOP: Aku po’y sumasayapak mo, dakila’t marangal na Haringbata.

HARINGBATA: Salamat

(Lalabas si Ynangbayan at manunubok sa tabi ng tabing. Hindi siya makikita ng dalawa.)

ASALHAYOP: Aku po sana ay talagang paparoon sa inyong buhay at may nasang sabihing malaking bagay.

HARING BATA: Ano yaon?
ASALHAYOP: Tagailog and all his companions who are his brothers as well as mine, have just left here. They have gone to arm themselves in order to attack you.

INANGBAYAN: Traitor!

HARING BATA: Is that true?

ASALHAYOP: It is true, sir.

HARINGBATA: And is the reason known?

ASALHAYOP: They say that they wish to recover their liberty.

HARING BATA: Ambitious ones! And where are they?

ASALHAYOP: I don’t know, sir; I will look for them and find out their secrets in order to inform you, so they may fall into your hands.

INANGBAYAN: Sacrilegious!

HARING BATA: Thanks. Take great care and keep thine eyes open. Here is the money thou has earned. (Gives money) And when they call under my authority, I will give thee more and a high position.

ASALHAYOP: Thanks, sir.

HARING BATA: I will expect thee tonight in my house, and thou canst give an account of all the projects they have. Here is the countersign which thou will give to the sentinels, so they will let thee pass. (Gives him a copper badge and goes out).

ASALHAYOP: Si Tagailog at at lahat niyang kasama, na pawing kapatid niya’t kapatid ku rin, ay kaaalis din pu dito ngayon. Mangagsasakbat ng sandata at kayo po ay babakahin.

YNANGBAYAN: (Magpalilo!)

HARINGBATA: Tunay?

ASALHAYOP: Tunay po.

HARINGBATA: At bakit daw?

ASALHAYOP: Ybig daw pu nilang mabawi ang kanilang kalayaan.

HARINGBATA: Mga masiging! At saan nangaroon?

ASALHAYOP: Ewan po. Hahanapin ku sila at pakikilalaman ko ang kanilang mga lihim, upending maipagbigay alam ko sa inyo at mangahulog sa inyong kamay.

INANGBAYAN: (Bohong!)

HARINGBATA: Salamat. Talasan moa ng inyong tainga’t mata. Heto ang salapi mong bayad. (Bibigian ng salapi). / At kung mangahulog na sila at ilalim ng aking kapangyarihan at dadagdagan ku pa iyan, at bibigian kita ng katungkuluan mataas.

ASALHAYOP: Salamat po.

HARINGBATA: Hihintayin kita ngayong gabi sa aking bahay, at ipagbibigay mong alam sa aking ang lahat nilang panukala. Heto ang tandang ilalahad mo sa taliba upending ikaw ay popsukin. (Bibigian siya ng isang chapang tanso at aalis).
ASALHAYOP: Trust me, sir. *(Looks at the money)* Here is my money; here is my true Mother Country, the true god. And it will be increased, and I shall be promoted. Good fortune.

INANGBAYAN: Without honor!

*Scene VI. The same, and Tagailog.*

ASALHAYOP: Tagailog, I was looking for thee.

TAGAILOG: I was also looking for thee.

ASALHAYOP: Shall we, then, attack the child-king?

TAGAILOG: Yes, tomorrow. Prepare thyself, for thou art to go with us.

ASALHAYOP: What plan shall we carry out?

TAGAILOG: I shall make believe that I want to pay tribute.

ASALHAYOP: That is well; and where shall we pass?

TAGAILOG: Half along the beach and half in the darkness. Here come our heroic soldiers, accompanied by the women who will take care of the wounded.

*Scene VII. The same, Ualang-Tutol, Masunurin, chorus of men and women. The men all armed.*

UALANGTUTOL: Tagailog, here we are.
TAGAILOG: Let us wait for the other companions.

ASALHAYOP: I am with thee, but I shall withdraw for a moment.

TAGAILOG: We will wait for thee here, and from here we shall go to attack the child-king.

ASALHAYOP: Be assured that I shall return. Be assured that where ye die there I shall seek death. *(Starts to leave)*

CHORUS: Long live Asalhayop!

INANGBAYAN: *(To Asalhayop)* Wait!

Tagailog, don’t let Asalhayop go.

ASALHAYOP: Me?

INANGBAYAN: Thee.

ALL: And why?

INANGBAYAN: I have something to ask him in your presence.

MASUNURIN: What can it be?

CHORUS: What can it be?

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop, hast thou perchance no money with thee?

ASALHAYOP: No.

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TAGAILOG: Hint(ay)in natin ang mga ibang kasama.

ASALHAYOP: Ako’y kasama ninyo, ngunit ako’y uuwi pa muna sandali.

TAGAILOG: Hihintayin ka namin dito, at ditu tayu mabubuhat sa pagsalakay kay Haring-bata.

ASALHAYOP: Asahan ninyong ako’y darating. Asahan ninyong kung saan kayo mamatay, at doon din ako magpapakamatay. *(Anyong aalis)*

CHORUS: Mabuhay si Asalhayop!

INANGBAYAN: *(Kay Asalhayop)* Hintay. Tagailog, huag mong paalisin si Asalhayop.

ASALHAYOP: Ako?

INANGBAYAN: Ikaw.

ALL: At bakit?

INANGBAYAN: Ako’y may itatanong sa kaniya ditto sa harapan.

MASUNURIN: Anu kaya?

CHORUS: Anu kaya?

INANGBAYAN: Asalhayop, wala ka bagang taglay na salapi ngayon?

ASALHAYOP: Wala.
INANGBAYAN: Have ye heard it? He says no. And thou hast not perchance on thy person a piece of copper?

ASALHAYOP: Lying witch! Why dost thou ask?

INANGBAYAN: Thou hast not on thy body a piece of copper? Answer!

ALL: Answer.

ASALHAYOP: No. What should I have to do with copper?

INANGBAYAN: Have ye heard? He says he does not carry money and has not the least bit of copper! (Inangbayan laughs loudly)

ASALHAYOP: Wrath of God! Why dost thou laugh?

INANGBAYAN: Seize him, for he has sold us all to the child-king.

ALL: Oh!

ASALHAYOP: I?

INANGBAYAN: Thou.

ASALHAYOP: Inangbayan lies. (She laughs loudly)

INANGBAYAN: Poor Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: I have said that Inangbayan is a liar.
INANGBAYAN: My children, examine the body of Asalhayop, who carries money and carries copper.

TAGAILOG: (To Chorus) Search him.

ASALHAYOP: I shall not permit them to search me.

TAGAILOG: Seize him!
(Asalhayop is subjected by the armed men, is searched by the women, who find money and a copper badge in his pocket.)

MASUNURIN: It is true.

ALL: It is true.

TAGAILOG: Why didst thou deny carrying them?

ASALHAYOP: This has….yesterday… but… (Inangbayan laughs loudly)

INANGBAYAN: As he cannot tell, I will tell ye for him.

ASALHAYOP: Inangbayan, have compassion!

TAGAILOG: Tell it, Inangbayan

ALL: Tell it.

ASALAHYOP: Inangbayan!
INANGBAYAN: This money is the price of the life of the people that this man offered in sale to the child-king.

ALL: Oh!

INANGBAYAN: And this copper is what he shall show to the enemy’s sentinels so that they will let him enter and communicate all our secrets.

ASALHAYOP: Curse of Apo! Wrath of Madarangan!

INANGBAYAN: Look well at the copper, as perhaps it has the seal of the child-king (All look at it)

MASUNURIN: It is true.

CHORUS: It is true.

UALANGTUTOL: The seal of the child-king.

TAGAILOG: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Pardon!

INANGBAYAN: Now that ye know who Asalhayop is, I will leave ye. (Goes out, the rest move to follow her)

ALL: Inangbayan!

Scene VIII. The same, less Inangbayan.

TAGAILOG: (To Asalhayop) O, brother without heart, without honor! In thy veins runs the dirty blood of Lakan-Salian, that traitor who ordered our poor Inangbayan tied by the neck, through Hingis-Khan, the father of the tyrannical child-king.

INANGBAYAN: Ang salaping iyan ay siyang pinagbilhan ng nilaku niyang buhay buhay ng bayan kay Haringbata.

ALL: Oh!

INANGBAYAN: At ang tangsong iyan ay siyang ilalahad sa mga taliba ng kaaway, upang siya’y papasukin at maisiwalat an gating lahat na lihim.

ASALHAYOP: Sumpa ng Apo! Ngitngit ni Mandagaran!

INANGBAYAN: Pagmasdan ninyo ang tangso at may tatak marahil ni Haringbata. (Pagmamasdan ng lahat ang tangso)

MASUNURIN: Tunay nga.

CHORUS: Tunay nga.

UALANGTUTOL: Kay Haringbata tatak.

TAGAILOG: Asalhayop!

ASALHAYOP: Patawad!

INANGBAYAN: Ngayon at inyo nang nakilala kung sinu nga si Asalhayop, ay paalam ako sa inyo. (Tuloy aalis. Anyong hahabulin ng lahat)

LAHAT: Inangbayan!

Labas VIII. Sila rin, wala lamang si Ynangbayan

TAGAILOG: (Kay Asalhayop) Oh! Walang pusong kapatid! Walang dangal! Sa mga ugam mo ay tumatakbo ang maruming dugo ni Lakansalian, yaong taksil na nagpaganap ng liig ng ating kawawang Ynangbayan, kay Hingis-kang na ama ng soail na Haringbata.
TAGAILOG: See how the sparks of treason shine in his eyes! Tagalog people, remember my advice: we should love our brothers, our parents, our own lives, but we ought to love more the honor of our unhappy Mother Country. *(A pause)* Therefore, whoever he be who is a traitor to her, be it our brothers or our parents, we must not have any consideration for him (them); we must close our eyes to compassion, and throw them in the abyss of the most horrible death, and may the most energetic curse of our slavery hang over his head. *(A momentary pause)* Tagalog people, if we should ever lose shame in our sunburned faces, and permit that the seal of honor, natural heritage of our souls, be obliterated from our brows, let us at least have enough bravery to put an end to our own existence. Let us shed our blood, lacerate our flesh, destroy our bones, so that the clean honor of the Tagalog race may not be scattered through the streets, and that we ourselves may not be the ones to drag in the mire the venerated and weeping face of the unhappy Mother Country. *(A pause)* Tagalog people, Asalhayop was a traitor; let him be burned alive.

CHORUS: Pardon!

TAGAILOG: Tagalog people, although thy love for Asalhayop is great, mine is not less for him; but I love much more our Mother Country.

TAGILOG: Pagmasdan ninyo’t kumikislap sa kaniyang mga mata ang alipato ng kaniyang paglililo./ Bayang Tagalog, tandaan ninyo yaring hatol. / Dapat mahalin ang ating mga kapatid, ang ating mga magulang, ang ating sariling buhay, ngunit lalu pa nating dapat mahalin ang dangel ng ating kahambal-hambal na Ynangbayan. / *(Sandaling palipas)* Kaya nga, ang sinu pa mang maglilo sa kaniya, kapidad man natin o magulang kaya, ay huag pagpitaganan; takpan ang mata ng awa at idalhag siya sa bangin ng lalong dustang 614 kamatayan, at idagan sa kaniyang ulo ang matinding sumpa ng ating pagkapalaalipin. *(Sandaling palipas)* Bayang Tagalog, kung sakaling mawalan man tayo ng hiya sa mukha nating bantad, at pabayaan nating makatkat sa ating noo ang limbag ng puri, manang katutubu ng ating kalulua, ay magkaroon man lamang tayo ng kaunting tapang sa pagkitil ng sariling buhay. Ybubu natin ang ating dugo, lamurayin natin ang ating laman, iwalat natin ang ating mga buto, huag na lamang kumalat-salat sa lansangan ang mabulsilak ng dangel ng liping Tagalog, huag na lamang tayo ring ito ng ating kahabag-habag na Ynangbayan. *(Sandaling palipas)* Bayang Tagalog, si Asalhayop ay nagtaksil; Sunugin siyang buhay.

KORO: Patawad!

TAGAILOG: Bayang Tagalog, kung Malaki ang pagmamahal mo kay Asalhayop, ako naman ay lalu pa, ngunit lalu pang Malaki ang pagmamahal ko sa ating Ynangbayan.
TAGAILOG: The Mother Country has been offered in sale to the child-king by Asalhayop, so he ought to die; for we should exterminate every venomous plant that grows and germinates in Tagalog soil. (Pause) Let him be burned alive.

CHORUS: Pardon!

TAGAILOG: Tagalog people, our country has fallen because traitors abound everywhere, and they abound through being pardoned. If ye do not want our country to fall again, no one should be pardoned who fails our sacred aspirations. Let us throw his body to the burning flame of the hatred of the people. (A moment’s pause) Let us burn him alive!

CHORUS: Pardon!

TAGAILOG: Tagalog people, people whom I love so much, nobody can impede the severe punishment of my judgment. I prefer to die, rather than that justice should not be done. So whoever wants to ask pardon for that traitor, let him kill me. first, let him wound me in the breast. One of the two: that treason lives and I die, or that I live and treason dies. (A moment’s pause) Let him be burned alive!

CHORUS: Pardon!
TAGAILOG: O, Tagalog people! People of the noble race of Tagalogs! Do not ask pardon for him who has been a traitor to the lofty honor of our written covenants (meaning the Constitutions?) (Unsheaths his dagger) And now that those who defend him do not care to kill him, I will kill those who protest and oppose themselves to my righteous and just sentence. I will pierce the breast of whoever moves;

I will pierce with my dagger the hearts of those who cry “pardon!” (He will raise his dagger, and at the sight of it will draw back)
Let him be burned alive!


(The soldiers subject Asalhayop. The fire will be started immediately and be visible to the spectators)

When shall the race of traitors who envenom the people be exterminated completely from the earth?
(Cries are heard from within)
So! Tagalog people, do you see how the body of Asalhayop is consumed in the fire? Whomever imitates him I swear I would also burn him alive: and if I also become a traitor or abandon the defense of our rights, burn me alive also, because if ye pardon me, I and no other will be the one who will curse you so that Bathala may chastise you.
(The Soldiers who have entered go out)

TAGAILOG: Oh! Bayang Tagalog! Bayan ng marangal na liping Tagalog, huag mong ihiningi ng patawad ang nagtaksil sa dakilang dangal ng ating mga kasulatan. (Bubunutin ang kaniyang sundang) At yayamang ayaw akong ilugso ng mga nagtatangol sa kaniya, ako ang maglulugso sa mga sasagot at sasansala sa aking matatag na hatol.
Ywawalat ko ang dibdib ng balang kumikibo,

Hahalukayin ko ang puso ng balang magsigaw ng wikang “patawad.” (Ytataas ang kaniyang sundang. Mapupaurong ang lahat.) Susunugin siya ang buhay! (Lalabas ang mga nagsipasok na kawal.)

NOTE: The English translation of the text highlighted in bold was not in the Tagalog manuscript that was used for this work. Further research will need to be conducted to determine the reason.
Scene IX. The same and Inangbayan

INANGBAYAN: Tagailog, my great son; in thy soul thou hast united my immaculate honor and in thy heart the force and heroism of thy noble race. Thou art the bright symbol of the Tagalog people. I have today seen the firmness of thy character in proclaiming the truth.

TAGAILOG AND CHORUS: Inangbayan!

INANGBAYAN: Worthy people; great and lofty sons, Tagailog is the king. Obey him! He is very heroic and upright, capable of sustaining our rights before the world.

TAGAILOG AND CHORUS: Thanks!

TAGAILOG: The honor of the Tagalogs now lies in the mire; let us raise it and elevate it so that the world may see it. Let us deliver our country from the wave of ambition; let us elevate it under the shadow of our own rights.

INANGBAYAN: Let us should for this people; let us honor it; let us not abandon it; let us not abandon it either in life or in death.

CHORUS: Either in life or in death.

INANGBAYAN: Go on to the combat!

Labas IX. Sila rin at Ynangbayan.

YNANGBAYAN: Tagailog, darakilang bungso, sa kalulua mo ay paminsanang nagtipon ang dangal kong mabusilak, at sa pusu mo ay ang lakas at pagkabayani ng iyong mahadlikang lipi. Ykaw ang maligayang saguisag ng baying Tagalog. Nakita ko ngayon ang tigas ng iyong loob sa pagtatanghal ng matatag na katuiran.

TAGAILOG AND CHORUS: Inangbayan!


TAGAILOG AND CHORUS: Salamat.

TAGAILOG: Ang dangal nating Tagalog, Sa putik ngayo’y nalublob, Itanghal at italuktok At itanyag sa sinukob. Yligtas ang lupa natin Sa daluyong na sakim. Ihatid natin sa lilim Ng katuirang atin-atin.

YNANGBAYAN: Ypagdiwang itong bayan, Bigian natin ng dangal, Huag bayaan, buag bayaan Sa buhay ma’t mamatay.

CHORUS: Sa mabuhay ma’y mamatay.

YNANGBAYAN: Hayo na kayo sa labanan.
TAGA: My brothers; I shall go in the vanguard, and if I fall back, stab me at once; but if I advance I will surely kill those who do not follow me. Follow me!  
(*All follow him except Inangbayan*)

Scene X. Inangbayan; afterward Haring-Bata, followed by Chinese army.

INANG: My sons are already on the march; there they are in Lico (Liko), entrenching themselves. Bathala protect them! (*Enter Haring-Bata with his soldiers*)

HARING BATA: Here is she whom we seek.

INANG: (It is the child king)

HARINGBATA: Here is Inangbayan; seize her! Bind her! (*The soldiers approach Inangbayan in attitude of binding her securely, elbow to elbow*)

Labas X. Inangbayan, mamaya’y si Haringbata kasama ang hokbong Isnik.

YNANG: Humayu na ang mga anak ko; Ayon at nangakanlong na sa Liko. Bathala, patnubayan mo sila! (*Lalabas si Haringbata kasama ang kaniyang mga kawal*)

HARINGBATA: Narito an gating hinahanap.

YNANG: Si Haringbata!

HARINGBATA: Narito si Inangbayan. Dakpin ninyo, gapusin ninyo. (*Lalapitan si Inangbayan ng mga kawal at anyong gagapusin*)
INANGBAYAN: Cruel, covetous one! Are ye not satisfied with confiscating all my land, that now ye go to bind me although I am so weak, without arms to defend myself, and without companions? Cut my body into small pieces; all my bones and flesh; throw it away and trample upon it, but be sure that each drop of my blood, each smallest piece of my flesh and bones, will irritate the dirty soles of your feet, poison your blood, and even heaven will curse you. Remember that though ye bury my mutilated body in the mire, it will be a seed and germinate, it will burst into leaf, and will have honor for flowers and bear liberty eternal as fruit.

HARINGBATA: Close her mouth, and throttle her so that she cannot scream.

INANGBAYAN: Smother the cry of reason; close the mouth of honor; drown the life of the people!

Scene XI. The Same, Tagailog and Tagalog soldiers, former dressed in the uniform of a chief.

TAGA ILOG: (From within) Quick, soldiers!

HARINGBATA: The Tagalog army! Follow me, soldiers! (He catches Inangbayan by the hand and drags her within. Tagailog with his soldiers appear)


HARINGBATA: Takpan ninyo ang bibig at sakalin ninyo ang liig, nag upending huag makasigaw.

INANGBAYAN: Sakalin ninyo ang sigaw ng katuiran, tutupin ninyo ang bibig ng dangal, inisin ninyo ang buhay ng bayan.

Labas XI. Sila rin, Tagailog, kawal na Tagalog. Si Tagailog ay suot pamunuan.

TAGA ILOG: Mga kawal, madali. (Sa loob.)

HARINGBATA: Ang hokbong Tagalog. Mga kawal sundan ako. (Hahawakan sa kamay si Inangbayan at kakaladkaring ipapasok. Lalabas si Tagailog at mga kawal.)
TAGAILOG: Tagalog people, valiant race, sons of battle, hasten! The clouds of ambition are dissipating, and the dawn of liberty appears. Be brave, and the people are saved. (*He enters immediately*)

*Scene XII. Female Chorus*

MASUNURIN: Fight, soldiers, and redeem this people!

FIRST VOICE: A moment more, and victory is ours.

CHORUS: The victory!

MASUNURIN: The two armies have encountered and there has been a hand to hand conflict.

SECOND VOICE: Fight, fight, for the enemy…

CHORUS: is running!

MASUNURIN: Let us take care of the wounded.

CHORUS: Let us take care of them.

*Scene XIII. The Chinese soldiers come forward, most of them wounded and they will fall.*

MASUNURIN: Do not abandon them; it is our duty.

TAGAILOG: Hokbong Tagalog, lahi ng katapangang mga anak sa digma, tulinan ninyo. / Napaparam ang ulap ng sakim, sumisilay ang araw ng kalayaan: tatagan ang puso at bawi ang bayan. (*Tuloy pasok*)

*Labas XII. Masunurin, Corong Babayi*

MASUNURIN: Laban kayo mga kawal, at bawiin itong bayan.

FIRST VICE: Sandali pa’y ating tuna yang tagumpay.

CORO: Ang tagumpay.

MASUNURIN: Nagkaabot ang hokbo at nangagkahalolibo.

SECOND VOICE: Laban kayo, laban kayo, ang kalaba’y….

CORO: …Tumatakbo.

MASUNURIN: Hayo’t abuluyan ang mga sugatan.

CORO: Abuluyan.

*Labas XIII. Maglalabasan ang mga kawal ng Insik, karamiha’y sugatan at mangabubual.*

MASUNURIN: Huag bayaan, Ito’y ating katungkulan.
Scene XIV. The Same; Haringbata, Inangbayan, and afterward Tagailog. Inangbayan is being dragged along by the child-king

HARINGBATA: I will kill thee.

CHORUS: It is Inangbayan. (Tagailog comes forward)

TAGAILOG: Haring-bata! (Wounds him, and Haring-bata falls)

HARINGBATA: I die!

CHORUS: The child-king is dead!

Scene XV. The same and Tagalog soldiers

TAGAILOG: We have won a complete victory; we have regained our rights.

INANGBAYAN: Hurrah for Tagailog!

CHORUS: Hurrah!

TAGAILOG: Long live mother country! 301

CHORUS: Long may she live!

INANGBAYAN: Hurrah for our soldiers!

CHORUS: Hurrah!

TAGAILOG: Long live our race in the shadow of liberty!

CHORUS: Long may it live!

INANGBAYAN: (Looking to the right) Who are these people?
TAGAILOG: Who can they be?  
CHORUS: Who can they be?  
(The royal Spanish march will be played and Dilatnabulag and Matanglauin will appear.)

Scene XVI. The same, also Dilatnabulag and Matanglauin.

INANGBAYAN: Who are ye?  
DILATNABULAG: I am Dilatnabulag.  
MATANGLAUIN: I am Matanglauin.  
TAGAILOG: Are ye enemies?  
DILATNABULAG: We are friends.  
INANGBAYAN: What do ye want?  
MATANGLAUIN: To save ye from your misfortune.  
TAGAILOG: Does it exist?  
DILATNABULAG: It exists.  
MATANGLAUIN: Look toward the right; from their great number they are like ants; they are soldiers who come to attack your people.

Labas XVI. Sila rin, Dilatnabulag at Matanglauin.

INANGBAYAN: Sinu kayo?  
DILATNABULAG: Ako’y si Dilatnabulag.  
MATANGLAUIN: Ako’y si Matanglauin.  
TAGAILOG: Kalaban ba kayo?  
DILATNABULAG: Kami ay kaibigan.  
INANGBAYAN: Ano ang inyong nais?  
MATANGLAUIN: Ang kayo’y iligtas sa pagkapanganyaya.  
TAGAILOG: May sakuna baga?  
DILATNABULAG: Mairoon.  
MATANGLAUIN: Tanawin ninyo sa dakong kanan ang tila wari nagdidilim na langam na paparito, at yao’y mga kawal na babaka sa inyong bayan.  
INANGBAYAN: At sinu nga sila?  
DILATNABULAG: Mga kapatid din ninyo.
TAGAILOG: (The curse of heaven!)

TAGAILOG: (Sumpa ng langit!)

CHORUS: The curse of heaven!

CHORUS: Sumpa ng langit!

MATANGLAUIN: Look also toward the left where there are still more. They also come to attack you.

MATANGLAUIN: Tanawin naman ninyo sa dakong kaliwa ang lalu pang makapal. Babakahin din kayo.

INANGBAYAN: And who are those?

INANGBAYAN: At sino naman ang mga iyon?

DILATNABULAG: They are also your brothers.

DILATNABULAG: Ynyo ring mga kapatid.

TAGAILOG: The curse of Bathala!

TAGAILLOG: Sumpa ni Bathala!

CHORUS: The curse of Bathala!

CORO: Sumpa ni Bathala!

INANGBAYAN: O, my sons!

INANGBAYAN: Ay sa aba ng aking mga anak!

MATANGLAUIN: Look over there, many white soldiers. That is our army. Look toward the sea, war vessels; all that is ours. And if ye join us fraternally, our property, our army, our vessels and our soul shall also be yours. We will defend you from all your dangers and watch over your liberty.


INANGBAYAN: Is the brotherly union which ye offer us sincere?

YNANGBAYAN: Tapat baga ang inyong pakikipagkapatid sa amin?

DILATNABULAG: It is sincere.

DILATNABULAG: Tapat.

TAGAILLOG: Ye will not put obstacles in the way of the liberty of our sons?

TAGAILLOG: Hindi ninyo bibigiang ligalig ang kalayaan ng aming mga anak?

MATANGLAUIN: No.

MATANGLAUIN: Hindi.
INANGBAYAN: Will ye seal what ye have said?

DILATNABULAG: Yes.

INANGBAYAN: Tagalog people, ye have heard all. Answer.

CHORUS: We agree.

MATANGLAWIN: (To Tagailog) Seal this. (Gives him a parchment and Tagailog seals it)

TAGAILOG: There, it is done! And thou?

MATANGLAWIN: I will seal this (He will seal another parchment). There it is.

INANGBAYAN: Now the oath.

DILATNABULAG: The oath.

ALL: The oath.

(Tagailog and Matanglawin will each stick his dagger into his left forearm, and Inangbayan will receive the blood of Tagailog in a gold cup, and Dilatnabulag will receive that of Matanglawin)

DILATNABULAG: (To Tagailog) Drink this!

INANGBAYAN: (To Matanglawin) Drink this! (Tagailog and Matanglawin receive the gold cups)
TAGAILLOG: That golden cup which thou holdest in thy hand truly contains my pure blood, the true blood of my people.

ALL: Drink it!

DILATNABULAG: (Will take the hand of Inangbayan) This hand which thou holdest in thine is the hand of my people; if thou dost loyally carry out what thou has sworn here, this hand will offer you true favors but if thou shouldlest be a perjurer this hand will grasp a poisoned dagger to pierce thy heart.

INANGBAYAN: In my breast thou will discover that my true love, my pure soul, my sacred aspirations, are the bonds which will unite our hearts, which palpitate with joy: but if you are a tyrant to our fraternal union, my love will turn to hate which will persecute you violently.

CHORUS: We are the same.

TAGAILLOG: Long live the faithful!

CHORUS: May they live long!

MATANGLAUN: Death to the traitors!

CHORUS: Death to them!
INANGBAYAN: May this blood serve as an antidote to the heard of whim who is faithful, but to him who is a traitor my it be venom and poison.

ALL: Let them drink! *(Tagailog and Matanglawin will drink the blood.)*

RAPID CURTAIN.
*(The first act should end here according to the translator)*

ACT II

UALANGTUTOL: Let us praise her! Let us praise the beloved DilatnaBulag!

CHORUS: Let us praise her!

MASUNURIN: Let us praise, let us praise the great Matanglawin, the kind Halimaw.

CHORUS: Let us praise them!

TAGAILOG: *(Wrath of God!)*

DILATNABULAG: Inangbayan, Dahumpalay, we love you.

TAGAILOG: *(Liar!)*

HALIMAU: We love you.

YNANGBAYAN: Ang dugong iya’y maging lunas
Sa pusu ng kung sinu mang magtatapat
Datapuat kung magsusukak
Sa buhay niya’y maging lason at kamandang.

CORO: Ynumin! *(Ynumin ni Tagailog at Matanglawin ang dugo.)*

Mahuhulog ang bigla ang tabing

BAHAGI II

*(Walangtutol at mga tawong bayan, nakaluhod sa harap ni Dilat-na-Bulag, Halimaw, at Matanglawin. Iniaalay kayamanan nilang lahat.)*

UALANGTUTOL: Purihin natin, purihin si Dilat-na-Bulag na giliw.

CORO: Purihin.

MASUNURIN: Purihin natin, purihin,
Si dakilang Matanglawin,
Si Halimaw na butihin.

CORO: Purihin.

TAGAILOG: *(Sumpa ng Dios!)*

DILAT-NA-BULAG: Ynangbayan, Dahumpalay,
Kayo’y aming minamahal.

TAGAILOG: *(Sinungaling!)*

HALIMAU: Kayo’y aming minamahal.
DAHUMPALAY: O, thanks; Halimau, we will obey you.

TAGAILOG: (Slave!)

HALIMAU: Ye belong to us forever.

INANGBAYAN: It doesn’t matter much to me, ye might cease to love me; but I implore you to care for my tender children.

DAHUMPALAY: Tagalog people, obey our kind sovereign; he is our true support; he is our true life.

INANGBAYAN: Beloved sons, offer your homage to these men who protect us.

CHORUS: We offer it to them.

(Translator's note: Here follows a space where the author may have desired to place the instruction or the details of the action.)

TAGAILOG: Behold our lot; to weep day and night, to offer them our property and have death for premium. How long, O Heaven, shall we suffer? My heart leaps, my bosom bursts.

DAHUMPALAY: Tagailog, when will you give your offering to our king?

TAGAILOG: Naito ang aming kapalaran, Tumatangis gabi’t araw, Ari nami’y inialay At ang ganti’y kamatayan. Hangang kalian mga langit Itong aming pagtiiti, Ang pusu ko napapaknit, Sumasabug yaring dibdib.

DAHUMPALAY: Ah, salamat, poong Halimaw, Kayo’y aming susuyuan.

HALIMAU: Kayo’y amin habang araw.

INANGBAYAN: Hindi ku lubhang kailangan Ang ako’y huag mahalin man Nais kong iyong tingnan lamang Ang mga bunsu kung hirang.

DAHUMPALAY: Bayang Tagalog, hayo’t suyuan Ang ating haring mapagpalayaw.

INANGBAYAN: Mga bunsung giliw, Mga bunsung irog, Hayo at suyuan Yaring mga poong Sa ati’y kumukupkop.

CHORUS: Suyuan.
TAGAILOG: I? There it is!  
(Translator’s note: Here follows a space where the author would have put the directions for the details of the action.)

DILATNABULAG, MATANGLAUIN, HALIMAU: insensate!

DAHUMPALAY: Punish him!

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: Pardon!

DAHUMPALAY: Punish the rebel, who is a traitor to you.

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: Pardon!

TAGAILOG: Kill me now! (Matanglauin arises, takes the hand of Tagailog, and drags him toward the wings.)

MATANGLAUIN: Tagailog, traitor, go to the prison!

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: Tagailog!

HALIMAU: Let them fasten him by the neck and all the body.  
(They push Tagailog until all of them are off the stage.)

Scene II. Dilatnabulag, Dahumpalay, Inangbayan. Inangbayan and the Chorus again kneel.

Labas II. Dilatnabulag, Dahumpalay, Inangbayan. Inangbayan. Luluhod uli sila Ynangbayan at Coro.

INANGBAYAN: Beloved Dilatnabulag, give complete pardon to my son Tagailog; be merciful and do not be irritated.

INANGBAYAN: Dilatnabulag na irog, Patawarin mong tubos Yaong bunsong Tagailog. Kaawaan at huag mapoot.
CHORUS: Pardon!

DILATNABULAG: If ye will be responsible for him…

HALIMAU: Dilatnabulag!

DAHUMPALAY: Do not pardon him. Kill him; it is what he deserves.

HALIMAU: One cannot expect from us the pardon of a guilty one or traitor. We cannot pardon him.

DAHUMPALAY: Do not pardon him.

CHORUS: Pardon him!

DILATNABULAG: No, there is no pardon. Leave my presence, all of you. It may be that ye are all implicated in this. (Those kneeling arise) Go away! (Exeunt chorus and Inangbayan)

Scene III. Dilatnabulag and Dahumpalay

DAHUMPALAY: Excellent lady, I did not kneel with the rest because I wish to tell you something.

DILATNABULAG: What is it?

DAHUMPALAY: Did ye not notice that Tagailog is the only one who did not kneel before you? This man has bad inclinations;
Dahumpalay: I have frequently seen him sad, and he has great projects.

Dilatnabulag: What projects are those?

Dahumpalay: I do not know; but he is always in secret conference with Inangbayan. I would advise that he be imprisoned and that Inangbayan be secured, so that the projects they might have of rebelling against you may come to naught.

Dilatnabulag: (Lauging violently) Perhaps thou thinkest I am a coward as thou art.

Dahumpalay: The great affection I feel for you inspires me to inform you of the irregular proceeding of my brothers.

Dilatnabulag: Thanks. Watch their actions and communicate to me all their projects, and when thou believest that they should be punished severely, be sure that I will exterminate them. Be careful, and I will recompense thee.

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

Dilatnabulag: Is it true?
DAHUMPALAY: It is true madam.

DILATNABULAG: Come and explain to me what thou knowest.
(Exeunt)

Scene IV. Matanglauin, and afterward Inangbayan.

MATANGLAUIN: Dahumpalay! The venomous reptile is not here. It is well that he is my slave; had he been my brother, I myself would have destroyed him. (Starts to leave. Inangbayan presents herself before him);

INANGBAYAN: Matanglauin, have pity; free my beloved son Tagailog from prison.

My lord, I offer you all my property if thou wilt but free my beloved son. Here is all my money. (She arises – should have been kneeling – and gives to Matanglauin the money she carries)

MATANGLAUIN: That is little.

INANGBAYAN: I have no other property.

MATANGLAUIN: That is true, but (that) thy children have more. Call them.

INANGBAYAN: Come, my children!

Labas IV. Matanglauin, mamaya’y Inangbayan.

MATANGLAUIN: Dahumpalay! Wala rito ang ahas ng kamandagan. Ah! Salamat at siya’y aking naging alipin; at kung siya’y aking naging kapatid lamang, ay aku naring ito ang maglulukso sa kaniya. (Anyong aalis. Lalabas si Inangbayan. Pagdaka’y sa harap ni Matanglawin.)

INANGBAYAN: Poong Matanglauin, mahabag pu kayo, pawalan pu ninyo sa bilanguard ang bunsu kong Tagailog.

Poon ku po, ang lahat kong pag-aari ay inaalay ku po sa iyo, pawalan na lamang ang aking bunso. Hetu po ang salapi kong lahat. (Titindig at ibibigay sa kaniya ang dala niyang salapi)

MATANGLAWIN: Kakaunti ito.

YNANGBAYAN: Wala na po akong ibang ari.

MATANGLAWIN: Tunay; ngunit ang mga anak mo ay mairoon pa, tawagin sila.

INANGBAYAN: Halika ang aking mga anak.
**Scene V. The same, and general Chorus.**

INANGBAYAN: Will Tagailog be liberated if they imitate me, employing all their property in bribing you?

MATANGLAUIN: Yes, he can be freed.

INANGBAYAN: *(To Chorus)* Ye have heard. Do ye agree?

MATANGLAUIN: If ye do not agree, I will order that Tagailog be hanged.

CHORUS: Matanglauin!

MATANGLAUIN: Do ye agree?

CHORUS: We agree

INANGBAYAN: Now give your wealth to bribe him. Although we reduce ourselves to poverty, it does not matter, if we do not lose a noble brother. *(They give their money to Matanlauin)*

MATANGLAUIN: It is well.

INANGBAYAN: When will Tagailog be freed?

MATANGLAUIN: Perhaps at once.

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: Thanks sir, farewell. *(Exeunt)*

MATANGLAUIN: Ignorant ones!

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**Labas V. Sila rin, Coro general.**

YNANGBAYAN: Makawawala po kaya si Tagailog kung ako’y gayahan nila na isuhul din sa inyo ang kanilang mga kayamanan?

MATANGLAWIN: Oo! Makawawala.

YNANGBAYAN: *(Sa Coro)* Ynyo nangingig? Nanayag ba kayo?

CORO: Ynangbayan!

MATANGLAWIN: Kapag hindi kayo pumayag ay ipagbiritay ko si Tagailog.

CORO: Poong Matanglawin! 622

MATANGLAWIN: Nanayag ba kayo?

CORO: Nanayag pu kame.

YNANGBAYAN: Ysuhul na ninyo ang inyong kayamanang lahat. Mamulubiman tayo ay di kailangan huag lamang mawalan ng isang maharlika ang kapatid. *(Ybibigay nila kay Matanglauin ang kanilang salapi.)*

MATANGLAUIN: Mabuti na.

YNANGBAYAN: Kailan pu kaya makalalabas si Tagailog?

MATANGLAWIN: Ngayon din marahil.

YNANGBAYAN AT CORO: Salamat po. Paalam na po. *(Exeunt)*

MATANGLAUIN: Adios. *(Papasok sila Ynangbayan at Coro)* Mga hangal!
Scene VI. Matanglauin and Dahumpalay.

MATANGLAUIN: Dahumpalay!

DAHUMPALAY: I was looking for thee. The great Dilatnabulag orders thee to shoot Tagailog.

MATANGLAUIN: If that is so, wait. (Writes a moment) Go to the prison and place him at liberty at once. Here is the order.

DAHUMPALAY: Place him at liberty!

MATANGLAUIN: Yes, liberate him.

DAHUMPALAY: Dilatnabulag has ordered that he be shot.

MATANGLAUIN: Therefor, place him at liberty.

DAHUMPALAY: Sir!...

MATANGLAUIN: Go, for I command thee. Have no care, for I will be responsible. We will place him at liberty now, but tomorrow he will be arrested, and the day after tomorrow there will be more money. Here I give thee a share in my gains. (Gives him money.)

DAHUMPALAY: Thanks sir!

Labas VI. Matanglauin, Dahumpalay.

MATANGLAWIN: Dahumpalay.

DAHUMPALAY: Hinanahap ku pu kayo. Ypinasasabi sa inyo ni Dakilang Dilat-na-Bulag, na ipabaril daw pu ninyo ngayon din si Tagailog.

MATANGLAWIN: Kung gayon ay maghintay kay. (Susulat sandali) Paroroon ka sa bilanguan a pawalan mo siya ngayon din. Heto ang utos.

DAHUMPALAY: Patawad! The literal translation was not correct here. Unclear what is being conveyed here.

MATANGLAUIN: Oo, pawalan mo.

DAHUMPALAY: Ypinababaril ni Dilat-na-Bulag.

MATANGLAWIN: Kaya nga pawalan mo.

DAHUMPALAY: Poon ku po...

MATANGLAWIN: Sulong at inuutos ko. Pabayaan mo at ako ang mananagot. Pawawalan ku siya ngayon, ngunit bukas ay ipabilangu ku rin at sa makawala ay salapi na naman. Hetu at babahaginan kita sa aking naging pakinabang. (Bibigian ng salapi)

DAHUMPALAY: Salamat po!
MATANGLAUIN: That is all there is to government…the government is a great game, and the laws are no more than the derision and the scoffing of the whole world. Go, now.

DAHUMPALAY: Might it not be…

MATANGLAUIN: Go on! (Exit Dahumpalay)
Wicked Dahumpalay! It is he and no other who is oppressing his mother and brothers. (Exit)

Scene VII.
Change of scene. Curtain representing a prison, with doors on both sides. Tagalog.
Tagalog comes forward scarcely able to sustain himself for the weight of the chains which he has on his neck, arms, and all his body, and iron fetters on his feet.

TAGAILOG: The wrath of Bathala! Punishment of the traitor! Curse of hell! And what crime have I committed in all my life? Why have they weighted my body with chains? It truly hurts me to permit myself to be robbed by th' traitor Matanglauin. Is that a crime? The rascal Halimau despises me yet, when my soul, my will, and my money are completely his. Why does not Dilatnabulag remedy my situation? Did not the charlatan swear that he would count me among his children? Whee is the sworn faith that we are brothers? That we are friends? Deceivers! Traitors! They despise us! They enslave us!

Labas VII.

(Becomes furious and afterward falls from weakness. He immediately arises.)

O, why do I give way to sorrow and weeping? Why not forget these sufferings? Why? Am I not to be freed from these heavy chains? And will there perchance be no more light for me?

TAGAILOG: (Laughs loudly) When the time comes, ye shall pay for this; ye shall fall, ye may be sure of that. Ah...but where are my mother and brothers? Where are they?

My breast heaves. They will be utterly exterminated by Dahumpalay and Matanglawin. Sacrilegious ones, criminals, traitors!

(Scene VIII. Tagailog and Halimau)

HALIMAU: (Comes forward, laughing) Who is the sacrilegious one? Who is the criminal? Who is the charlatan? (laughs) Thy words are brave, but not thy deeds; thou art a traitor and shameless, animal’s face, ridiculous! (Laughs) (Tagailog comes out by the left door.)

LABAS VIII. Tagailog, Halimau (Lalabas na nagtatawa si Halimau)

HALIMAU: Sino ang bohong?
Sino ang taksil?
Sino ang oslak?
(Tatawa si Halimaw)
Matapang ka sa salita
At wala ka sa gawa;
Mapaglilo ka’t walang hiya,
Mukhang hayop, katutua.
(Tatawa) (Papsok sa pintuang kaliwa si Tagailog)
**Scene IX. Halimau and Dahumpalay.**

HALIMAU: It is Dahumpalay.

DAHUMPALAY: I kiss thy hand. (*Kisses hand of Halimau*)

HALIMAU: What is it? 308

DAHUMPALAY: My father, Matanglauin is crazy. Just now he has ordered that Tagailog be given his liberty.

HALIMAU: Is that true?

DAHUMPALAY: I have the order here.

HALIMAU: This order has cost no little money.

DAHUMPALAY: That may be.

HALIMAU: Leave it here. (*Takes the order*)

DAHUMPALAY: Perhaps thou…

HALIMAU: Yes, I will take charge of it.

DAHUMPALAY: Thou shouldst know that Dilatnabulag has ordered that Tagailog be shot because I denounced his secret conspiracies, but Matanglauin on the other hand puts him at liberty in order to arrest him again tomorrow.

HALIMAU: Yes; go away now.

DAHUMPALAY: At thy orders. (*Exit*)

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**Labas IX. Halimaw at Dahumpalay.**

HALIMAW: Si Dahumpalay.

DAHUMPALAY: Mauupo. (*Hahalik ng kamay kay Halimaw*)

HALIMAW: Ano?

DAHUMPALAY: Nauulol o po si Matanglawin, pinapawalan po ngayon din si Tagailog.

HALIMAW: Totoo?

DAHUMPALAY: Heto pu ang utos.

HALIMAW: Hindi kakaunting salapi ang naging kapalit ng utos na iyan. 624

DAHUMPALAY: Marahil nga po.

HALIMAW: Ywan mu na. (*Kukunin ang utos*)

DAHUMPALAY: Kayu na pu ba ang…

HALIMAW: Oo. Aku na ang bahala.

DAHUMPALAY: Dapat ninyong malamang ipinababari ngayon din ni Dilat-na-bulag si Tagailog, sapagka’t isinumbong ko ang kaniyang mga kataksilang lihim, ngunit si Matanglawin naman ay pinawawalan, at ipahuhuli rind aw bukas.

HALIMAW: Oo, sulung na.

DAHUMPALAY: Paalam na po. (*Papasok si Dahumpalay*)
Scene X. Halimau, and later Inangbayan and General Chorus.

HALIMAU: It is necessary for me to secure profit from this order. I will send for Inangbayan and tell her that it is I who can dispose of Tagailog’s liberty. Good, here they come, and it is not necessary to send for them
(Inangbayan and chorus appear. Kneel before Halimau, who gives them his hand to kiss.)

INANGBAYAN: Father, help us! Matanglauin has promised us that Tagailog….

HALIMAU: He cannot go free without my consent. It is impossible. I have the order here in my hand.

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: Father!

HALIMAU: If ye have money, you can buy this order.

INANGBAYAN: We have no more; Matanglauin has taken all.

HALIMAU: Ye still have jewelry on your bodies. Give me those jewels.

INANGBAYAN: Can Tagailog obtain his liberty if we give you our jewels?

Labas X. Halimau, mamaya’y Inangbayan at Coro general.

HALIMAW: Kailangang pakinabangan ko ang utos na ito. Ypatawag ko si Ynangbayan at sasabihin kong ako ang sariling makapagpapalabas kay Tagailog. Mabuti’t hetu na sila at di na kailangang ipapatawag.
(Lalabas si Ynangbayan at Coro; Magsisilhod sa harap ni Halimaw. Pahahalikan sila ng kamay.)

YNANGBAYAN: Among! Daluhan po ninyo kame! Pinangakuan pu kame ni Matanglawin na si Tagailog ay…

HALIMAU: Hindi makawawala kung hinid ko pahintulot.
Hindi nga. Heto ang utos sa aking kamay.

YNANGBAYAN AT CORO: Among!

HALIMAU: Kung kayo ay may salapi ay mabibili ninyo ang utos na ito.

YNANGBAYAN: Wala na po. Kinuha nang lahat ni Matanglawin.

HALIMAU: Kayo ay may alahas pa sa katawan Dala rito ang mga alahas.

YNANGBAYAN: Makakawala pu ba si Tagailog kung aming ibigay ang aming hias?
HALIMAU: At once. Give me the rosaries. 
(Inangbayan and Chorus give him their golden rosaries.) The rings and bracelets.

(They deliver them) The earrings and pins 
(They deliver them) The watch and shirt buttons. 
(They deliver them) The handkerchiefs.

INANGBAYAN: Father!

HALIMAU: These handkerchiefs are not becoming to you. 
(309) Quick! (They deliver the handkerchiefs) The overskirts. 
(They deliver them) The cork sandals and shoes. Shoes make the feet ache. One feels better with the skirts tucked under the same as pantaloons. One is nearer the grace of God. (They deliver the cork sandals and shoes.) Now ye may retire, and ye can expect Tagailog immediately.

INANGBAYAN AND CHORUS: 
Farewell, sir.

HALIMAU: Do ye not thank me?

INANGBAYAN: Thanks, sir.

HALIMAU: Ye are welcome. (Exeunt Omnes)

HALIMAU: Ngayon din. Dala rito ang mga kuintas. (Ybibigay ni Ynangbayan at Coro ang mga kuintas na Guinto).

ANG mga singsing at pulcera. (Ybibigay din)
ANG mga hikaw at alfiler. (Ybibigay)
ANG mga relos at butunes. (Ybibigay)
ANG mga alampay.

YNANGBAYAN: Among!

HALIMAU: Ang mga alampay, hindi bagay sa inyo yan. Madali! (Ybibigay ang mga alampay)

ANG mga tapis. (Ybibigay ang mga tapis)
ANG mga cocho at zapatos. Mahirap ang magsapin. Mabuti pa ang biakis ang saya at lilis ang salawal, malapit sa gracia ng Dios. (Ybibigay ang mga cocho at zapatos)

NGAYON at umui na kayo at ngayon din ay hintayin ninyo si Tagailog.

YNANGBAYAN AT CORO: Paalam na po.

HALIMAU: Hindi na kayo napasalamat.

YNANGBAYAN AT CORO: Salamat po.

HALIMAU: Walang anoman. (Papasok sila Ynangbayan at Coro at Halimaw.)
Scene XI.

TAGAILOG: Men of Satan! I have heard all. So that Dahumpalay is the one who sold me. Matanglawin has stolen all the money from my mother and brothers. Halimau has left them almost naked on the promise to liberate me, and at this very time he will go to Dilatnabulag so that they may order that I be shot. O, why does heaven permit this? Ah, do not be so confident; do not be so tranquil in the seat of ambition: believe that there is a God, a God that judges in silence! The day will come when your high seats will tremble, will fall, your bones will be broken, your bodies will be annihilated, and ye will kneel prostrate before the feed of my unhappy Inangbayan! (A moment’s pause) She will not look at you then; she will not heed your supplications; she will show the bruises on her body, which ye are flogging. She will laugh at you; she will turn her back on you and leave you in the blackness of your own treason. (Pause)

Labas XI. Tagailog, Dahumpalay.

TAGAILOG: Mga kampon mi Satan! Naringig kong lahat. Samakatuid ay si Dahumpalay ang nagpanganyaya sa akin; ninakaw ni Matanglawin ang salaping lahat ng aking Yna at mga kapatid; hinubaran sila halos ng halimaw sa pangakong ako’y kaniyang pawawalan, at ngayon ay siya rin ang paroroon kay Dilat-na-Bulag upang ako’y ipabaril. Oh! Ano’t natitiss ng langit ang ganito? Ah! Huag kayong magpakatahimik na lubha sa loklokan ng sakim. Asahan ninyong may Dios, ang Dios na iyan ay humahatol nang walang kibo. Darating ang araw na kikinig ang inyong matataas na loklokan, lalagpak, magkakabali-bali ang inyong mga buto, manlolomo ang inyong mga katawan, duduhapang kayo at maglulumuhod sa paanan ng aking kahabhaabag na Ynangbayan. (Sandaling palipas) Kayo’y hindi lilingonin, hindi didingig sa inyong pagtawag, ipakikita sa inyo ang mga latay ng katawan niyang inyong hinahampas, tatawanan kayo, tatalikdan kayong bigla, at iiwang sarili sa dilim ng inyong paglilo. (Sandaling palipas)

TAGAILOG: Your souls will be delivered up to despair, but ye can do nothing because ye cannot move; your hearts will weep, but tears will not fall from your eyes; ye will have to sigh and cry “Pardon! Pardon!” But the answer to your weeping shall be the mocking laughter of time and the hissing of the lash of the creator (A moment’s pause. Dahumpalay appears.)

Magningitngit ang inyong kalulua, ngunit wala kayong magagawa at hindi kayo makatinag, tatangis ang inyong mga puso, nguni’t hindi dadaluyan ng luha ang mga mata, kayo’y magbubuntonghininga at sisigaw ng “patawad” ngunit ang sagot sa inyong himutok ay ang halakhak ng tawa ng panahon at ang sagisit ng hampas sa inyo ng Maykapal. (Sandaling palipas.)


**Scene XII. Tagailog, Dahumpalay.**

DAHUMPALAY: Brother Tagailog.

TAGILOG: Thanks that thou hast arrived.

TAGAILOG! (Traitor!)

DAHUMPALAY: I have obtained thy freedom and here I bring the order.

TAGAILOG: Thanks.

DAHUMPALAY: Thou shall be set free at once.

TAGAILOG: I owe my life to you: I will return the good which thou hast done for me. I have hidden a large and precious diamond within my shoe, and I will present it to thee.

DAHUMPALAY: Thanks. Where is it? I will go and get it.

TAGAILOG: No, loosen my bonds for a moment and I will get it, and afterward thou canst bind me again, doing so loosely, as my feet and hands are already numb.

DAHUMPALAY: At once. *(He unties Tagailog's bonds. Tagailog takes off his shoe and draws from it a keen, sharp-pointed steel. He immediately attacks Dahumpalay and wounds him in the breast. He pushes him until he is for a moment behind the scenery; from whence he drags a manikin prepared with a suit like Dahumpalay's, into the middle of the stage. Tagailog stands looking at it.)*

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**Labas XII. Tagailog, Dahumpalay.**

DAHUMPALAY: Tagailog na kapatid.

TAGAILOG: Salamat at dumating ka.

TAGAILOG: (Taksil!)

DAHUMPALAY: Nakuhako at dinala ku rito ang utos ng inyong kalayaan.

TAGAILOG: Salamat.

DAHUMPALAY: Ngayon din ikaw ay labas.

TAGAILOG: Ang aking buhay ay utang ko sa iyo. Gagantihan ko ang iyong gawang magaling sa akin, ako'y may itinagong mahalaga at malaking batong diamante sa loob ng aking sapin. Ang batong ito ay aking sa iyo ipagkakaloob.


TAGAILOG: Huag kalagin mo sandali ang aking gapos at ako ang kukuha, at pagkatapos ay gapusin mo ako uli, huag mu lamang pahihigpitan at patay na ang aking mga kamay at paa.

DAHUMPALAY: Ngayon din. *(Kakalagin ang mga gapos ni Tagailog. Aalisin nito ang sapin, kukunin sa loob ang manapis at matulis na patalim, biglang sasakalin si Dahumpalay, sasaksakin sa dibdib, itutulak at mag/kukubli sandal sa mga bastidores, at babatakin sa gitna ng labasan ang Dahumpalay's, into the middle of the stage. Tagailog stands looking at it.)*
Dahumpalay’s, into the middle of the stage. Tagatlog stands looking at it.)

TAGAILOG: The traitor is dead. Ah, I killed Asalhayop, and now I have killed Dahumpalay. I will destroy every traitor that my urgen desire may find in its path; I will drown them in the wave of my indignation; I will burn them in the flames of my ardent patriotism. I will oppose treachery with treachery, and if ye throw a stone at me I will throw poison at you. (He looks through the doors) The guards are distant. (He undresses the manikin, putting the coat on himself the coat which was on it, and puts his coat on the manikin.)

I will burn the face so that they will not know it. (Burns the face. He puts in his hands of the manikin the steel with which he killed Dahumpalay. He buries it in his breast up to the hilt, and gazes upon it.)

As he is who can say that is not Tagailog who has committed suicide, burying in his the steel which he has hidden? Tomorrow the news will be spread that I am dead. A, prepare yourselves! The dead Tagailog is here who will pursue you day and night. (He examines the pockets of the dead man and finds the badge of copper.)


Susunugin ko ang mukha ng upan ding huag nilang makilala. (Susunugin / ang mukha. Ypahahawak sa tautauhan ang patalim ng ipinatay kay / Dahumpalay, iyuyupus sa kaniyang d dibdib at pagmamasdan.)

Sa lagay na ito ay sino ang magsasabing hindi si Tagailog ito, at nagpakamatay na kusa, at isinaksak sa kaniya ring dibdib ang kaniyang itinagong patalim. Bukas na bukas ay kakalat ang balitang ako ay namatay. Ay humanda kayo! Ang patay na Tagailog ay siyang tutugis sa inyo sa liwanag at sa dilim. (Sisiasatin ang bulsa ng patay. May makukuhang chapang tanso.)
Here is the countersign. (*Takes the manikin's hat and puts it on himself.*) / Night is falling; it is dark. The will not recognize me now. 311

Farewell. May heaven receive thy traitor soul. (*A moment’s pause. Exit.*)

Paalam Dahumpalay. Tangapin nawa ng langit ang kalulua mong soail. (*Papasok. Palipas sandal*)

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**Scene XIII. Dilatnabulag, Matanglauin**

**DILATNABULAG:** Tagailog!

**MATANGLAUIN:** There he is; he is sleeping. (*Dilatnabulag approaches the corpse. She becomes frightened*)

**DILATNABULAG:** Ah, he is dead.

**MATANGLAUIN:** Dead?

**DILATNABULAG:** He is weltering in blood.

**MATANGLAUIN:** A light here! (*Jailor enters with a lamp*)

**DILATNABULAG:** He himself has pierced his breast.

**MATANGLAUIN:** He has committed suicide without awaiting his appointed hour. It is well, we have saved the four balls prepared for him. Jailor, bury this. (*The jailor drags the corpse*)

**I have bad news. Dahumpalay tells me that the towns are preparing arms.**

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**Labas XIII. Dilat-na-bulag, Matanglawin**

**DILATNABULAG:** Tagailog.

**MATANGLAUIN:** Ayan at natutulog mandin. (*Lalapitan ni Dilat-na-Bulag ang bangkay. Magugulat*)

**DILATNABULAG:** Aba, at patay!

**MATANGLAUIN:** Patay?

**DILATNABULAG:** Lumulutang sa dugo!

**MATANGLAUIN:** Ylaw dito! (*Papasok na may dalang ilaw ang alcaide*)

**DILATNABULAG:** Sinaksak na kusa ang kaniyang dibdib.

**MATANGLAUIN:** Nagpakamatay at hindi na hinintay ang takdang oras sa kaniya. Mabuti rin naman. Arimuhanan din ang apat na bala na laan sa kaniya. / Alcaide, ilibing ito. (*Babatak ng alcaide ang bangkay*)

DILATNABULAG: Do not believe it.

MATANGLAUIN: Dahumpalay was there to spy. Ah, if it is true I shall commence by killing children and finished with the hanging of Inangbayan.

DILATNABULAG: Follow me. *(Exeunt)*

(New Decoration: *a large field with nipa houses and forest*)

**Scene XIV. Chorus; afterward Inangbayan and Tagailog**

MASUNURIN: Tagailog has not yet arrived.

ALL: It is true. (Inangbayan enters hurriedly)

INANGBAYAN: Pray for Tagailog, who is already dead.

CHORUS: Already dead?

INANGBAYAN: I have seen his corpse. Let us avenge him!

CHORUS: Let us avenge him! (Tagailog enters hastily)

TAGAILOG: No.

CHORUS: Jesus!

TAGAILOG: Do not avenge me.

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DILATNABULAG: Huag kang maniwala.

MATANGLAUIN: Si Dahumpalay ay nandoon at nanunubok. Ah! Kapag nagkatotoo, sisimulan ko ang pagpatay sa mga bata, at tatapusin ko kay Ynangbayan.

DILATNABULAG: Sundan ako. *(Papasok ang dalawa)*

**Labas XIV. Ybang tanyag. Ysang maaliwalas na kaparangan, may mga bahay na pawid at mga gubat. Coro, mamaya’y Ynangbayan at Tagailog.**

MASUNURIN: Wala pa si Tagailog hangang ngayon.

LAHAT: Wala pa nga. *(Biglang lalabas si Ynangbayan.)*

YNANGBAYAN: Ydalangin ninyo si Tagailog at patay na.

CORO: Patay na?


CORO: Ypaghihiganti natin. *(Biglang lalabas si Tagailog)*

TAGAILOG: Huag.

CORO: Jesus!

TAGAILOG: Huag ninyo akong ipaghiganti.
INANGBAYAN: The soul of Tagailog! Come, spirit of my beloved son!

TAGAILOG: He who is in your presence is the soul and body of Tagailog. I am not dead, but the traitor Dahumpalay. I killed him, burned his face, put on his clothes, took his pass, left the jail and here I am at thy side.

INANGBAYAN: So that…

TAGAILOG: So that thy beloved son lives, thy brother Tagailog lives.

ALL: Tagailog, it is necessary for us to keep the secret; it is necessary that they should not know. It is miraculous! (Miracle!)

INANGBAYAN: Thanks to God.

ALL: Thanks

TAGAILOG: Are the arms which we have hidden well sharpened?

ALL: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Let us uphold our rights; let us recover our enslaved liberty; let us destroy Matanglawin and Dilatnabulag, who have been perjurers to the solemn oath by which we two drank our true blood.

ALL: Tagailog!
INANGBAYAN: We have not sufficient strength.

TAGAILOG: Are our poniards still insufficient?

UALANGTUTOL: We have no forts.

TAGAILOG: Are not our strong breasts forts?

ALL: We have not guns.

TAGAILOG: The virtue of forbearance, our enduring determination, the love of our honor, and the sincere union of our hearts, are more efficacious arms than all the guns and cannon of the world.

ALL: Not now

TAGAILOG: Now

ALL: No

TAGAILOG: I will go alone to combat. Let thos who have a little love for me follow. (Starts to go. Inangbayan detains him.)

YNANGBAYAN: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Mother!

INANGBAYAN: We will follow you. Arm yourselves! Where Tagailog dies, there we will also seek death.

ALL: Let us arm ourselves (Exeunt)

YNANGBAYAN: Wala tayong mailalaban sukat.

TAGAILOG: Masama pa ba ang ating mga sundang!

WALANGTUTOL: Wala tayong mga kuta.

TAGAILOG: Masama pa bang kuta an gating mga matitibay na d dibdib?

KORO: Wala tayong baril.

TAGAILOG: Ang banal na pagtitiis, ang walang sawang layon, ang pag-ibig sa sariling dangal, at ang matalik na pagkakaisa ng mga puso, ay masahol pang sandata kay lahat ng baril at canonsa daigdigan.

KORO: Huag ngayon

TAGAILOG: Ngayon din nga

KORO: Huag

TAGAILOG: Akong mag-isa ay susuong sa patayan. Sumunod ang may kaunting pagmamahal sa akin. (Aanyong aalis, hahabulin ni Ynangbayan.)

YNANGBAYAN: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Yna!

YNANGBAYAN: Sasamahan ka namin, kayo’y mangagsasakbat ng sandata. / Kung saan mamatay si Tagailog ay doon kay magpakamatay na lahat. 628

LAHAT: Mangagsakbat ng sandata. (Papasok na lahat no Coro)
Scene XV. Inangbayan.

INANGBAYAN: The sun of our aspirations appears and the sky where it will pass is without the slightest cloud. The destroyed liberty moves, it reanimates; the dead body of our people arise from the tomb. (Dilatnabulag appears)

Scene XVI. Inangbayan and Dilatnabulag

DILATNABULAG: Inangbayan!

INANGBAYAN: It Is Dilatnabulag. 313

DILATNABULAG: Inangbayan, is it true that all they sons have armed themselves to make war against Matanglauin and all my sons? (A moment’s pause)

Ah, yes; thy silence is the true answer to my question.

INANGBAYAN: I tried to impede them, but they did not heed me. What could I do?

DILATNABULAG: If that is so, seek them and bring them back. Take pity on thy sons, who have no way to defend themselves and will not accomplish anything by their insurrection. Go and seek them! (Inangbayan starts to leave and Matanglauin appears)

Labas XV. Inangbayan.

YNANGBAYAN: Ang araw ng aming nais Ay masayang sumisilip At ang tinutungong langit Ay walang munti mang bahid. Tumitinag. Nabubuhay Ang nalugsong kalayaan, Bumabangon sa libingan Ang bangkay ng aming bayan. (Lalabas si Dilat-na-Bulag)

Labas XVI. Inangbayan and Dilatnabulag

DILATNABULAG: Inangbayan!

YNANGBAYAN: Si Dilat-na-bulag.

DILATNABULAG: Ynangbayan, Tunay nga bang lahat mong mga anak ay nangagsakbat ng sandata at babakahin si Matanglawin at ang lahat kong mga anak? (Sandaling palipas)

Ah, oo. Ang kahulugan ng di mo pag-imik ay maliwanag na pagtango sa aking tanong.

YNANGBAYAN: Pinipigil ku sila, nguni’t hindi ako diningig. Ano kaya ang magagawa ko?

DILATNABULAG: Kung gayon ay paroonan mo sila’t himukin. Maawa ka sa mga anak mo, walang mga ilalabang sukat at sila’y walang mahihita sa kanilang paghihimagsik. Hayo’t hanapin mo sila.
Scene XVII. The same and Matanglawin

MATANGLAUIN: Wait! (Inangbayan returns)

INANGBAYAN: I understand that thy (my?) sons have armed themselves. Is it true that their chief is the ghost of Tagailog?

DILATNABULAG: The ghost of Tagailog?

MATANGLAUIN: Yes, madam. I am told that Tagailog has returned to life.

DILATNABULAG: It cannot be; I have seen his corpse, and saw it buried.

MATANGALAUIN: I also, but Halimaw says that he has seen him armed and at the head of the great army against us.

DILATNABULAG: That is only a dream.

MATANGLAUIN: (to Inangbayan) Is it true that Tagailog is he who is at the head of thy sons?

INANGBAYAN: Sir, if thou hast seen his corpse, and hast seen that his corpse was buried, how can he be at the head of an army, great or small? And if I should say that he himself is at the head of my sons, would ye not laugh at me?

Labas XVII. Sila rin, Matanglawin

MATANGLAUIN: Hintay. (Babalik si Ynangbayan)

YNANGBAYAN: batid kong nangagsakbat ng sandata ang iyong mga anak. Tunay nga bang ang namiminuno sa kanila ay ang kalulua ni Tagailog?

DILATNABULAG: Kalulua ni Tagailog?

MATANGLAUIN: Opo. May balita akong si Tagailog ay nabuhay na muli.


DILATNABULAG: Yyan ay panaginip lamang.

MATANGLAUIN: (kay Ynangbayan) Tunay nga bang ang namiminuno sa mga anak mo ay si Tagailog?

YNANGBAYAN: Poon ku po, kung inyong nakita ang kaniyang bangkay at nakita rin ninyo na ang bangkay na ito ay inilibing. Papano kayang makapamimimuno sa isang malaki o maliit na hokbo? At kung sabihin kong siya nga ang tunay na pamunuan na aking mga anak ay hindi kaya ninyo ako pagtatawanan?
DILATNABULAG: It is true. He who is
dead is dead.

MATANGLAUIN: Yes, madam, but I am
startled. I don’t know why.

DILATNABULAG: (To Inangbayan) Go,
now, and try to bring them back.

MATANGALUIN: Tell them that he who
submits shall have full pardon.

INANGBAYAN: Will they have no
responsibility?

MATANGALUIN: No, I promise it. Go!

INANGBAYAN: At thy commands. (Exit)

Scene XVIII. Dilatnabulag and
Matanglauin

DILATNABULAG: Matanglauin, I
commend thee and leave to thy care to work in what appeas to be thee the best manner for the best settlement of the personal conflict. I ardently desire, as if we were treating of a fire, that if thou canst not suffocate it, thou wilt at least not give motive for it to spread more.

MATANGLAUIN: I have no care.

DILATNABULAG: I have spoken. (Exit)
Scene XIX. Matanglauin, and afterward

**Halimau and Inangbayan**

MATANGLAWIN: Poor men! I understand that they do not understand the grave possibility they have contracted for the fight they have begun. They are ignorant, and should be completely pardoned. I think the amnesty I have proclaimed was a good measure. (Halimau appears, dragging Inangbayan by the hand.)

HALIMAU: Matanglauin: I have arrested this woman because she is the cause of the present disorders. It is she who induces her sons to rebel against us. It is she who feeds them. It is she who revived Tagailog.

MATANGLAWIN: Let her go. (To Inangbayan) What is this, Inangbayan? Are these accusations true?

INANGBAYAN: I do not induce my sons to rebel, but I feed them, because I love them so much; they are the blood and flesh of my heart.

HALIMAU: Liar! It is she who serves the pretext to the rebels.

INANGBAYAN: Sir, is it a crime that they have me for a pretext?

HALIMAU: Do not answer. (To Matanglauin) Let us bury Inangbayan alive.

Labas XIX. Matanglauin, mamaya’y

**Halimau at Inangbayan**

MATANGLAWIN: Kahabag-habag na mga tawo ito. Batid kong nila nalalaman ang bigat ng kanilang pananagutan sa sinusuong nila ligalig. Mga walang muang at dapat na patawaring lubos; marapat na ang inilagda kong indulto. (Lalabas si Halimaw tangan sa kamay si Ynangbayan at kinakaladkad).

HALIMAW: Matanglauin, hinuli ko ito at siya ang may kasalanan sa lahat ng mga nangyayaring kaguluhan ngayon. Siya ang sumusulol sa kaniyang mga anak, upan ding lumaban sa atin. Siya ang nagbibigay ng pagkain sa kanila. Siya ang bumuhay kay Tagailog.

MATANGLAWIN: Bitiwan mo. (Kay Inangbayan) Ano ito, Ynangbayan? Tunay nga ba ang mga bintang sa iyo?

YNANGBAYAN: Hindi ku po sinulsulang maghimagsik ang aking mga anak, ngunit binibiglan ko sila ng ikabubuhay, palibhasa sila ay minamahal Kong lubha, sila’y dugo’t lamang tunay ng pusu ko.

HALIMAW: Sinungaling. Siya ang dinadahilanng mga nanghihimagsik.

YNANGBAYAN: Kasalanan ku pu baga ang ako’y kanilang dahilanan?

HALIMAW: Huag kang sumagot. (Kay Matanglauin) Ybaon nating buhay si Ynangbayan.
MATANGLAUIN: No, for she is not guilty.

HALIMAU: Is it possible that she is not?
Dost thou wish to be implicated with her?
Thou already knowest how great is my power. Thou already knowest my influence.
Thou knowest that Dilatnabulag is my slave.
Thou knowest that I can pulverize thee in a moment. Bury Inangbayan!

MATANGLAUIN: No.

HALIMAU: Bury her. If thou dost not bury her I will bury thee. (Halimau opens a board in the stage floor.) Push her into that grave- quick! (Matanglauin pushes Inangbayan, who falls into the grave). So!

INANGBAYAN: Cruel men! (Halimau covers the grave over)

HALIMAW: Ybaon mo siya. Kapag hindi mo siya ibinaon ay ikaw ang ibabaon ko. (Bubuksan ang tabla ni Halimaw) Ytulak m osa hukay na iyan. (Dadalhin si Ynangbayan sa harap ni Matanglawin). Ytulak mo na. (Ytutulak ni Matanglawin si Ynangbayan. Mahuhulog sa hukay.) Ganian.

YANGBAYAN: Mga manlulupit! (Halimau covers the grave over)

HALIMAW: Ngayon ay wala nang dadahilinan ang mga nanghihimagsik. (typo)


MATANGLAUIN: Thanks, I pardon thee.

HALIMAW: Huag! Bitain mo.
MATANGLAWIN: And what will become of my proclamation?

HALIMAU: Here there are no proclamations but mine. There are no others. If thou dost not hang him, I will hang thee.

MATANGLAWIN: My God!

HALIMAU: Hang him! (Matanglauin takes Tauong-Bayang-Tagalog by the hand and leads him aside.) So, squeeze his neck tightly, so that he may die quickly. Squeeze! Now he is dead. Expose the cadaver in the street so that all may see it. Expose it.

Scene XXI. The same, Tagailog and an army of bolomen.

HALIMAU: The ghost of Tagailog! (All run off stage. Tagailog and his army run upon the stage and stop at the centre).

TAGAILOG: They have fled! Where will ye go that we will not seize you? Where is Inangbayan? (Starts to go and finds the corpse of the man killed by Matanglauin) A corpse! The corpse of him who sought refuge under their amnesty. Soldiers, look at this dead body, and learn its significance.

Labas XXI. Sila rin, Tagailog at hokbong sandatahan.


Scene XXII. Dilatnabulag, Matanglawin

DILATNABULAG: Where are we going?

MATANGLAWIN: The insurrection cannot be pacified now. It has grown so strong.

DILATNABULAG: We are in danger; their chief is a ghost; we cannot kill the dead; we cannot conquer him.

MATANGLAWIN: That is true.

DILATNABULAG: The more so as Bagong sibol and Malay natin molest us. If they aid the ghost of Tagailog we shall fall without fail.

MATANGLAWIN: There they come. (Exeunt)

Scene XXIII. Tagailog, Bagong Sibol, and Malay Natin.

MALAY NATIN: (To Tagailog): Be convinced that with thine own forces only thou canst not dominate Matanglawin and Dilatnabulag. 316

BAGONG SIBOL: They have been our enemies. Help us fight them.

TAGAILOG: All right, let us help one another. (Exeunt)

Labas XXII. Dilatnabulag, Matanglawin

DILATNABULAG: Pasasaan tayo?

MATANGLAWIN: Ang labanan ay hindi na maampat. Lumaking lubha.

DILATNABULAG: Tayo’y nanganganib. Ang namiminuno sa kanila ay isang patay, ang patay ay hindi na natin mapapatay pa, hindi na natin tatalunin.

MATANGLAWIN: Tunay.

DILATNABULAG: Bakit at tayo’y nililigalig na Bagong sibol at ni Malay natin. Kapag umanib sa kanila ang kalulua ni Tagailog ay hindi sasalang tayo at lalagpak.

MATANGLAWIN: Heto na sila. (Papasok)

Labas XXIII. Tagailog, Bagong Sibol, Malay Natin.

MALAY NATIN: (Kay Tagailog): Asahan mong hindi makakaya ng lakas mong sarili ang pagdoahagi kay Matanglawin at Dilat- na-bulag.

BAGONG SIBOL: Sila’y aming nakaalit. Pagtulungan natin.

TAGAILOG: Payag ako. Pagtulungan natin. (Tuloy pasok)
Scene XXIV. Female Chorus, followed by wounded Spanish and Tagalog soldiers, and Ualangtutol.

MASUNURIN: Let us stop here: we can shelter the wounded here. Let us raise the hospital here.

ALL: Let us stop here. (Ualangtutol appears)

UALANGTUTOL: We have triumphed; all who see Tagailog fly, saying: “The ghost of Tagailog.” (Laughter)

Scene XXV. The same and Halimau, who runs in, pursued by four Tagalog soldiers

HALIMAU: Save me!

UALANGTUTOL: It is Halimau. (The soldiers arrest Halimau)

HALIMAU: pardon!

1st SOLDIER: Let us kill him.

UALANGTUTOL: They also kill those who do not resist. Let us kill him.

MASUNURIN: No. If ye know it is wrong to kill one who does not resist, let us not kill him. What is wrong should not be imitated.

ALL: Here comes Tagailog.

Labas XXIV. Coro babayi, may mga kasamang sugatang mga kawal. Kastila at Tagalog at si Malay Natin.

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MASUNURIN: Humantong tayo rito. Ditu natin ikubli ang sugatan, dito natin itayo ang hospital.

ALL: Humintu tayu rito (Lalabas si Walangtutol.)

UALANGTUTOL: Nagtagumpay tayo. Ang balang makakita kay Tagailog ay tumatakbo. “Ang kalulua ni Tagailog” anila. (Tawan nan.)

Labas XXV. Sila rin at si Halimau.

La labas ito nang tumatakbo na humahabol ang apat na kawal na Tagalog.

HALIMAU: Yligtas!

Walangtutol: Si Halimau! (Huhulihin ng kawal si Halimau.)

HALIMAU: Patawad.

1st SOLDIER: Patain natin.

Walangtutol: Sila’y pumapatay din ng hindi lumalaban. Patain natin.


Lahat: Naito na si Tagailog.
Scene XXVI. The same, Tagailog.
Tagalog soldiers with guns, Dilatnabulag, and Matanglawin.

TAGAILLOG: Halimau!

UALANGTUTOL: We have arrested him here.

MASUNURIN: He has yielded voluntarily.

WALANGTUTOL: Let us kill him.

TAGAILLOG: No. (To Halimau) Where is Inangbayan? Where are thou keeping her?

HALIMAU: Here. Look at the bones of thy mother! (Opens the grave where Inangbayan was buried.)

TAGAILLOG: Criminal! (He catches Inangbayan by the hand and raises her. Immediately the sun appears from behind the mountains.)

HALIMAU: She lives! (A moment’s pause.)

INANGBAYAN: While I have a son alive, my life will bear flowers of glory and liberty. Now that my sons will live while the world lasts, have confidence that so long I shall produce flowers of glory without end and flowers of the most beautiful liberty.

(A moment’s pause)

My sons, let Halimau, Matanglawin and Dilatnabulag be buried alive in the grave where they buried me.

Labas XXVI. Sila rin, Tagailog, mga kawal na Tagalog na barilan, Dilatnabulag, Matanglawin.

TAGAILLOG: Halimaw.

WALANGTUTOL: Hinuli naming dito.

MASUNURIN: Sumuku siy(a) ang kusa.

WALANGTUTOL: Patain natin.

TAGAILLOG: Huag. (Sa lahat) Nahan si Ynangbayan? Saan mo itinago?

HALIMAW: Naito. Panoorin mo ang buto ng iyong Ina. (Bubuksan niya ang pinaglibingan kay Ynangbayan.)

TAGAILLOG: Taksil! (Sandaling palipas) (The stage direction in the English translation does is not in the Tagalog translation)

This line is not in the Tagalog translation

YNANGBAYAN: Samantalang may isa akong anak na buhay, ang buhay ko ay mamumulaklak na ligaya’t kalayaan: ngayon sapagkat ang aking mga anak ay mangabuhay habang mundo, asahan ninyong habang mundo naman, ang buhay ko’y mamumulaklak ng walang dulong ligaya at lubhang malugod na kalayaan. (Sandaling palipas).
Mga anak ko. Ang halimaw na ito, si Matanglawin at si Dilatnabulag, a ilibing na buhay sa hukay na pinaglibingan nila sa akin.
ALL: Let them be buried!

DILATNABULAG: All our pleasures, our glory, our wealth, are ended.

MATANGLAUIN: It is all over! \((The \, three \, are \, pushed \, into \, the \, grave)\)

TAGAILOG: Ye have dug your own graves. Rest in peace. \((They \, close \, the \, grave.)\) Inangbayan! My brothers! Let us give thanks to God. They buried Inangybayan, and now she is with our loving company, happy and without care. They extinguished and bespattered with dirty mud the sun of our liberty,

TAGAILOG: …but look how joyfully it appears without the slightest stain, lighting our happy triumph, and the beautiful union of our pure hearts.

TAGAILOG: Tagumpay at malugod na pagkakaisa ng ating mga wagas na puso.

INANG BAYAN: Here comes Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin.

TAGAILOG: Let us receive them.

ALL: Let us receive them. \((The \, National \, American \, march \, is \, played. \, Bagong \, sibol \, and \, Malay \, natin \, appear, \, with \, the \, American \, flag.)\)

LAHAT: Ylibing!

DILATNABULAG: Natapus nang lahat ang aming biaya, aming ligaya, ang aming kayamanang lahat.

MATANGLAWIN: Natapus ang lahat. \((Ytutulak \, nila \, sa \, hukay \, ang \, naturan.)\)

TAGAILOG: Kayo rin ang humukay sa inyong sariling libingan. Tumahimik nawa kayo. \((Ysara \, ang \, hukay.)\)

Ynangbayan, mga kapatid ko, halina’t magpasalamat tayo kay Bathala, inilibing nila si Ynangbayan, naito’t kaulayaw na natin, Masaya at walang munti man ligalig. Pinatay nila’t sinabuyan ng maruming putik ang awr w gating kalayaan,

TAGAILOG: …pagmasdan ninyo’t maligayang sumisilay na walang bahid dungsis, tinatanglawan ang ating masayang tagumpay at malugod na pagkakaisa ng ating mga wagas na puso.

INANG BAYAN: Narito’t dumarating si Bagong Sibol at Malay Natin.

TAGAILOG: Salubungin natin sila.

LAHAT: Salubungin.

\((Tutugtog \, ng \, Marcha \, Nacional \, Amerikana. \, Lalabas \, si \, Bagong \, sibol \, at \, si \, Malay \, natin, \, may \, dalang \, bandera \, Amerikana.)\)
Scene XXVII. The Same, Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin.

INANG BAYAN: Happy sun that is born today, light our triumph.

BAGONG SIBOL: Happy, accompany the lofty eagle of our people.

MALAY NATIN: All over the world our splendid eagle flies. Over all the world shine the stars of our flag; the shadow of our triumphant banner which gaily waves over all the earth reaches everybody!

BAGONG SIBOL: Wherever our eagle rules, slavery is banished; wherever our stars shine liberty and abundance reach. Any people that takes refuge under our flag acquires splendor.

MALAY NATIN: We will conduct thee to the height of liberty, so that thou canst take thy place among the nations of the Universe. (To Tagailog) Let us be united. Embrace me! (They embrace)

TAGAILOG: Our hearts are thine.

Labas XXVII. Sila rin, Bagong Sibol, Malay Natin.

INANG BAYAN: Maligayang araw Na ngayo’y sumilay, Hayo’t tanglawan mo Ang aming tagumpay.

BAGONG SIBOL: Maligayang araw, Hayo at samahan Ang dakilang lawin Niaong aming bayan.

MALAY NATIN: Sa boong mundo’y lumilipad Ang lawin naming madilag, Sa buong mundo’y kimikislap Ang bituin naming sagisag. Lahat at naliliman Ng bandila ng tagumpay, Masayang nawawagayway Sa balat ng sinukuban.


MALAY NATIN: Kayo’y aming sasamahan Sa ituktok ng kalayaan Upang inyong makaalayaw Mga lipi sa daigdigan. (Kay Tagailog) Tayo’y magsama, ako’y yakapin.

TAGAILOG: Ari mong tuna yang pusunamin. (Magayakapan)
**BAGONG SIBOL**: Inangbayan! Dear friend.

**INANG BAYAN**: Bagong Sibol!

**CHORUS**: Bagong Sibol!

**INANG BAYAN**: Bagong Sibol, bear in mind what I have to tell thee. My heart is of equal weight with (as) the aspired liberty. So, if thou wishest to secure my sincere love, I do not need to be recompensed with great love, but that thou, Bagong Sibol, will preserve safely our greatly desired liberty.

**INANGBAYAN**: Though already knowest that in order to secure it, thousands of thousands of the lives of our sons, fathers, and illustrious brothers, have been sacrificed in battle, so I beg of they benevolence that if thou some day tryest to enslave me, thou wilt not do so, because I would prefer that tough shouldst kill me with all my descendants. *(Bagong Sibol immediately embraces Inangbayan)*

**BAGONG SIBOL**: I will defend thee.

**TAGAILOG**: Let us (me) see. Time will tell.

**ALL**: Let us see.

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**BAGONG SIBOL**: Ynangbayan! Kasing giliw!

**YNANG BAYAN**: Bagong Sibol!

**CORO**: Bagong Sibol!

**YNANG BAYAN**: Bagong Sibol ay tandaan
Yaring sa iyo’y isasaysay
Ang pusu ko’y kaisang timbang
Ng nilayong kalayaan.
Kaya, kung ibig mong kamtn
Ang tapat kong pagmamahal,
Di kailangang iyong gantihan
Ng saganang kayamanan,
Bagong Sibol, huag na lamang
Alipinin kailan pa man
Nais naming kalayaan.

**INANGBAYAN**: Batid mong ang pinuhunan namin,
Upanding makatnan ang paglaya
Ay ang laksang-buhay
Ng anak nami’t magulang
Kapatid na mararangal
Na nalugsu sa labanan.
Kaya isinasamong tunay
Sa ganda ng iyong kalooaan,
Na sakaling aapihin yaring buhay,
Huag ituloy, mabuti pang
Ako at lahat kong angkan
Ilugsu mong paminsan.

*(Biglang yayakapin ni Bagong Sibol si Ynangbayan)*

**BAGONG SIBOL**: Ypatatangol kita.

**TAGAILOG**: Tingnan natin
Ang panahon’t siyang magsasabi.

**LAHAT**: Tingnan natin.
Curtain

ACT III

The decoration is a forest.

Scene I. Inangbayan and female chorus are seated and are embroidering a large blue cloth with many stars and a new moon in the centre.

1st WOMAN: Let us embroider.

MASUNURIN: Let us embroider the brilliant banner of our people for the future.

2nd WOMAN: Let us embroider.

3rd WOMAN: Let us hasten the banner of our people.

MASUNURIN: The day of our longed-for liberty has at length arrived.

INANG BAYAN: Maidens, beloved daughters; let they hearts rejoice: our humiliated honor shall be raised this night. Whether or not Bagong Sibol likes my determination, the banner shall wave, no matter who under the firmament may object.

MASUNURIN: Let thy hearts rejoice; the banner will be unfurled.

(Mahuhulog ang tabing)

BAHAGI III

Ang labasa ay isang gubat.

Scene I. Inangbayan, Corong babayi. Nangakaupo at pinagtutulungan binuburdahan ang isang malapad na kayong azul na sinabugan ng maraming bituin at isang bagong buan sa gitna.

1st a: Tahiin natin.

MASUNURIN: Tahiin ang bandilang maluningning.
Sagisag ng bayan natin
Sa panahong sasapitin.

2nd a: Tahiin.

3rd a: Pagmadalian
Ang sagisag nitong bayan.

MASUNURIN: Dumating na ang takdang araw Ng nilayong kalayaan.

INANG BAYAN: Mga binibining bungso,
Papagsayahin ang puso,
Ang dangal nating nalugso
Ngayong gabi’y itatayo.
Sa ayaw man at sa ibig
Ni Bagong Sibol ang nais,
Bandila’y itanyag na pilit
Sa silong ng mga langit.

MASUNURIN: Magsaya ang mga puso,
Ang bandilla’y itatayo.
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CHORUS: Rejoice!

Scene II. The same, Tagailog without uniform but wearing a rich black suit.

TAGAILOG: We have only to wait a few hours, and the flag of independence of the great Inangbayan will wave in the town. No matter who objects, by day or by night, we will raise the beautiful ensign of our children for the future. Is it done?

INANGBAYAN: Completely.

TAGAILOG: Let us look at it, to see if it is good. *(It is unfurled and the chorus shows it to the audience)*

INANGBAYAN: What does our new banner signify? Explain it to them.

CHORUS: What does it signify?

TAGAILOG: It is a profound enigma, whose significance is grand. The days especially assigned to acquire our liberty have arrived. The banner will be raised on the night of the new moon. The color is very light blue, because the banner resembles the color of our sky, clear, happy, most beautiful. The new moon which is in the centre, and the resplendent stars / are those which will come out tonight to (320) Light our triumph.

(Inangbayan looks toward the door.)

CORO: Magsaya.

Labas II. Sila rin, Tagailog. Hindi militar ang suot, ngunit lubhang mayaman at taganas na itim.

TAGAILOG: Maikling oras na lamang Itong ating hinihintay, Sa baya’y iwawagayway Bandila ng kalayaan Ni dakilang Ynangbayan. Pilit nating itatanyag Sa dilim at sa liwanag Ang malugod na sagisag Ng ating mga inanak Sa panahong hinahirap. Yari na ba?

INANGBAYAN: Yaring lubos.

TAGAILOG: Masdan natin kung maayos. *(Ylaladlad at ihaharap ng Coro sa madla)*

INANGBAYAN: Kahuluga’y ano kaya ng ating bagong banidla? Ypagturing.

CORO: Anu kaya?
INANGBAYAN: It is Malay Natin.

YNANGBAYAN: Si Malay Natin!

TAGAILOG: O! Nahan?

KORO: Si Malay Natin!

TAGAILOG: Yligpit mo, Ynang Bayan, ang bandila magkanulngan lahat. At kailangang kayo’y lahat huag niyang maalaman. (Papasok ang Coro at si Ynang Bayan.)

TAGAILOG: Inangbayan, gather up the flag. All hide yourselves. It is necessary that no one shall know anything about you. (Exeunt Inangbayan and Chorus)

Scene III. Tagailog, Malay Natin

MALAY NATIN: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Malay Natin! I am glad thou hast been able to reach our house now.

MALAY NATIN: I wanted to give thee thy answer to they supplication. The question of they liberty at this time greatly interests our Bagong Sibol. Has thou thoroughly considered thy request?

TAGAILOG: Yes.

MALAY NATIN: According to they judgment, canst thou now sustain independent life without necessity of aid?

TAGAILOG: Oo.

MALAY NATIN: Sa iyo’y nasa kong sabihin Ang sagot sa iyong nahiling. Mahigpit mong pinaglayon Sa poon nating Bagong Sibol Ang paglaya ninyo ngayon. Ynisip mu ba nang boong Pagkuro ang nais na gayon?

MALAY NATIN: Sa iyong pakiramdam, Ay kaya na ninyong tunay Ang sariling pamumuhay, At di na lubos kailangan Ang kayo pa’y abuluyan?
TAGAILOG: We already have the necessary strength, if there were danger, and we have a fearless heart for the greatest conflicts. If they arrive we have wise men of our race; the towns are prosperous; wherever one looks are seen the improvements which have been brought about by progress; aside from this, our hearts are united in what we desire; there is now no internal disturbance. At the first cry of the Mother Country, if it is for liberty, the people will go to war with the impetus of the waters of a flood; thou mayest be sure of that.

MALAY NATIN: In these times, valor, strength, wisdom, wealth and true union are not sufficient; it is also necessary to have means to provide against misfortunes; the arms of Bagong Sibol are, up to the present, necessary to thee for thy protection.

TAGAILOG: And suppose we already have the means especially prepared for the day fixed upon by us to live independently?

MALAY NATIN: Thy supposition is exaggerated.

TAGAILOG: Kami ay may sadiang lakas Na laan; kung may bagabag, At may pusong walang gulat Sa lalong malaking sindak Na kung sakali’y lalagpak. Nangagkalat ang marunong Sa aming lipi; mayayabong Ang bayan; saan man lumingon, Nakikita’y nag-uusbong Balang binhi ng panahon. Bukod dito’y isa na Ang aming mga kaluluwa Sa aming balang mapita; Ngayo’y lubos na hindi na Kami-kami’y nagbabaka. Sa minsang pagsigaw lamang Ng irog na Ynang Bayan. Kung tungkol sa kalayaan, Bubugso ang mga bayan Sa digma, yao’y asahan.

MALAY NATIN: Sa panahong niraranas, Ay tunay na hindi sukat Ang katapangan, ang lakas, Ang dunong, ang yamang lahat At pagkakaisang wagas. Kailangan ngang magkaroon Ng pangharang sa lingatong; Ang armas ni Bagong Sibol Sa inyo upang umabuloy.

TAGAILOG: Kung sakali kaya naman Na kami may kasangkapan, 636 Talagang inilalaan Sa aming tinakdang araw Sa sariling pamumuhay?

MALAY NATIN: Malabis ang palagay mo.
TAGAILOG: Thou sayest “it is exaggerated. Dost thou believe it is impossible that all I have said can come about now? (Malay Natin laughs loudly) Malay Natin, do not laugh at the life of another, although it may be that of a blind man, because we frequently see that there is not lacking someone to guide him.

MALAY NATIN: I shall not believe the miracle of which thou speakest until I see it with my own eyes. I know that ye are weak.

TAGAILOG: If it is so, it will not be long before thou seest the naked truth of what I tell thee.

MALAY NATIN: When, Tagailog?

TAGAILOG: I do not know, but if destiny favors us, thou wilt see it at the time of the new moon. (Malay Natin laughs loudly) Malay Natin, do not do that! He who laughs is frequently laughed at. (Malay Natin laughs again and takes Tagailog’s hand).

MALAY NATIN: Goodbye, Tagailog. (Exit)

TAGAILOG: Au Revoir, Friend.

TAGAILOG: Malabis anang wika mo! Alangan bas a isip mo Na ngayo’y magkatotoo Ang lahat na sinasabi ko? (Tatawang malakas si Malay Natin) Malay Natin, huag tawanan Ang sa ibang pamumuhay, Kahit sa bulag na tunay Madalas na di mawalan Ng sa kaniya’y mag-akay.

MALAY NATIN: Di ako maniniwala Hangang di makitang sadya Ng mata ko ang hiwagang Sa aki’y ibinalita.

TAGAILOG: Kung gayo’y huag kang mainip, Di malalao’t sasapit Ang sa iyo’y pagpapasilip Nitong aking isinulit.

MALAY NATIN: Hanggang kailan, Tagailog?

TAGAILOG: Ewan, ngunit iloloob Ng aming palad, ay lubos Na iyong mapapanood Bagong buan sa pagsipot. (Tatawa nang malakas si Malay Natin)

MALAY NATIN: Tagailog, sa iyo’y paalam. (Aalis)

TAGAILOG: Hangang mamaya, kaibigan.
Scene IV. Tagailog, later Ualangtutol.

TAGAILOG: Yes, laugh now, while it is time, because when the appointed hour arrives thou wilt not be able to laugh. (A moment’s pause.) What can have happened that Ualangtutol has not yet come? (Ualantutol appears)

UALANGTUTOL: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Ualangtutol! I expected thee. What has been the result of thy trip? Is everything prepared that we need at this time?

UALANGTUTOL: Yes.

TAGAILOG: When did the airship arrive? Where did it fall?

UALANGTUTOL: At midnight, when it is very dark, it fell in Pamitinan.

TAGAILOG: And the newly prepared cannon: are they ready for use?

UALANGTUTOL: Yes, all.

TAGAILOG: Are the electric bullets prepared?

Labas IV. Tagailog, mamaya’y Walangtutol.

TAGAILOG: Oo, hao’y magtawa ka, At ngayon ay panahon pa, Sapagkat kung sumapit na Ang oras na itinalaga, Di ka na makatataka. (Sandaling palipas) Ano kaya’t hanga ngayo’y Wala pa si Walangtutol? (Lalabas si Walangtutol)

TAGAILOG: Walangtutol, Hinihintay kita ngayon, Ano ang iyong ipinaroon? Nahahanda na bang lahat Ang ating kailangang sukát?

TAGAILOG: Ano bang oras Nang dumating ang lumilipad Na sasakian? Saan lumagpak?

TAGAILOG: At ang mga bagong laang Lantaka ay nahahanay Na ba ngayong kalahatan?

TAGAILOG: Oo, lahat.

TAGAILOG: Ang mga labas na may electricidad ay hand na?
UALANGTUTOL: Yes, all.

TAGAILOG: And the moveable fortifications?

UALANGTUTOL: They are ready.

TAGAILOG: And the rifles, and our soldiers, provisions and all that is necessary for the war: are they prepared?

UALANGTUTOL: Completely.

TAGAILOG: If so, pay attention. This is our countersign. When the new moon comes up, look in this direction.

If thou seest a blue light, it is the true sign that the banner of Inangbayan has been unfurled. There will immediately follow the firing of guns and cannon into the air as a loving salute to the flag which is exclusively our own.

If a red light follows the blue, it is a true sign that they have not acceded to the petition of our liberty, in which case be prepared, remain quiet, and await me. The war will be waged upon them by besieging Manila, compelled to surrender. If they are deaf to our prayer, then we will fight them, bombarding Manila, destroying all who resist us.

TAGAILOG: At ang mga lumalakad na kuta?

WALANGTUTOL: Nangakalapat.

TAGAILOG: At ang mga baril naman? At an gating mga kawal, Kakain at kalahatang Kasangkapan sa labanan, At anda na?

WALANGTUTOL: Walang kulong.

TAGAILOG: Kung gayon ay pakingan mo. Ang hudiatan nati’y ito. Pagsikat ng buang bago Mamaya, tumanaw kayo Sa mga dakuhang ito.

Kung kayo’y makakatanaw Ng isang azul na ilaw, Yao’y siyang tandang tunay Ng unang pagwawagayway Ng bandila ny Ynangbayan. Pagdaka na’y paputukin Ang mga lantaka’t baril, Sabay at tungo sa hangin, Yao’y bati ng paggiliw Sa bandilang ating-atin.

Kung anag susunod na ilaw Sa azul na aking tinuran Ay pula, ay tandang tunay Na di nila pinayagan Hiling nating kalayaan. Sa gayon ay humandan na. Huag kumilos, At ako’y hintin muna.
But if thou seest a white light, symbol of peace, it will mean that they have acceded to our petition for liberty.

Let all the army come then, in order to celebrate the new life before the whole world. Dost thou clearly understand our signs?

UALANGTUTOL: Yes.

TAGAILOG: Then put all our soldiers in order and await the new moon.

UALANGTUTOL: Goodbye.

TAGAILOG: Au Revoir. (They embrace, and Ualangtutol exit) O, Bathala! our Lord, grant that they will voluntarily agree to our desired liberty; because it will be one of two things: to die or (to) secure the liberty which we desire so earnestly, for our people will sustain the wari while breath remains. (Exit)

Ngunit kung ang matanawan Ay isang maputing ilaw, Tanda ng katahimikan, Sa makatuid ay pinayagan Nila ang ating kalayaan.

Pagdaka’y magsiparito Lahat nating mga hokbo, Upang ang buhay na bago Natin, ipagdiwang ninyo Sa harapan ng boong mundo. Yyo na bagang natandaan Ang ating mga hudiatan?

UALANGTUTOL: Oo.

TAGAILOG: Kung gayo’y ihanay Lahat nating mga kawal At hintin ang bagong buan.

WALANGTUTOL: Paalam.

TAGAILOG: Hangang mamaya. (Magyayakapan at aalis si Walangtutol.) Oh poon naming Bathala, Idolot mo sa amin nawa, Na ipayag nilag kusa Ang nais naming paglaya. Pagka’t alin sa dalawa: O mamatay, o makuha Ang kalayaan naming pita: Ang bayan nami’y babaka Hangang may unting hininga. (papsok)
Scene V. New Decoration. A handsome room and a bed; Malay Natin is near the door in the attitude of delivering letters.

MALAY NATIN: Send these letters off immediately. Quick! (gives letters to unseen person.)

The noise of the reports that are current through the town deafens one. They saw that the traitor Tagailog had hidden arms. Where did they come from? Why have I not been able to discover their arrival? And where have they hidden the small cannon which makes me blush and make my heart ache?

And where will they raise the army to invade here? In the meantime, it seems to me that the movements of the towns are truly unanimous; they are all in accord regarding the desire for liberty…

and of the 50,000,000 Filipinos there is not one, in truth, who has revealed the secret of their projects.

Why do the secret police, all the principal men, the chiefs who I have especially exalted, guard reserve with me? Perhaps my spies are already theirs; perhaps the good and the bad have already united for

Labas V. Ybang tanyag. Ysang kabahayang mayaman at may isang hihigan. Malay Natin, lapit sa pinto at mag-aabot ng liham.

MALAY NATIN: Palakaring walang liban Ito aking mga liham. Madali. (Yyaabot ang sulat sa loob)

Ang alingnawngaw
Ng nangagkalat sa baying Balita ay nakabiblingaw.
   Di umano ay may lihim
Na sandata itong taksil
Na Tagailog Nangaling
Kaya saan? Sa pagdating
Ano at di ko napansin?
At saan kaya itinago
Ang lantakang sumiphayo’t Bumalisa sa aking puso?
At saan kaya itatayo
Ang hokbong dito’y bubugso?
   Bakit kung pakiramdaman
Ang kilos ng mga bayan
Ay nagkakaisang tunay,
Nagkaayos paminsana
Sa nais na kalayaan.

At limang daang yutang
Filipino, tunay na wala
Na isa mang magbalita
Sa akin, kung papanu nga
Ang lihim ng kanilang nasa.

Ano’t ang mga secreta’t
Mga magioong lahat na,
Ang mga pinunong sadia’t
Idinangal na talaga,
Sa aki’y naglihim sila?
   Diwa’y kanila nang kabig
Ang lahat kong tiktok,
their ideal. From what I begin to understand, by deduction, the secret police and the Philippine authorities are in accord, and have already leagued themselves with Inangbayan.

Where is their former inclination to rivalry? Why have the good and the bad purposely united to cause me anxiety? But when these fickle ones fall into my hands they shall have to drink venom…Supreme God! This is horrible! My heart palpitates, my soul aches, my body trembles (falls on his knees)

My God! Why do ideas of death occur to me? (A moment’s pause.) (He gets up suddenly and shows great indignation by his actions.) Inangbayan; Tagalog; if wrath could reach ye…O!…Great God! Why am I now so weak? …Horrible! (He approaches the bed and seats himself) My God! Horrible! (Lies down and goes to sleep)

Diwa’y nagkaanib-anib
Ang masasama’t mabait
Sa kanilang mga nais.

Kung aking pakiramdaman
Ang secreta’t pamunuang Filipino, ay kaalam
Siya’t kasabuatang tunay
Ng kanilang Ynangbayan.

Nasaan yaong dating hilig
Nila, sa pagkakaalit?

Ano’t nagkaisang tikis
Ang mabuti at balawis,
At ako’y siyang ginigiagis?

Nguni’t kapag nangahulog
Sa akin ang mga balakot,
Ay sapilitang lalagok
Ng lason…Mataas Na Diyos!
Yto’y kakila-kilabot!

Ang pusu ko’y nangangatal,
Kaluла ko’y pumapanaw,
Kumikinig ang katawan.
(Mapapaluhod)
Scene VI. The same and the representation of a dream in which ghosts or phantasm take part, also Haring-Kamatayan, king of death. A transparent curtain falls slowly. Bagong sibol enters with a happy gesture, carrying a eagle.

Bagong sibol: Thou beautiful eagle, the queen of force: fly and cover the entire world with thy wings! (Looks at eagle) Who has injured my beautiful eagle? (There is a flash of light and Inangbayan comes forward)

Inang bayan: Only a little bullet, thrown softly.

Bagong sibol: So it was thee! And why hast thou hurt it so much (lit. soon) if thou didst not throw with force?

Inang bayan: It was an electric bullet.

Bagong sibol: Inangbayan! Insolent one! Now thou shalt pay! (Bagong Sibol attacks Inangbayan; immediately many sepulchers appear before Bagong Sibol. Inangbayan disappears. Many ghosts arise from the tombs)


Bagong sibol: Ykaw aguilang madilag Na hari na boong lakas, Hayo’t ikaw ay lumipad, Liliman mong lahat-lahat Ang boong mundo ing iyong pakpak. (Biglang pagmamasdan ang aguila) Sinu kaya ang sumakit Sa aquila kong marikit? (Biglang magliliwanag at lalabas si Ynangbayan)

Ynang bayan: Ysang balang maliit Ang marahang inihagis.

Bagong sibol: Ykaw baga sa makatuid? At bakit nasaktan agad Ang marahang inihagis.

Ynangbayan: Ang bala’y may electricidad.

**ONE GHOST:** Before our tombs thou didst solemnly swear that thou wouldst at some day give true liberty to Inangbayan. She loves thee with all her heart; do not deceive her, as there is a god who will punish perjurers.

**ALL (Ghosts):** Bagong Sibol, farewell, farewell! (Graves and ghosts all disappear)

**BAGONG SIBOL:** My God! What is this! Why do presentiments disturb my breast? The favors I have enjoyed pass away from before my eyes. (Tagailog appears, followed by children of both sexes. They immediately kneel before Bagong Sibol)

**TAGAILOG:** Great Bagong Sibol!

**BAGONG SIBOL:** Tagailog!

**TAGAILOG:** My lady, the day on which thou shouldst grant us our longed-for liberty has arrived.

**CHILDREN:** Bagong Sibol! Take pity on us now.

**BAGONG SIBOL:** Go; leave me! (Exeunt sadly Tagailog and the children.) Is it possible that th people need liberty? (A sudden flash of light and Haring-Kamatayan appears)

**YNANGBAYAN:** Sa harap ng libingan libingan Ay sumumpa kang matibay, Bibigian ng kalayaang Titubos si Ynangbayan. Siya sa iyo’y umirog Nang sa puso’y lubhang taos, Huag mong dayain at may Dios Na hahampas sa balakiot.

**LAHAT (Ghosts):** Bagong Sibol. Adios! Adios! (Lulubog ang mga libingan sampu pa ng mga kalulua.)

**BAGONG SIBOL:** Dius ko! Yto’y anu kaya! Ano’t nangangambang lubha Ang dibdib ko? Nawawala Sa mata ko ang dating biaya. (Lalabas si Tagailog, may kasamang mga batang babayi’y lalaki. Pagdaka’y luluhod ang mga batas a harap ni Bagong Sibol.)

**TAGAILOG:** Bagong Sibol sa dakila. 641

**BAGONG SIBOL:** Tagailog.

**TAGAILOG:** Aking poon, sumapit na ang panahong iloob mu po ang nilayong kalayaan.

**MGA BATA:** Bagong Sibol, maawa ka sa amin ngayon.

**BAGONG SIBOL:** Hayo’t ako’y iwan. (Papsok na malumbay si Tagailog at mga bata.) Diyata’t nagkakailangang Lumaya ang mga bayan? (Sisiklab sa gitna at lilitaw ang Haring Kamatayan.)
KAMATAYAN: Yes, they truly need it. If thou deniest it, thou wilt repent it. I myself will fight thee with every cruelty until thou diest (Kamatayan disappears)

BAGON GSIBOL: O! (Bagong Sibol walks slowly off the stage. The transparent curtain rises. Malay Natin awakens) 326

MALAY NATIN: O! What oppressive dreams are mine! Ah, it appears a stone that gravitates over my life which floats over dangers. Bagong Sibol!

(Translator’s note: Here follows a blank space where the entrance of Bagong Sibol on the scene should be mentioned)

BAGONG SIBOL: Malay Natin! What is the matter?

MALAY NATIN: Perchance thou has been here all the time?

BAGONG SIBOL: No.

MALAY NATIN: Woe is me; what a nightmare! I have dreamed, Bagong Sibol; and therefor my heart is oppressed.

BAGONG SIBOL: What was it?

MALAY NATIN: Kayu pu ba’y pumasok dito ngayon?

BAGONG SIBOL: Hindi.

MALAY NATIN: Kayu pu ba’y pumasok dito ngayon?

BAGONG SIBOL: Malay Natin, ano yaon?

MALAY NATIN: Ay ng lingatong. Ako’y nangarap, Oh Bagong Sibol, Kaya at ang puso’y Nililingatong.

BAGONG SIBOL: Ano yaon?
MALAY NATIN: I dreamed that Inangbayan has wounded our eagle, and that people long since dead rose from their graves. Even the children approached thee, and, kneeling, asked to be freed from our protection. Afterward Kamatayan approached thee and threatened thee. (Bagong Sibol laughs)

MALAY NATIN: Napangarap kong si Inangbayan At ating aguila ay sinugatan At nangagbangon nga sa libingan Ang mga baying maluat nang bangkay. Sampo ng mga batas a iyo’y lumapit, Sa iyo’y lumuluhod, nasang lumaya Sa ating pagkupkop. Saka lumapit si Kamatayan, Ikaw ay siyang pinagbantaan. (Tatawa si Bagong Sibol)

BAGONG SIBOL: Malay Natin; don’t be silly. Those are effects of the dream.

BAGONG SIBOL: Ykaw yata, Malay Natin Ay lubus kang nahaling. Ano’t iyong iisipin Pangarap na sinungaling? Paalam na. (This was not part of the English transcription)

MALAY NATIN: Yes, but I am agitated and afraid. (Bagong Sibol laughs)

MALAY NATIN: (This dialogue was not in the Tagalog versión)

BAGONG SIBOL: It appears, Malay Natin, that thou has gone crazy. Why dost thou pay attention to lying dreams? Goodbye.

BAGONG SIBOL: (This dialogue was not in the Tagalog versión)

MALAY NATIN: It is true. (Exit Bagong Sibol, laughing) My heavy dream has left bitter presentiments in my heart. (He also goes out)

MALAY NATIN: Yao’y tapat. (Papasok na tumatawa si Bagong Sibol) Ang mabigat kong pangarap, Sa puso ko ay naglagak Ng pangambang masaklap. (Papasok din)
Scene VIII. New decoration. A street; Inangbayan kneels on one side; Tagailog appears and contemplates her.

TAGAILOG: She is alone in the midst of grief; she is sad and weeping although she is grand, thought she is the recognized goddess who has covered herself with beauty in her almost celestial seat. She sank, later fell, later rolled, submerging herself in the mire of slavery and misfortune. Now she is kneeling, she prays, she asks for help of the Creator, not for herself but for our people, for our liberty, for our prosperity, for our indefinite progress, for that which ought to give honor to her chosen ones, all her children caressed by the warmth of her ardent love. (Tagailog approaches Inangbayan) Inangbayan, why dost thou weep? Art thou perchance persecuted? Why art thou alone here, wandering in a sea of sorrows and full of fear? Inangbayan, they sorrow is a bitter agony for us. Ah, yes’ they terror alone is death to us, and each teardrop is an interminable pain. How beautiful God has created thee!

INANGBAYAN: Yes, that is why I am not sad.

TAGAILOG: That is hard to believe.

INANGBAYAN: All the nations of the world want me.

Labas VIII. Ybang tanyag. Ysang daan. Nakaluhod si Inangbayan sa isang tabi; Lalabas si Tagailog at pagmamasdan siya.

TAGAILOG: Siya’y nag-iisa sa gitna ng sakit,
Siya’y nalulumbay, siya’y tumatangis,
Bago’y darakila, bago’y siyang tikis
Yaong diosang tanyag na nagpakadikit
Sa loklokang kulong na lamang ay langit
Na biglang gmuho, at saka nabolid,
At saka gmuulong, nalublob sa putik
Ng pagkaalipin at pagkaligalig.

Ngayo’y nakaluhod, ngayo’y nagdarasal,
Humihinging tulong sa poong may kapal,
Dahil sa kaniya kung di sa aming bayan,
Sa ikalalaya, sa ikabubuhay,
Sa ikaoonlak naming kaniyang hirang
Na bunsu niyang lahat at pinalayawan
Sa init ng biayang kaniyang pagmamahal.
(Lalapit si Tagailog kay Ynangbayan).
Ynang. Ano’t bakit ngayo’y umiikak?
Ano’t ikaw baga ay binabadagag?
Ano’t nag-iisang dito’y nalagalag
Sa laot ng lungkot, sa gitna ng sindak?
Ynang, ang hapis mo’y hingalong masaklap
Sa amin. Ah, oo! Ang iyo lamang sindak,
Sa ami’y kamatayan, at ang bawat patak
Ng luha mo ina’y walang hirap.
Anong pagkagandang nilikha ka ng Dios!

YNANGBAYAN: Oo, kaya ngayon ako ay may lunkot.

TAGAILOG: Wari balintuna.

YNANGBAYAN: Sa aki’y umiirog
Ang lahat ng lahi sa isang sinukob.
TAGAILOG: Be proud of that.

INANGBAYAN: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Thou has suitors, rejoice. Why dost thou not choose and love intensely the one who truly loves you? Art thou not a widow?

TAGAILOG: Niliwagan ka’t ikaw ay malugod. Ano’t di pumili at mahaling lubos Kung alin man yaong tapat na umirog? Di ka baga bao?

INANGBAYAN: I am a wedded woman.

TAGAILOG: And who is he?

INANGBAYAN: He is thy father, the most beautiful, the richest in the world, he loves loyally, is affectionate with all, he is the greatest, as he is the son of all the heavens and the natural king of life...He is called Kalayaan.

TAGAILOG: Yes, I know him, but he is dead. Mine eyes have see his corpse.

TAGAILOG: Oo’t kilala ko, ngunit siya’y namatay, Nakita ng mata ang kaniyang bangkay.

INANGBAYAN: Simple one! Thy father is immortal.

TAGAILOG: Where is he now?

INANGBAYAN: Thou dost not know? I do not know who many days have passed. Seed was sown on Mount Pamitinan, it was care for secretly, it was afterward covered with a dark mantle of mystery. All was secret, all was virtue, gliding on tiptoes, no cries. Soe it acquired frondescence, and the roots spread...but one day there was a traitor; the secret was divulged immediately.

TAGAILOG: Ypomalaki mo yaon.

YNANGBAYAN: Tagailog!

TAGAILOG: Niliwagan ka’t ikaw ay malugod. Ano’t di pumili at mahaling lubos Kung alin man yaong tapat na umirog? Di ka baga bao?

YNANGBAYAN: Ako’y may asawa.

TAGAILOG: At sinu nga siya?

YNANGBAYAN: Siya’y ang iyong ama, Sa boong daigdiga’y pinakamaganda, Pinakamayaman, tapat na suminta, Pinakalambing sa lahat-lahat na, Pinakadakila, at anak nga siya Ng lahat ng langit, at haring talaga Ng buhay...Kalayaan ang pamagat niya.

TAGAILOG: Oo’t kilala ko, ngunit siya’y namatay, Nakita ng mata ang kaniyang bangkay.

YNANGBAYAN: Musmos! Ang ama mo’y walang kamatayan.

TAGAILOG: At saan siya ngayon?

YNANGBAYAN: Di mo nalalaman. Lumipas ang ewan kung ilan nang araw Tinamnan ng binhi ang bundok Pamitinan, Iningat na lihim, saka binakuran Ng tabing ng dilim na kababalaghan. Pawang kalihiman, kabanalang lahat, Tia dang pagtakbo, ang sigaw ay anas, Kaya nga’t lumago, kumalat ang uga... Ngunit isang araw may isang nagsukab Ang lihim ay biglang-bigla’y nasiwalat,
INANGBAYAN: (con’t) A horrible tempest followed. Mount Pamitinan fell in a moment, our plant was destroyed, the tempest carried away all its leaves, the sap was human blood; later it was dragged through all the barrios through all the towns, wherever one could look, and in the Luneta (Bagumbayan) the blood flowed in abundance…Destiny of time! No pity was shown in spite of the piteous cries of all those who were delivered over to weeping. All was ended. Nobody noted that ever atom of dust of our plant, infiltrated vigorously in our souls, again threw out roots; it was born again. In the town of Cavite (Kauit) it was publicly cultivated anew without being covered with mystery, and was lighted by the brilliant sun of the people, and by three stars.

Later it produced beautiful flowers; white, red, and blue were their colors. In the town of Malolos we enriched the plant, it was elevated and incense was burned in its honor…O, beloved son! A miracle! One day the storm broke and without our being able to explain the cause, the flower withered and their petals fell.

TAGAILOG: What can be done, Inangbayan? Think no more of it. Rejoice, for our flower will be born and shine again, believe me. When the darkness arrives below the firmament, what is ours shall be ours.

YNANGBAYAN: The sun has set.
TAGAILOG: The new moon and stars will appear without fail. Come, Inangbayan, let us go meet them. (Exeunt)

Scene IX. Boys & girls.

A BOY: Liberty, liberty, when wilt thou appear? Liberty, our light, we have awaited for thee for a long time. Thou are the life of our desire, the sun of our thought, the object of our love, our glorious heaven. Our moon and stars will soon shine in our own flag and will illuminate the future of this land which we have inherited.

ALL: Liberty!

Scene X. The same and another boy.

BOY: Come, friends. At last the day which has been for a long time expected at any hour has arrived for Inangbayan.

ALL: Hurrah for liberty!

BOY: Tagailog has arrived and has commanded that ye put yourselves in order and kneeling before Bagong Sibol present the offering you have made. The book is not torn? The machine is all right?

ALL: It is not torn; here it is.

Labas IX. Mga batang babayi’t lalaki.


LAHAT: Kalayaan.

Labas X. Sila rin at isa pang bata.

BATA: Halina, mga kaibigan, At sumapit na ang araw Na maluat nang hinihintay Balangoras ni Ynangbayanan.

LAHAT: Mabuhay ang Kalayaan!

BATA: Dumating si Tagailog, Hayo’t kayo’y magsiyayos Aniya, saka iluhod Kay Bagong Sibol ang handog. Na ginawa ninyong lubos. Ang libro’y di kaya sira? Ang makina’y buo kaya?

LAHAT: Buo; heto.
BOY: Let us prepare ourselves. We shall now be present at the unfurling of the flag. We begin tomorrow to work like one who flies on the wings of liberty, and let us soar without ceasing to the sky of science. (A moment’s pause)

And let us give force to thought through the light of the schools which exist everywhere and are open at all hours. Let us study how to treat our fellow creatures, and everything that may be necessary for the posterity of our country, now exclusively ours. (A moment’s pause)

If we should happen to see the putrefaction of a wound, let us not be overcome. The world is especially stained with intensely painful wounds. Let us look at the world face to face, as did Rizal, who feared no one, and bore no animosity, who could feel pity. (A moment’s pause)

Fewer words and more works, and the stairs which we have to ascend shall be those which our achievements prepare.

BATA: Tayo’y humanda, ngayon din ay haharap nga sa pagtatayo ng bandila.

Buhat bukas ay simulan an gating kusang pagsakay sa pakpak ng kalayaan, at liparing walang lubay ang langit ng karunungan.

At bigian natin ng lakas ang bait sa mga sikat ng mga aralang lahat na dito ay lumaganap at bukas sa balang oras. Libutin ng ating mata ang pakikipagkapuwa tui na, at ang lahat at lahat ng Kailangan, nang guminhawa bayan nating sarili na.

Kung sakaling makamalas ng mga bulok na sugat, ay huag tayong magugulat, ang mundo’y sadiang may hirap ng sugat na nag-aantak.

Gaya baga ni Rizal, wala siyang nakatakutan, at walang nakagalitan, ngunit may kinahabagan.

At bawasan ang salita, ang dagdagan ang gawa, ang hagdang papanhikan nga, ay ang hagdang ihahanda ng ating pangangasiwa.
Let us confederate and live in harmony, because in union is strength, and the proud races cannot conquer.

(A moment’s pause)

Come and fly: let us carry Inangbayan on the horns of the moon, so that she can take her place among the nations of the universe. Hurrah for our fathers; hurrah for Inangbayan; hurrah; hurrah; hurrah for liberty!

ALL: Hurrah!

Scene XI. Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin.

BAGONG SIBOL: I have heard some truly surprising news, according to which Inangbayan is prepared to rebel against our authority.

MALAY NATIN: The dream which I have had and which I related to thee, has made me think of grave dangers and suffer bitter doubts.

BAGONG SIBOL: Inangbayan approached me, asking me for complete liberty. Didst thou notice her manner when I denied it?
MALAY NATIN: I noticed her. When she left she tried to hide a smile. She stopped and said: “Au revoir”; and added, “we shall meet again.”

BAGONG SIBOL: When I meditate on her truly significant words, it seems to me that they hide grave events. (Looks toward back of stage) What is that? What is that? What light is that?

MALAY NATIN: It is true!

BAGONG SIBOL: Will this be the beginning of our troubles, decreed by time? (Exeunt)

Scene XII. New decoration, A wood: Tagailog and Inangbayan forming a pair in the centre. Tagailog carries in one hand blue Bengal lights, and in the other a sabre. Inangbayan carries the banner. On raising the curtain the national Filipino march is played by a band on the outside. Afterward Bagong Sibol and Malay Natin appear, the latter astonished.

MALAY NATIN: Tagailog!
BAGONG SIBOL: Inangbayan! What hast thou done?

INANGBAYAN: We have really raised the flag of liberty.

TAGAILOG: The day on which we are to be fee has arrived, and although thy pride does not consent, I shall carry out my enterprise.

INANGBAYAN: (To Bagong Sibol) I have earnestly implored thee to grant our ardent desire, but thou hast not paid the slightest attention to our protests.

BAGONG SIBOL: I have not acceded to thy desires because I love thee; thou has not yet sufficient strength to sustain thine own rights. And who will defend thee if the wave of ambition of these times reaches thee? Who will aid thee?

TAGAILOG: I have sufficient strength to carry out my purpose.

MALAY NATIN: Tagailog, where wilt thou get forces and armaments?

INANGBAYAN: Would you like to see our real forces?
BAGONG SIBOL AND MALAY NATIN: Yes, at once.

TAGAILOG: Immediately. (Tagailog lights a white Bengal light, whereupon a curtain, representing a large Filipino army, is shown). Dost thou see the troops which come armed with rifles. Those are our infantry. Dost thou see those troops of martial bearing? That is our artillery, long since organized. Bagong Sibol, look at the last arrivals: they are the engineers organized for our liberty. Hast thou noticed those beautiful women? Those are those of the Red Cross, organized for the war. (A quickstep is played by the band and the Filipino army appears with artillery; engineers and infantry, also the Red Cross).

INANGBAYAN: Malay Natin, Bagong Sibol – what think you of it? Has not the time arrived for us to achieve our desire?

BAGONG SIBOL: It cannot be.

MASUNURIN: Bagong Sibol, Malay Natin, if thou wilt accede to our desires and liberate us, we will love thee.

BAGONG SIBOL AT MALAY NATIN: Oo. Ngayon din.


INANGBAYAN: Malay Natin, Bagong Sibol, Taya ninyo’y ano ngayon? Di pu nga baga panahong Aming kamtan ang nilayon?

BAGONG SIBOL: Hindi mangayayari.

MASUNURIN: Bagong Sibol, Malay Natin, Loobin mo ang nais namin, Ilaya mo ang buhay naming, Kita’y aming gigiliwin.
UALANGTUTOL: We will serve thee all our lives, and accompany thee in thy wars, if thou wilt not oppose our desired liberty.

BAGONG SIBOL: It cannot be.

ALL: BAGONG SIBOL!

BAGONG SIBOL: It cannot be.

INANGBAYAN: O, didst thou not promise use when thou didst call us to thee, that they brilliant flag should be the shadow of our desired liberty?

Thou saidist that thy flag is not the ensign of cunning ambition and deceit but, on the contrary, is the ensign of the people that want to be free.

And if that is so, why dost thou not accede to my ardent desire for our true liberty and the peaceful protection of our brothers?

And if we remain all our life under thy orders, we would not be men, but on the contrary, animals, that lick the soles of thy feet.

A moment’s pause) And art thou not ashamed of thyself, that through thy strength thou convertest us, who are thine equals, into animals?

WALANGTUTOL: Susuyuan ka habang buhay at sa digma’y daramayan, huag na di loobin lamang ang nais naming kalayaan.

BAGONG SIBOL: Hindi mangayari.

LAHAT: Bagong Sibol!

BAGONG SIBOL: Hindi mangayari.

YNANGBAYAN: Oh!
   Di baga pangaku mu sa amin
   Nang kami ay iyong tawagin,
   Na ang iyong maluningning
   Na bandila’y siyang lilihim
   Sa kalayaang nais namin?
   Animo’y ang iyong bandila,
   Di sagisag ng kuhilang
   Masasakim, magdaraya,
   At subali ay siyang tanda
   Ng bayang ibig lumaya.
   At kung gayon, ano’t bakit
   Di payuhan yaring nais
   Sa paglaya naming tikis,
   Sa pagkupkop na tahirik
   Sa aming mga kapatid?
   At kung kami ay pasakop
   Habang buhay sa iyong utos,
   Kami ay di tawong lubos,
   Subali kami ay hayop
   Na sa paa mo’y hihimod.

   (Sandaling palipas).
   At di ka ba nakukutia
   Sa sariling iyong haka,
   Na dahil sa lakas mu nga,
   Kami ngayong iyong kapua’y
   Maging hayop na mistula?

   Hayop man kung magkaminsa’y
There are, however, animals that on occasion attack and kill; if thou took (considered) us for such, the guilt will be thine if we attack thee. (A moment’s pause)

Consider the past, Bagong Sibol; consider that the liberty which I long for thou didst also long to obtain from him who was thy master.

Didst not thou destroy him, and break his power for laughing at his promises?

Canst thou deny to us that which thou didst desire so much? That which is bad for thee shouldst not do to another.

He who enslaves his fellow creatures is called dishonorable, and God hates such and chastises them constantly.

He has created men to be free, and he who voluntarily enslaves is an executioner of the rights of his fellow man. (A moment’s pause)
Think and do not forget the sorrow of our people; think of the work, blood, and lives sacrificed for our liberty.
We love thee dearly. Why dost thou then disturb and interfere with our desired rights?  
(A moment’s pause)

Bagong Sibol, Malay Natin, leave us and do not disturb us in our exclusive liberty. If thou dost impede it, our blood will run in torrest and in that case thou wilt have to respond before the Creator for the lives which are lost and for the orphans which will be at the mercy of death.  
(A moment’s pause) Bagong Sibol!

ALL: BAGONG SIBOL!

BAGONG SIBOL: It cannot be.

(The children appear, at their head a boy and a girl carrying a large book. They kneel before Bagong Sibol and offer her the book which they carry.)

Scene XIII. The same and the Children.

BOY: This is the record of our unhappy people.

Labas XIII. Sila rin at mga bata.

LALAKI: Ytu po’y ang kasulatan 
Ng aming kawawang bayan.
GIRL: We offer it to thee so that thou mayest become acquainted with the history of our fathers. (They put the book into Bagong Sibol’s hands; it falls from her hands, and where it falls appears magically a banner like that which Inangbayan carries.)

CHILDREN: Long live the people!

CHORUS: May they long live!

BOY: If thou wilt not concede what we humbly ask, exterminate us so that we may not come to be slaves.

GIRL: If thou wilt not attend to our complaints, end our lives, so that we may not come to be slaves. (A moment’s pause)

BAGONG SIBOL: Ah! Inangbayan has asked for your liberty, although she has also shown me her forces. But not that ye, who are little more than infants, ask it, I cannot oppose you. Thine is the liberty which ye earnestly desire. May ye preserve eternally.

INANGBAYAN: Long live Bagong Sibol!

BABAYI: Sa inyo po’y aming alay Nang upending iyong malaman Buhay ng aming magulang. (Ybibigay kay Bagong Sibol ang libro, mahuhulog sa kaniyang kamay, pagdaka’y lilitaw sa kinahulugan ang isang bandilang kamukha ng tangan ni Ynangbayan.)

MGA BATA: Mabuhay ang bayan!

CORO: Mabuhay!

BATANG LALAKI: Kung di mu pu itutulot Itong aming iniluhog, Lipulin na kaming lubos, Huag na nga lamang tibubos Kaming lumaking busabos.

BATANG BABAYI: Kung hindi mu po didingin Itong aming mga daing, Buhay naming ay iyong kitlin Huag lamang lumaking taming Kami sa pagkapaalipin. (Sandaling Palipas)

BAGONG SIBOL: Ah! Hiningi ni Ynang Bayan Itong inyong kalayaan, Ay hindi ko ibinigay Gayong may lakas din naman. Ngunit ang humiling ngayon Ay kayong halos ay sangol, Ako’y hindi na tutuol, At inyo na ang kalayaan ninyong layon, Lumawig habang panahon.

YNANGBAYAN: Mabuhay si Bagong Sibol!

ALL: Hurrah!

LAHAT: Mabuhay!
INANGBAYAN: Beloved sons, let us glorify Bagong Sibol. She shall be our mirror int the future. We owe her our liberty we owe her the eminence of the people, and their great wealth.

she allied herself with us, she solemnly promised that she would not enslave us, but that, on the contrary, she would make the sun of our existence more splendid. Now she has complied with all that she promised, conceding loyally the liberty which we sought ad which is now given. Do not forget this debt, and respond in affection; let us engrave her

ALL: Hurrah!

BAGONG SIBOL AND MALAY NATIN: Long live Inangbayan! Long live the Philippines!

ALL: Hurrah!

YNANGBAYAN: Mga bunsong ginigiliw, Hayo at ating purihin
Si Bagong Sibol, siya’y ating
Malinaw ngayong salamin
Sa buhay na sasapitin.
Sa kaniya’y ating utang
Itong ating kalayaan,
Sa kaniya’y ating utang
Ang pagkaonlak ng bayan
At ng masaganang yaman.
Nang siya’y umanib sa atin,
Ay naipangako niyang tambing,
Na di tayo aalipinin,
Subali pasisikatin
Araw ng buhay natin.
Nayon ay kaniyang tinupad
Ang pangakniyang lahat,
Ipinagkaloob na tapat
Ang kalayaan nating hanap
Na ngayon ay lumaganap.
Utang na ito’y huag limutin
At gantihan ng paggiliw,
Ngalan niya’y ilimbag natin
Sa puso, at siya’y sintahin,
At damayan hangang libing.
Mabuhay si Bagong Sibol!

LAHAT: Mabuhay!

BAGONG SIBOL: Mabuhay si Ynangbayan!

MALAY NATIN: Mabuhay ang Filipinas!

Dumakila habang araw!
The lines were split between the two characters in the Tagalog translation.

LAHAT: Mabuhay!

CURTAIN

Telon
APPENDIX C

SEDITIOUS PLAYS
APPENDIX C
Seditious Plays

Table of works from the early part of the twentieth century that advocated for revolution, resistance, and/or independence. Many of these would have been considered “seditious.” Table includes title of work, author, translation of title, language of the manuscript, and arrests that occurred as a result of their participation in the play as actor, production, author, or audience. Incomplete information a result of scripts no longer being extant or minimal information about the content of the work was collected.

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Genre/Style</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
<th>Year performed/produced</th>
<th>Arrests and/or suspected themes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La Venganza de Robdiel (Robdiel's Vengeance)</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Moro-Moro</td>
<td>Pampango</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Anti-colonial themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang Katipunan (The Katipunan)</td>
<td>Gabriel Beato Francisco</td>
<td>Moro-Moro characteristics?</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>Late 1890’s – early 1900’s.</td>
<td>Arrests in 1905 for restaging in Laoag, Ilocos Norte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ang Kataksilang Lihim (The secret treachery)</td>
<td>Ambrosio De Guzman</td>
<td>Drama Simboliko?</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Suggested that it was inspired by the writings of Rizal</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mabuhay ang Pilipinas (Long live the Philippines)</td>
<td>Juan Abad</td>
<td>Sarswuela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Anti Moro-Moro.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa (Love for the native land)</td>
<td>Pascual Poblete</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Suppressed by Police Captain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa (Love for the native land)</td>
<td>Pascual Poblete</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Suppressed by Police Captain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sigalut (uprising)</td>
<td>Juan Cristosomo Soto</td>
<td>Pampango</td>
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<tr>
<td>Filipinas at Espana (The Philippines and Spain)</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Zarzuela (?)</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1901</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malaya (Freedom)</td>
<td>Tomas Remigio</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malaya (Freedom)</td>
<td>Tomas Remigio</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elena</td>
<td>Vicente Sotto</td>
<td>Narrative Drama; Drama Simboliko (?)</td>
<td>Sugbuanon</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sinukuan (They retreated)</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-Spanish; Recounts the failures of the revolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luhang Tagalog</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Drama Simboliko / Allegorical Drama</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-colonial</td>
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<tr>
<th>Play Title</th>
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<th>Genre</th>
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<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tanikalang Guinto (Golden Chain)</td>
<td>Juan Abad</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Arrests in Batangas, Batangas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gugma sa Yutang Nataohan (Love of Country)</td>
<td>Vicente Sotto</td>
<td>Simboliko</td>
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<td>Did present nationalistic themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walang Sugat (I have no wound)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-Friar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang Kalupi (The Wallet)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>One-act</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Anti-Friar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gugma ya Yutang Nataohan (For the love our land?)</td>
<td>Vicente Sotto</td>
<td>Sarsuwela (?)</td>
<td>Sugbuanon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang Pag-aasawa ni San Pedro (The Marriage of St. Peter)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Attacked religious fanaticism; scandalized the clergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi Ako Patay (I am not dead)</td>
<td>Juan Matapang Cruz</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Arrested in Malabon, Rizal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fuera Los Frailes!</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Suppressed in Cavite</td>
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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Composer</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Martires de la Patria / Ang mga Pinagpala (Martyrs of the country)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>Drama lirico</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Suspected of being subversive; no recorded arrests</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang Kalayaan Hindi Natupad (The freedom that has not yet been obtained)</td>
<td>Patricio Mariano; Francisco Buencamino (music)</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Cast, crew arrested in Obando, Bulacan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumpaan (the Oathtaking)</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Tolentino was either in the process of trial or was out on bail</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ulila (Slave)</td>
<td>Tomas Remigio</td>
<td>Dramatic Narrative</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1903</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dahas ng Pilak (Force of Silver)</td>
<td>Maximo de los Reyes</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Author, Actors, Stage manager arrested in Malabon, Rizal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lukso ng Dugo (Gush of Blood)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>Sarsuwela</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Title suggests revolutionary themes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pulong Pinaglahuan (The eclipsed island)</td>
<td>Mariano Martinez</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Author arrested</td>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Isang Punlo na Kaaway (One Enemy Bullet)</td>
<td>Juan Abad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luha ng Ina (Mother’s tears)</td>
<td>Tomas Remigio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panahó’y sa Lahat (For all time?)</td>
<td>Tomas Remigio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang nagahigugma sá iya dútá (He who loves his country)</td>
<td>Salvador Ciocoon</td>
<td>Cebuano</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Written in 1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang Bagong Kristo (The new Christ)</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
<td>Tagalog; Pampango</td>
<td>1907</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayan Muna Bago ang Lahat (Country first before everything)</td>
<td>Simplicio Flores</td>
<td>Tagalog?</td>
<td>1907</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germinal</td>
<td>Aurelio Tolentino</td>
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<td>Ang Dalawang Pag-Ibig (The two loves)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ang sigaw ng Balintawak (The Cry of Balintawak)</td>
<td>Severino Reyes</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simoun</td>
<td>Jose Ma. Rivera</td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Based on Rizal’s <em>El Filibusterismo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayan (The Nation)</td>
<td>Jose Ma. Rivera</td>
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<td>1916</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dahil sa Watawat (Because of the Flag)</td>
<td>Patricio Mariano</td>
<td>Tagalog?</td>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>Ing Anac ning Katipunan (The child of the Katipunan)</td>
<td>Juan Cristosomo Soto</td>
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<td>Anti-Friar</td>
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<td>Luha't Dugo (Blood &amp; Tears)</td>
<td>Patricio Mariano</td>
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