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Time, Identity, and Nation in the Aglipayan *Novenario ng Balintawak* and *Calendariong Maanghang*

The novenary and the calendar were among the most popular and widely used religious and secular printed materials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These were widespread in almost all major Philippine language groups and were used not only during special religious celebrations but also in ordinary, everyday life. The Iglesia Filipina Independiente, through its founders Isabelo de los Reyes and Gregorio Aglipay, among others, published and widely utilized the novenary and the calendar not only to serve as religious guides but also to convey nationalist sentiments among its members. Equally important was the manner by which these texts affected the church members' notions of temporality, self-identity, and national character. The paper focuses on the analysis of two important texts of the early twentieth century—the *Novenario ng Balintawak* and the *Calendariong Maanghang*—and evaluates their impact on the popular, nationalist religiosity of the Aglipayan movement.

KEYWORDS: INDIGENOUS CHURCH · NATIONALISM · ALMANAC · ISABELO DE LOS REYES · GREGORIO AGLIPAY · IGLESIA FILIPINA INDEPENDIENTE

In the rejoinder to the debate between Milagros Guerrero (1981) and Reynaldo Ilet (1982) about recent perspectives and academic production interpreting the Philippine Revolution, Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J. (1982, 465), suggested that more than the *pasyon*, the novenas “did more to form folk religious perceptions” of the Filipinos, as these, though mostly of European origins, were “transmuted into indigenous forms of popular prayer and religious thought” and were eventually to be found in almost all major Philippine languages. There were hundreds of different novenas in use for almost every religious occasion and had been read and recited almost year round. The novenas were used during special religious festivities while at the same time recited constantly almost as part of everyday experience. While commonly recited in big church gatherings, novenas were also read at home by individuals or family groups. Unlike the *pasyon*, novenas had no need to wait for an annual religious occasion like Holy Week to be recited. At the same time, there were specific novenas for particular religious personalities and festivities so that those who recited them could also appreciate them as distinctive and extraordinary religious texts. The novenas, therefore, were both recited for the out-of-the-ordinary occasions or read as part of the everyday experience for the religious devotee.

Almost a quarter of a century later, Mojares (2006, 332) reiterated Father Schumacher’s assessment and mentioned that *novenarios* were among the most popular form of printed literature in the country. The popularity of the novena would only equal the reach of another form of popular printed text of the period, the *calendario*. Mojares correctly observes that most of the *calendarios* were printed mostly in the form of almanacs and contained not only the dates of the year, but also the current state of affairs of the nation’s religious, political, social, economic, and cultural structures, with information on almost all possible topics relevant for the day. The popularity of the *calendario* as a repository of information, a source of relevant data for daily life, and a means of advertising social, economic, and cultural events has persisted to this day, as demonstrated by the popular practice of most regular Filipino households to display many variations and types of calendars in many rooms of a single house. Calendars, just like novenarios, became gift items during Christmas and New Year’s Day and were placed in visible locations within the homes.

In its early history, the Iglesia Filipina Independiente as a religious community also exhibited preference to develop and use its own *novenario* and

calendario. These texts became more popular and were widely used by its members during special occasions and daily devotions than the theoretical, theological, philosophical, and historic-anthropological treatises written by its founders. However, despite the widespread use of the *Aglipayan novenario* and *calendario*, scholars who studied the Iglesia Filipina Independiente and the nationalist tendencies of the church in the Philippines have been unable to take serious account of the impact and relevance of the two texts in shaping the popular religiosity and nationalist sentiment of its members. Schumacher (1981; 1987), in his major works that extensively dealt with the *Aglipayan* movement, did not mention the existence of these texts, despite the fact that he would note the relevance of the novena in shaping popular religiosity (*ibid.*, 1982). The multivolume work of Achutegui and Bernad (1961; 1966; 1971; 1972) did not include the *Aglipayan novenario* and the *calendario* in its reproduction of primary texts and critical assessment of the *Aglipayan* movement.

It should be noted that the seeming absence of reference, much more a serious study and use of the *Aglipayan novenario* and *calendario*, was not limited to theological and historical studies of the movement. Even the current members of the church would rather not adhere to the *Aglipayan novenario* and *calendario* in its prewar form. The current *novenarios* being used by the Iglesia Filipina Independiente are more akin to the ones used by Roman Catholics than the original *novenarios*, the unique contents of which are absent in those in current usage. Moreover, the popularity of the *calendario* and their conventional use by members are no longer being observed in the contemporary period. One reason for this change may be the establishment of the concordat with the Episcopal Church in 1948 that rendered all religious and theological documents published prior to the concordat, including the *novenario* and *calendario*, as mere “historical texts” and no longer to be considered as basis for the theological guidance for its members.

In assessing the *Aglipayan novenario* and *calendario*, this article hopes to discuss a historically neglected topic and text that previous studies either had failed to recognize and acknowledge or had discussed merely tangentially. Moreover, the article attempts to discuss the impact of these popular religious texts in shaping the type of nationalism held by members of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente in its early years of existence. Finally, by focusing on the contents of the *Aglipayan novenario* and *calendario*, the paper hopes to

add to the foregrounding of the potential use of nonconventional historical documents in reconstructing the conditions of the past, which had been long realized since the publication of Iletto's (1979) path-breaking work.

Novenario ng Balintawak

The *Pagsisiyam sa Virgen sa Balintawak – Ang Virgen sa Balintawak ay ang Inang Bayan*, or more popularly referred to as the *novenario ng Balintawak* (Aglipay 1925), was one of the most popular and widely circulated and reproduced religious texts of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. It was written in Spanish and translated to Tagalog and English.¹ The novenario contained prayers and readings to be said in parts for nine days, culminating on 26 August of the year, commemorating the Cry of Balintawak that signified the official start of the Philippine Revolution. Although specially written to commemorate the church's connection with the Philippine revolution, it was also recited on almost all occasions celebrated in the church, including the novena before Christmas and All Saints' Day, for the feast days of patron saints of various parishes, and was a regular feature of household novenas recited in the private homes of its adherents done almost throughout the year.

In the preface to the novenario, Aglipay mentioned that the vision of the Virgen sa Balintawak came when Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto were sleeping in the house of Tandang Sora in Balintawak and one of them "saw in a dream a beautiful Mother dressed in the style of the farmers of Balintawak leading a pretty child by the hand, dressed like a farmer with short red pants and holding a shiny bolo shouting 'Kalayaan! Kalayaan!'"² Aglipay (1926, i) mentioned that

the Mother of Balintawak reminds you constantly of your sacred and inescapable duty to make every effort possible to obtain our longed-for Independence; and she is the sacred image of our country. The voice of the people will constantly resound from our pulpits, reminding you of the great teachings of Rizal, Mabini, Bonifacio and other Filipinos, and these teachings of our greatest compatriots will form the special seal of our National Church.

The image of the Virgen sa Balintawak (fig. 1) became one of the most popular figures of Aglipayan iconography and religious portraiture that was



Fig. 1. "Ang Virgen sa Balintawak," courtesy of the Lopez Museum Collection.

prominently displayed in a number of prewar, preconcordat Aglipayan churches across the archipelago.³

The resonance of the Virgen sa Balintawak to the Marian image with the child Jesus was not accidental. With the invocation to religious imagery of the national church, the cultivation of the image was primarily a reiteration and continuation of the Catholic tradition of religious devotion to the Marian image and to the image of the Holy Child. But what contributed to the uniqueness of the religious image was the indigenized physical features and local peasant costumes of both the Virgin and the child, and the call to freedom with which it became associated. The balintawak as a peasant costume of both the mother and the child, and the prominent bolo in the hand of the child that took the place of the usual globe (as in the Santo

Niño) and the story of the child shouting Kalayaan, not only indigenized the universal Catholic image of the Virgin with the child, but also appropriated the revolutionary call to arms of the Katipunan and oriented the icon toward a more militant and revolutionary dent. Balintawak was both the location of the virgin apparition and the type of peasant attire worn by the virgin and the child. By locating the revolutionary apparition of the virgin and the child in Balintawak, with the two dressed in balintawak peasant outfit, the Virgen sa Balintawak was being projected with its revolutionary orientation and peasant origin.

With the Virgen sa Balintawak, Aglipayan religiosity, class orientation, and nationalism became incorporated into one iconic representation. As Iletto (1979, 131) has pointed out, for the popular mind, with the Virgen sa Balintawak, "there was no clear distinction, no crisis of meaning as one image

flowed into another. One of the reasons why . . . religiopolitical groups and the Philippine Independent Church swelled with peasant members during the days of the republic and the succeeding years was because ‘nationalist’ and ‘religious’ idioms merged in them.” This loss of perceived boundaries between the “nationalist” and “religious” idioms is consistent with what Iletto advanced as his main point of evaluation for popular movements, from the Cofradia de San Jose of Apolinario de la Cruz, the Katipunan of Andres Bonifacio, to the Republika ng Katagalugan of Macario Sakay. The early Aglipayan devotion to the Virgen sa Balintawak may be similarly situated and contextualized.

Some editions of the novenario ng Balintawak also included a textual benediction of the Mother of Balintawak (Aglipay 1926, 32). The benediction served to clarify Aglipay’s regard for the image of the Virgen sa Balintawak when he mentioned

the Virgin-mother is the Country, for the Country is the only mother that can truly be called virgin, virgin as it is of lust. The Katipunero child represents the people, eager for their liberty, and their spokesmen, prophets and evangelists are the great Filipino teachers Rizal, Mabini, Bonifacio and our other countrymen whose modern sapient teachings will form the best national Gospel.

To this, he elaborated, “all great teachers of mankind have preached that every people should use all their most fervent efforts and all their resources down to the last centavo to liberate their country, and Rizal has given us the example of how a patriot should die for the redemption of his people.”

This benediction would expand the religious explanation of the iconography of the Virgen sa Balintawak. To Aglipay the image of the Virgin Mother is the motherland herself while the holy child assumed a Katipunero identity, with bolo and the cry to Kalayaan further strengthening its revolutionary roots. The Virgen sa Balintawak with a child beside it became the symbolic representation of the *inang bayan* (motherland) and *bayan* (people)—and no longer confined to Catholic imagery of the Virgin and the Holy Child. Most editions of the novenario ng Balintawak, therefore, would have as its cover the religious image of the inang bayan and the people, transposed and indigenized from the original image of the Virgin and the Holy Child. The obvious blurring of the boundaries between the sacred and the revolutionary,

between the religious and the secular, and the spiritual and the political were all to be found in the Virgen sa Balintawak.

This blurring of the boundaries between the religious and the political was manifested not only in the iconography of the Virgen sa Balintawak but also in the contents of the novenario ng Balintawak. Like most novenarios, the novenario ng Balintawak included specific sections for prayers to be said for all the nine days of the novena celebration and particular readings related to each and every prayer. All in all, there were twenty-seven readings that were spread throughout the nine prayer days of the novena.

The first eighteen readings to be read in the first seven days focused on religious exegesis and clarification on the stance of the new church vis-à-vis a number of church issues, including the debate between creation and evolution; the idea of the soul; purgatory; and the role of scientific knowledge in clarifying popular knowledge. These the novenario clarified by citing biblical passages interspersed with citations from disparate nonreligious texts from the disciplines of history, astronomy, ethnography, folklore, biology, anthropology, and other fields. The presentation always took the form of biblical passages presented as the base knowledge, and the explanations from the other disciplines as elaborations of biblical passages.

Most of these first eighteen readings were actually condensed versions of earlier Aglipayan texts often attributed to Isabelo de los Reyes, particularly the *Oficio Divino* (De los Reyes 1906) and the *Biblia Filipina* (De los Reyes 1908a). As I have noted in an earlier study (Gealogo 2006, 154), the texts clarified the position of science not only in the production of knowledge but in the clarification of religious issues, while ethnography and folklore presented religion based on scientific inquiry to best locate the position of Philippine religiosity and the emerging Philippine nation in relation to other religious communities outside the country. In a way, *Oficio Divino* and the *Biblia Filipina* were presented to

give an assessment of the various religious traditions of the world, and contextualize indigenous belief systems in these traditions. This theme, that of the Philippines-as-part-of-the-world, presents both the appreciation of de los Reyes of the universality of belief systems and the place of the Philippines in this system, as well as the uniqueness of the Philippine communities in expressing their specific and particular religious traditions. The Philippine nation as a religious community,

therefore, is both located/related in this universal world and at the same time unique in this world. (ibid., 153)

Although extensive in its treatment of religious and academic issues, it was doubtful whether the *Oficio Divino* or the *Biblia Filipina* ever attained any significant level of popular acceptance among the majority of adherents of the early Iglesia Filipina Independiente. The voluminous texts written in academic Spanish rendered the texts difficult to realize a significant level of popular appreciation by the majority of its non-Spanish reading members. The highly technical jargon and the nonintegration of the readings to day-to-day religious observance rendered it beyond the reach of most of the adherents of the church. One must also take into account the ordinary members' apparent lack of physical access to the books, which were published in Spain and apparently printed in fairly limited number of copies.

What the *Oficio Divino* and the *Biblia Filipina* failed to achieve in terms of popular acceptance was fulfilled by the novenario ng Balintawak. The readings in the *Novenario*, although these retained the major ideas propounded in the earlier *Oficio Divino* and *Biblia Filipina*, were brief, crisp, and direct to the point. Printed and widely circulated in the Philippines and with translations in the vernacular languages, the *Novenario* was able to reach the readers that the *Oficio Divino* and the *Biblia Filipina* failed to reach. Moreover, the integration of the readings to the religious practice of the novena ensured that the passages would at least be repeatedly read and recited by the majority of the adherents of the new church.

If the first eighteen readings focused on the theological, scientific, and even folkloric basis of the faith that the Iglesia Filipina Independiente tried to project as the basis of its belief, the last nine readings were undoubtedly nonreligious in orientation. Beginning with the readings on the concept of the establishment of a national church, the succeeding readings were actually compilations of writings of Filipino heroes, including the Decalogue of Mabini, the Kartilya of the Katipunan, and excerpts of Rizal's essays and letters. The inclusion of the writings of the Filipino heroes was explained in the nineteenth reading to be read on the seventh day of the novena. Again invoking the Virgen sa Balintawak, it stated

ang Virgen sa Balintawak ay sagisag ng ating Bayan at ang sanggol na katipunan na kanyang dala, ay ang Bayang Filipino, ang sumisibol na salinlahi, ang kabataang naghahangad ng pagsasarili, at ang dalawang

larawang ito ang twina'y magpapagunita sa inyo sa ating tungkuling di maiiwasan at napakabanal na gawin ang lahat ng pagsasakit upang makamtan ito. Dahil dito sa simbahang ito ay mabubuhay at tuwina'y mag-uumugong na muli ang mga aral na walang kamatayan ni Rizal at iba pang mga bayaning Filipino ukol sa ating mga tungkulin sa Dios at sa ating bayan. Kaya't mga kapatid, parito kayo'y tumulong sa dakilang gawaing ito sa pagtubos sa ating bayan at sa pagtubos ng ating budhi, sa halip na makadami sa hukbo ng mga kaaway ng bayan at ng ating pagsasarili at makaragdag pa sa kanilang puno ng kaban ng yaman. (Aglipay 1925, 42,44)

the Virgin of Balintawak is the symbol of our nation, and the Katipunan child that she bears is the Filipino nation, the rising generation, the youth that longed for independence, and the two figures are constant reminders to you of our inescapable duty to follow the sacrifices of those who suffered to obtain it. Because of this, the undying teachings of Rizal and other heroes will be kept alive by the church and will always echo in its temples, as part of our obligation to God and nation. So, brothers and sisters, come and help us in this noble task of liberating our country and our conscience, instead of enlarging the ranks of the enemies of our nation and our freedom, and adding to their vast treasures.

The inclusion of the historical and political writings of Filipino heroes, therefore, was not meant to simply rekindle the past and include the study of the nation's history as part of the performance of religious ritual. What became more important was the institutionalization of the church as the bearer of the undying principles (*aral na walang kamatayan*) of those who fought for independence, and the torchbearer of the continuing struggle of the nation, as the liberation of the people had yet to be completed and the enemies of the nation were still present. The novenario presented the role of the church not only as the repository of knowledge to be recited repeatedly through religious rituals like the novena. It presented the church as the institution that was tasked to keep constant vigilance because the objectives of freedom and liberation had yet to be fully realized by the nation. The novenario was both a text for the performance of religious ritual and a compilation of primary historical documents that would constantly remind the flock of the church's revolutionary roots and its liberating task of attaining

independence for the people. By including the historical writings of Filipino heroes as part of the novena's readings, the novenario ng Balintawak integrated the realm of religion with the realm of politics. The invocation of past historical works to serve as guide for future political tasks became one of the objectives of the novenario. *Dios at bayan*—God and nation—were fully integrated in the observance of the religious vocation. The members of the church were made fully aware of the tasks not only to fulfill religious vows but also to meet their social and national obligations.

Calendariong Maanghang

Just like the novenario ng Balintawak, the origin of the *calendariong maanghang*—sometimes interchanged with the other equally popular and widely circulated *Calendario ng Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI 1925), popularly referred to as *calendario Aglipayano*—can be traced to the authorship of Isabelo de los Reyes and Gregorio Aglipay. Mojares (2006) and Scott (1985) have both taken note that De los Reyes took full advantage of the trendiness of the calendario and almanac, and came up with his own popular version of the calendario that would reflect his political and intellectual leanings and orientation.

Among the earliest of these calendarios was the 1893 *Calendario ti El Ilocano*.⁴ It included the contents of a conventional calendario of the period: each date reflected not only the day of the week, but the assigned names of Catholic saints per day whose feast days were celebrated on specific dates, and from whose names parents could choose the names to be given to their newborn. Moreover, the *Calendario ti El Ilocano* also included secular festivities and important holidays relevant to the Spanish empire, like the birth of King Alfonso XIII as well as the cycle of the signs of the Zodiac. Other than that, there were a number of interesting innovations manifested in the *Calendario ti El Ilocano*. The most conspicuous was not only the use of the Ilocano language in the calendar, but the obvious attempt to localize the calendario with entries pertinent to Ilocano local history, local festivals, and the mention of prominent Ilocanos in significant dates of the year. The *Calendario ti El Ilocano* was prefaced with a chronology of events in Ilocano history, and it appended Ilocano essays, poems, and feature articles that reflected local concerns and conditions. Even the advertisements found in the margins of the *Calendario ti El Ilocano*, as well as in the appendix sections, were all in Ilocano language both for enterprises and businesses

in Manila and those located in the Ilocos region. More importantly, the *Calendario ti El Ilocano* contained bits and pieces of information on the cycle of Ilocano everyday life within the year: the agricultural seasons, the religious festivities, and the local academic calendar. In this manner, what De los Reyes was foregrounding was the attempt to locate the Ilocano everyday experience, Ilocano culture and literature, and the Ilocano cycle of annual experiences with the universal calendar system and the global celebrations associated with the Catholic Church, the Spanish empire, and the Western-oriented Zodiac system. Thus, the *Calendario ti El Ilocano* was similarly framed as the novenario ng Balintawak. The universal and the local had all but blurred boundaries while, at the same time, the calendario that could be utilized globally with its references to months and dates that the church and the empire would celebrate, was made relevant to local life in its everyday form.

With the *Calendario ti El Ilocano*, the stage was set for the production of a new type of text that would be made even more current, and more popular, with the establishment of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. The *calendariong maanghang* and the *calendario Aglipayano*, just like the novenario ng Balintawak, were widely circulated and used by many adherents of the new church. It would start a tradition that proved unique to the Aglipayan tradition without necessarily establishing a complete break and becoming totally unrelated to the pre-Aglipayan Roman Catholic system and linked with the universal practice of the reckoning of time brought by colonial tradition to the archipelago. On the one hand, the *calendariong maanghang* and the *calendario Aglipayano* reflected the current state of affairs of the new religious denomination and the local political advocacies of Isabelo de los Reyes and Gregorio Aglipay. On the other hand, the new calendario still tended to adhere to the universally accepted calendar system and did not totally deviate from the Western reckoning of calendrical time. Aside from the difference in their published title and nomenclature, there was really no major difference between the *calendario Aglipayano* and the *calendariong maanghang*. Most members would tend to interchange and refer to one to mean the other. The suggested personal names as entries for each dates were identical as well as the tendency to provide almanac-like entries either as marginal notes, introductory essays, or appendices. Even the adoption of a satirical tone in discussing political or religious issues was present in both.⁵

The various editions of the calendario reflected the evolution of the text through time. In the earlier calendarios, focus was given to the guide

that the calendario would traditionally project in giving baptismal names to newborn children. The early calendario did not deviate from the traditional Roman Catholic calendar that assigned specific names of saints being commemorated on specific dates as the suggested names for the newly born of the day. But in the preface to the 1908 edition (De los Reyes 1908b), Aglipay (1908, 3–5) expanded into four types the options available for deciding on the names of infants (fig. 2). These included, aside from the conventional names of Roman Catholic saints, words and attributes found in the Bible; the names of Christians who were not Roman Catholics and who figured prominently in global history and, quite intermittently for some dates of the year, the names of Filipino heroes as their deeds were celebrated on significant dates of the year, as well as local names of plants, flowers, and attributes in the various Philippine languages.

The 1908 calendario set the trend in the Aglipayan naming system. It expanded the options for the choice of names for the newborn, enabling the Filipino naming system to broaden options never before experienced during the Spanish colonial occupation. It gave options to “internationalize” Filipino names through the presentation of foreign names of individuals who figured prominently in global history. It also included names of prominent Christian individuals who were not Roman Catholic saints and those who belonged to other Christian denominations, something unimaginable during the earlier period but now totally acceptable, at least to the adherents of the new church. The roster included Kant, Fichte, Rousseau, Krause, Abreau, Newton, Schlegel, Stuart Mill, Zuingli, Voltaire, Calvin, Darwin, Tolstoi, Bolivar, Napoleon, Strauss, and Dante. Moreover, there were names of biblical origin but were not associated with Roman Catholic saints, like Enoch, Jochebed, Jared, Mahaleel, Methusael, Sem, Cetura, Cam, Jafet, Arfaxad, Heber, Faleg, Serug, Nacor, Agar, and Thare. These reflected the attempt at integrating the names of historical figures who were prominent in philosophy, literature, music, science, and politics from various epochs of human history and different societies of the world.

Viewed as a project of identity formation, the new options for name choices in the calendario revealed the Iglesia Filipina Independiente’s provision of a more global, universal alternative for Filipinos beyond what the Roman Catholic Church had offered till then. This universalizing tendency of name choices made the calendario unique in the sense that, while it openly announced that the system was a Filipino mode of assuming baptismal

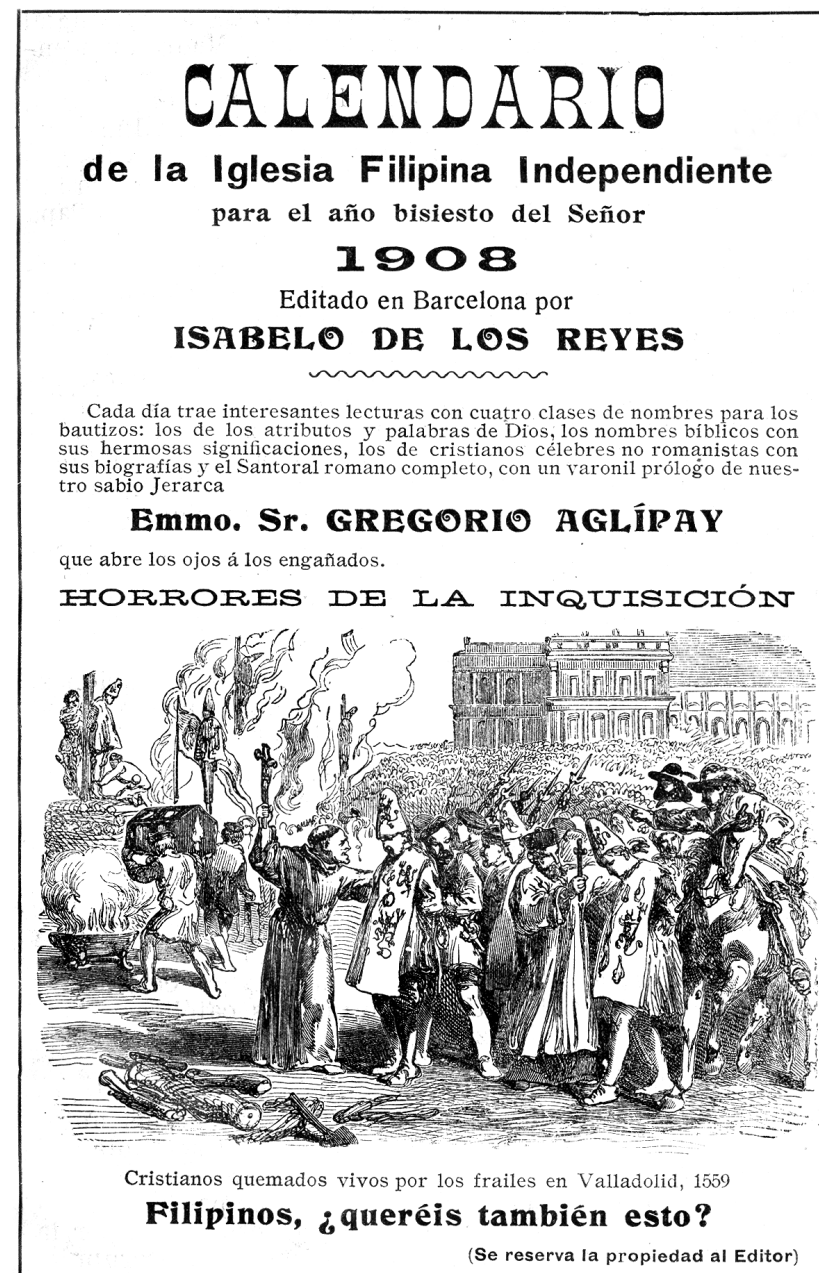


Fig. 2. Front cover, De los Reyes 1908b, courtesy of the Lopez Museum Collection.

names, the options included the names of non-Filipino personalities that had nothing to do with the development of the Philippine experience, but whom the authors thought as having contributed immensely to the global, universal human experience. With the calendario, the universal human experience could be appropriated as part of the local naming system. This seeming cosmopolitanism in the naming pattern apparently was not presented as having any contradiction with nationalism. As the more elaborate *Oficio Divino* and *Biblia Filipina* would indicate, these individuals contributed to what De los Reyes termed as the Filipino church. Moreover, a perusal of the baptismal books of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente would indicate that, although not overwhelmingly numerous, a number of children were indeed baptized using these names—a phenomenon that was totally unheard of in the earlier period.

These universalizing tendencies notwithstanding, a propensity at locating the indigenous and the local was not disregarded in the calendario. Names of prominent Filipinos like Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, Edilberto Evangelista, Pedro Bukaneg, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and others were to be found in significant historical dates as possible naming options. The baptismal records would indicate either the adoption of either the first name or the surname of the hero as the adopted baptismal name of the child, or, in some cases, two first names were given to accommodate the hero's first and last names. Moreover, indigenous names of flowers, plants, and place names were also mentioned prominently in some dates, including *cham-paca*, *kamuning*, *malvarosa*, *jazmin*, *azucena*, *cadena de amor*, *sampaguita*, and *ilang ilang*,⁶ especially for days in the month of May that was known in the Philippines as the month when most flowers bloomed.

This indigenizing tendency was further expanded in later editions of the calendario. The 1921 *Calendario "Maanghang"* (De los Reyes 1921) and the 1925 *Calendario ng Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (IFI 1925), for example, included in all days of the year at least two indigenous terms for each day as naming options for baptismal names. Some examples of these entries were Dangkal (Honor), Halimuyak (Fragrance), Bantog (Famous), Alay (Offering, Oblation), Nakatindig (Standing Up), Kayumanggi (Brown), Ligaya (Happiness, Bliss), Bayani (Hero), Haligi (Pillar, Post), Lawin (Hawk), Kahulugan (Meaning, Essence), Diwa (Essence, Soul, Sense, Consciousness), Kulasisi (Parrot), Batis (Source, Spring), Dimatinag (Immobile, Steady), Ningning (Brilliance, Sparkle, Luster), Uliran (Paragon, Exemplary), Ginhawa (Ease,

Comfort, Freedom from pain), Salubong (Reception, Welcome), Marilag (Beautiful, Gorgeous), Sapat (Ample, Enough), Pulot (Honey), Palad (Palm, Chance, Luck), Ilaw (Light), Kulog (Thunder), Makialam (Involved), Bango (Aroma, Fragrance), Kudyapi (native guitar), Awit (Song), and Sinta (Beloved).⁷ In these later calendarios, the indigenous names were no longer included just intermittently in some select dates of the year but were to be found as first entries in all the days of the year. The expansion of indigenous and local terms was never explained in the calendarios of the later period. It may be surmised that, as the calendarios evolved and gained popularity, its potential of being a transmitter and source of nationalist sentiment also gained ground. As a matter of fact, its influence spread beyond the members of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente, such that even nonmembers of the church adopted this naming style for their children, even without the guidance of the calendario.

The placement of these indigenous names in the later calendarios also signified a significant shift in the orientation of the text as a naming guide. The earlier editions put the Roman Catholic saints' names first, the biblical and other Christian, non-Catholic names next, with the indigenous names sometimes appearing only occasionally and intermittently for some dates. In the later calendarios, the indigenous and local names were placed first in the list of options, with the names of Roman Catholic saints appearing next, and the other Christian non-Catholic names appearing sporadically in some entries. This reversal of order, which put primary consideration to local and indigenous names, gave the adherents of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente a unique naming experience, as this generation of members would naturally gravitate toward the option of giving indigenous names to their offspring, and would be known for these name types. This trend reaffirmed the localizing and indigenizing type of nationalism and identity formation that members of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente tended to gravitate. While not removing the option to adopt the Roman Catholic tradition, the opening of new options for naming became a new ground for asserting nationalist positions and identity for the members of the new church (Gealogo 2010, 48).

The local and the universal in the naming options in the calendarios became interspersed and combined with each other, with the boundaries between the indigenous and the global becoming more concealed and obscured in the new nationalist expression of naming and identity formation. The nationalist identity promoted by the calendario gave the option for

choosing between the indigenous and nativist, or the universalist and international—without manifesting any sense of contradiction in the choices or options that members would be presented to take.

Aside from the major entries containing personal names in the dates of the calendarios, a significant portion of the calendario was devoted to short notations of biblical exegesis and clarifications on political issues presented either as notes of a sentence or two presented either at the start of each day, or as marginal notes for each month of the year. For the 1908 calendario, each day was presented with a biblical passage and a short explanation on dogma that at times assumed a polemical tone vis-à-vis the criticisms being hurled by the Roman Catholic Church against the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. The 1921 *calendariong maanghang* included a short note for every month, clarifying the church stance on various religious and political issues confronting the country but presented in satirical notes called “sins of the Gods.”

Meanwhile, the 1925 calendario *Aglipayano* lifted quotations from local and international heroes and presented them at the top and bottom of the page of every month. These quotations came from individuals that included not only local heroes like Mabini, Rizal, Pardo de Tavera, Aglipay, and Quezon but also non-Filipino personalities like Lincoln, Voltaire, and Wilson. Even shorter than what the readings in the *novenario* provided, these political briefs and quotations offered direct to the point, short, poignant, and simple messages that were effective because of their brevity and poignancy.

Apart from these brief notations, the calendarios assumed the character of a publication for political satire and discussion. The *Kalendariong Maanghang* (De los Reyes 1911) criticized the members of the Philippine Assembly for its inability to stand up to the American-dominated Philippine Commission, and the level of sycophancy exhibited by Filipino politicians in dealing with the American colonial masters (Scott 1985, 295). With the subtitle *sili araw araw datapwat birong kapatid lamang, kadiabluhang malaki ni Isabelo de los Reyes* (daily dose of chili, despite it being a brotherly jest, a great demonic joke by Isabelo de los Reyes),⁸ the *Kalendariong Maanghang* seriously attacked individual personalities and criticized institutions and policies implemented by the government of the day (De los Reyes 1911). The 1921 *Calendario “Maanghang”* commented on the Republican victory in the United States elections and an extensive discussion on Chinese immigration was also appended. At times satirical, at times direct to the point in its

seriousness, the articles in the *Calendario “Maanghang”* normally assumed an anti-Catholic, nationalist, and prolabor stance. Recognizing the role of the Chinese in Philippine life, the 1921 calendario categorically stated that the opposition to Chinese immigration was not based on racism but rather on the fear that Philippine labor and business would be adversely affected by the unregulated entry of Chinese in the Philippines. Critical of Filipino politicians like Quezon and Osmeña, the *calendariong maanghang* condemned their propensity to prolong American colonial occupation and postpone independence for them to retain power. The policy of Wilson of not granting recognition to the Philippine National Guard despite their preparations to participate in the First World War was also severely criticized.

The last interesting feature of the calendarios was the commercial advertisements included in the margins or appendices of each issue. Just like the earlier *Calendario ti El Ilocano*, for example, the 1921 *Calendario “Maanghang”* also carried advertisements on its pages. The texts of these advertisements would interest some scholars as they reflect not only the businesses that these enterprises were promoting but also the ways in which their messages were being conveyed to the users of the calendario. Below are some examples:

DIMAS ALANG – Kainang napipili dahil sa buti at kamurahan, tang-ing umuupa ng cocinero ng isang daang piso. Calle Nueva, Esquina ng Sacristia. May tugtugan.

DIMAS ALANG – A choice restaurant because it's good and inexpensive, the only one that employs a cook for one hundred pesos. Calle Nueva, Corner of Sacristia. A band plays here.

El 82 ng mga anak ni Roman Ongpin. Mga pintura, mga kagamitan ng zapatero, platero, carpintero, at carrocerero. Liwasan ng Binondok, 279–281.

El 82 of the sons of Roman Ongpin. Paints, wares of shoemakers, tin-smiths, carpenters, and carriage drivers. Binondok Square, 279–281.

Makabayan! Bago ka bumili sa insik, doon ka sa mga kababayan mo, sila Jacinto, Palma, hermanos. Soler 2–14. Bumibili ng sari-saring kahoy na mura.

Patriot! Before you buy from the Chinese, you should go to your compatriots like the brothers Jacinto and Palma. Soler 2–14. We buy all kinds of inexpensive wood.

Sila Jacinto, Palma hermanos. Totoong napakamura kung magbili ng kahoy, dahil sa hindi na nagtutubo ng kahoy. Makinabang lamang ang lagarian nila.

They the brothers Jacinto and Palma. Truly they sell wood at a very low price, because they do not profit from wood. So long as their saw-mill gains some benefit.

Bahay ng mahihirap – kung mayroon kayong isasangla makakukuha kayo ng mga kahoy na mura sa Tableria F. Jacinto. 954 964 Juan Luna.

Houses of the poor – if you want to mortgage anything, you can get inexpensive wood from Tableria F. Jacinto. 954 964 Juan Luna.

La Tondeña, masarap at mura ang mga alak ng mayaman na G. Carlos Palanca.

La Tondeña, tasty and inexpensive are the alcoholic drinks of the wealthy Mr. Carlos Palanca.

These are just some of the examples of the commercial advertisements placed in the *Calendario* “Maanghang.” These signify that even in the marginal spaces reserved for the advertisements placed either on top or bottom of

the page, or the right or left corner of the page, consideration to the working class slant and nationalist leanings of the readers can be noted. The *calendario* that bannered the dilemma of Chinese immigration in Philippine affairs also carried an advertisement enticing customers to buy from the Filipino instead of from Chinese traders. While the businesses of prominent Chinese enterprises like the Yangcos, the Ongpins, and the Palancas were included in the ad spaces, these were projected as being working-class friendly or at least something with which the poor might identify themselves, with the products presented as necessary for the pursuit of working-class activities. What made these advertisements interesting was the degree of accommodation that the editorial board accorded to owners of enterprises of various racial groups while at the same time the advertisements projected an inclination toward nationalist, lower-class oriented concerns. The *calendario*, therefore, went beyond what the temporality of dates and notions of the passage of time traditionally projected, but rather it ventured into relations of race, class, and nationality even in its most marginal spaces, in the advertising section of the publication.

Conclusion

In one of the most influential works on nationalism produced over the past thirty years, Benedict Anderson (2003) defined the nation as an imagined political community, and imagined as both limited and sovereign. It was limited for it has “finite boundaries” while it was imagined as sovereign from the “divinely-ordained”—implying that modern nationalism should be secular, modernist, and inward-looking.

The *Novenario ng Balintawak* and the *calendariong maanghang* were classic examples of how these notions of modernity and nationalism should not always be positioned as contrary to the formation of religious communities. Nationalism, as manifested in the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, could be both the basis of the formation of a religious community and the locus of nationalist expression and identity formation. At the same time, religion served as the basis for the articulation of rational, nationalist, scientific, and secular outlooks and perspectives. The *novenario ng Balintawak* and the *calendariong maanghang* were proof that nationalism could be imagined beyond its limited borders, as it may encompass universal values and international identities that were not presented as in conflict with the indigenizing and localizing tendencies of nation formation. The boundaries of the

nation may at times be blurred with its being part-of, and located-in, the world and at the same time identified as unique-in-this-world. Identity construction as defined by notions of time—whether on special occasions or in its everyday occurrence became a unique historical experience that religious institutions like the Iglesia Filipina Independiente projected as both limited and boundless at the same time. The sacred and the secular; the modern and the traditional; the local and the universal; as well as the political and the religious may have porous borders, so that identities may be constructed in both realms and not fall into self-conflict with the seemingly contradictory tendencies within the same nationalist project of identity formation.

Notes

- 1 For the purpose of this article the 1925 Tagalog version has been used. All translations into English are by the author, unless the English versions are cited.
- 2 Kalayaan, literally, Independence/Freedom/Liberty, but one should note the complexity of the meaning of the word. Cf. Iletto 1979, 105–6.
- 3 The popularity of the image both as a religious icon and nationalist symbol was reaffirmed when it was reproduced on the cover of Iletto's (1979) path-breaking work on the revolution.
- 4 Mojares (2006, 548) refers to an 1895 edition, but I have been able to locate and use the 1893 edition only.
- 5 For bibliographical clarity, the article refers to and cites *Calendario Aglipayano* or *Calendariong Maanghang* as they appear in the published titles of the editions used and examined here and in subsequent references. Otherwise, the generic term *calendario* is used. The manuscript collection of Saint Andrew's Theological Seminary Archives, Quezon City, was consulted for the documents referred to in De los Reyes 1893; 1906; 1908a; 1911; 1921; and IFI 1925. The University of Michigan Library Collection was the source of documents referred to in De los Reyes 1908b and 1926.
- 6 Champaca (*Michela champaca* L.), kamuning (*Muraya paniculata* L.), malvarosa (*Pelargonium graveolens*), jazmin (*Jasminum grandiflorum* L.), azucena (*Polianthes tuberosa* L.), cadena de amor (*Antigonon leptopus*), sampaguita (*Jasminum sambac* L.), ilang ilang (*Cananga odorata*). For the scientific names, see Madulid 2001.
- 7 Some of the indigenous terms that were used in the 1920s retained their original nationalist, even romantic, tone. As time progressed, however, some terms assumed a different popular meaning. Thus, individuals who were named Kulasisi would no longer be reminded of the loveable green parrot, but rather the scheming opportunistic mistress that the term had assumed since the 1950s. For a discussion of the same experience of changing meanings of names that occurred in other periods of Philippine history, see Gealogo 2010.
- 8 A similar Tagalog passage, "Bato bato sa langit, tamaan ay huwag magagalit" (literally, He who is hit should not be mad at the ones who throw stone into the air). This statement indicates a Filipino sense of political satire and humor that may be addressed to a general population but actually targeted to criticize a particular group or individual.

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