

HIMLAYAN, PANTIYON,
KAMPO SANTO,
SEMENTERYO

Exploring Philippine Cemeteries

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HIMLAYAN, PANTIYON, KAMPO SANTO, SEMENTERYO

Exploring Philippine Cemeteries

Edited by

GRACE BARRETTO-TESORO



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PREFACE

This publication is the culmination of the 'Exploring Philippine Cemeteries: Alive and Dynamic Spaces' Project initiated in 2008. The project was first conceptualized when the graduate students visited Manila Cemeteries as part of their Archaeology 241 Mortuary Analysis graduate class at the University of the Philippines-Archaeological Studies Program. We have realized that contrary to the notion that cemeteries are dead and forgotten spaces, these grounds are alive and dynamic spaces.

In February 2011, early versions of the papers included here were presented in a Colloquium at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. In this volume, we presented selected papers from the colloquium discussing why cemeteries are alive and dynamic spaces. Names of private individuals have been blurred from the photos to protect their privacy.

We would like to thank the following institutions and individuals for supporting the project and the publication of this book:

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INTRODUCTION

As cited in the Preface of this volume, the *Exploring Philippine Cemeteries: Alive and Dynamic Spaces Project* began as part of the graduate course Archaeology 241: Mortuary Analysis at the Archaeological Studies Program of the University of the Philippines. The main purpose of the study trips to cemeteries was to provide concrete material evidence for concepts discussed in the class. In the course of these visits, I realized the large potential of investigating cemeteries to understand the inner workings of Philippine societies in dealing with death and grief and how the living reanimates the deceased to fit a purpose.

“The project” attempts to assess the potential of cemeteries for archaeological, artistic, cultural, and historical studies. Although a number of studies have looked at cemeteries from historical and architectural perspectives in the Philippines (Miller 1906; Mahoney 1987; Dakudao 1992; Halili et al. 2005; Gaerlan 2010), the cultural aspect needs more attention. Gaerlan (2010) mentioned four other works on Philippine cemeteries: Jeffrey A. Lubang’s *Pantyon: Ilang Pamahiin, Tradisyon, at Kuwento ng Paglilibing sa Kabite* published in 2007, Lorelie De Viana’s *Public Sanitation and Cemeteries in 19th Century Manila* published in 2004, Manuel Maximo Lopez Del Castillo-Noche’s *Nacio Fallecio: The Art and Architecture of Spanish*

Colonial Baptistery and Cemeteries in the Philippines published in 2005, and Mary Joy Rosal-Sumagaysay's *The Stone Cemeteries of Iloilo* published in 2005. Del Castillo-Noche and Rosal-Sumagaysay examined architectural styles of mausoleums in cemeteries and commented on their poor conditions, calling for the preservation of these cemeteries (Gaerlan 2010). Mortuary studies in the Philippines have focused on archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical sources to learn more about past burial practices (Barretto 2000; Barretto-Tesoro 2008c; Barretto-Tesoro and Reyes 2013). To date, historical cemeteries have not yet been maximized in academic research in the Philippines.

Memorials and cemeteries are sources of information that can explore aspects of death and material culture associated with death other than the disposal of the body. According to Mytum (2004) and Rugg (1998), a wide-range of topics can be investigated in cemeteries of the historic period including commemoration, the manner of commemoration, grief, identity, decorations, symbols, architecture, genealogy, landscape, corpse, cemetery as a cultural institution, and other attributes of burial grounds. Lim (2011) captures an alternative history of Hong Kong through its cemetery. Other than just a listing of the dead, the book examines the lives of the people buried here and how they helped shaped Hong Kong. It is a fascinating approach to cemetery studies because it articulates the lives of individuals who in conventional history remain unnamed and unrecognized. Francis et al. (2005) wrote a book entitled *The Secret Cemetery*, which likewise was inspired by a class. Collaborating with an anthropologist and a sociologist, they looked at how modern British society 'used cemeteries' (Francis et al. 2005:2). The authors documented the many ways mourners attempt to keep the memory of their dead alive. The surviving members of the family decide and maintain the final form and appearance of the graves and their upkeep. As cemeteries are considered the eternal homes of the dead, the cemetery landscape influences the decision of the living as to where to bury their dead.

Several Internet articles study various aspects of cemeteries that illustrate these places to be sources of valuable information that should be explored in the context of Philippine cemeteries to understand death, history, and culture. We can look at cemeteries and their preservation, cultural significance of gravestones, and document the mourning process and maintenance of memory that are universal. Cemeteries are sources of

information on how personal and group identities, political power, gender, and sex are represented. We can also trace religious affiliation, ethnicity, status, and trade on the stylistic design and location of burial structures. These 'silent stones' are, therefore, active symbols. They expressed who the deceased was in life which at the same time also reveals the living's view towards death. Tombstone designs create and perpetuate myths and stories about the deceased that in turn increases the mystery and mysticism of cemeteries in general.

Cemeteries are cultural heritage sites because they are venues where customs and traditions relating to the dead and survivors are played out (Barretto-Tesoro 2012). These customs and traditions are evident in the material culture such as the tombstones themselves. Although many factors affect what are inscribed on the tombstones and styles of mausoleums, there is no denying that these burial structures are representations and vehicles of Filipino culture. We propose that the mausoleums have the potential to inform us of architectural styles from different time periods and should not just be viewed as places of heritage sites. Cemeteries are arenas of the Philippines' colonial history. The blending and juxtaposition of the Spanish legacy of Christianity, Western architecture, Chinese architecture, and indigenous belief system are manifested in Philippine cemeteries. They also tell stories that influence Philippine society.

Currently, a Facebook Page *Sementeryo: Heritage Cemeteries of the Philippines* show a collection of photo documentation on Philippine cemeteries built during the Spanish period. The administrators of the web page feel that these cemeteries are undervalued heritage spaces which is why they aim to promote these cemeteries to get the attention of conservation and heritage workers to protect and preserve these sites. The site features cemeteries from all over the Philippines and the photographs are accompanied with a short history of the cemetery including prominent figures buried there and the architectural styles of the burial structures. Hence, the interest in historical cemeteries in the Philippines is not limited to academics. At present, these structures are threatened by neglect and vandalism. Many caretakers have transformed tombstones and mausoleums into living quarters. Such is the case observed in some public cemeteries. Mausoleums, which have been neglected by the owners, have been converted into living spaces. Just like old Spanish churches that need to be conserved and protected, we implore that the same be done with decrepit mausoleums. Just like old churches, they

remind us of the Philippines' colorful history. Overall, cemeteries have the potential to contribute to cultural and historical studies.

Although cemetery locations are demarcated in the physical landscape, their social landscape is dominated by the living creating a vigorous and dynamic space. The physical and social landscape overlap such that some individuals transform cemeteries into their living spaces. Using the cemetery as a backdrop, settlements are established here where lines between the living and dead are either blurred or crossed. These distinctions are lost because the choice of residing in a cemetery became the only option rationalized by poverty on one hand. On the other hand, the pre-Hispanic custom of burying the dead within settlements (Barretto 2000; Barretto-Tesoro 2008c) that allows the living and spirits to dwell in one physical realm continues through the belief that spirits can be appeased if certain rituals and proper behavior are followed. The notion of the cemetery as sacred ground is betrayed by the irreverence observed. These conflicting concepts make the cemetery come alive as the gravestones accommodate the living and the living make themselves comfortable among the dead.

Full of "silent stones," the decorations and inscriptions on tombstones and mausoleums show snippets of the lives of the deceased. These fragments of information are bestowed by the living. They provide information about how the family remembers the deceased which accentuate the latter's best qualities. The living infuse the cemetery with their feelings through the epitaphs and offerings which leave tangible evidence of their interaction with the dead, evoking an array of emotions including sympathy, pride, anger, sorrow, pity, and serenity from its viewers. Unbeknownst to them, the deceased, mourners, and visitors become actors entangled with each other performing in silence and in private and yet, in full view of others on the cemetery stage.

There are five articles in this volume. The first four articles focus on various aspects of identity such as age, ethnicity, social identity, and social group affiliation. The last article argues for the heritage value of Philippine cemeteries. The articles are arranged in this manner to indicate how identity developed and progressed. Age is an aspect of identity that is common and shared by all upon birth. Individuals can be categorized as an infant, child, adolescent (juvenile), and adult in many cultures. What is interesting is that these concepts, although present in all cultures around the world, can be viewed differently. Similarly, ethnicity is something that is naturally obtained

upon birth. Nevertheless, that can be altered later in life. Usually, ethnicity is inherited from the parents. However, mobility and increasing cultural interactions can blur ethnic lines. Ethnicity may also be bestowed upon a person by virtue of being born in a particular place or as an acquired identity. As a child moves into adulthood, social activities including membership in an organization may add another layer to his or her identity other than being defined by age or ethnic affiliation. Closing the volume is a call for assessing the heritage of cemeteries.

In *Angels on Earth: Investigating Infant and Children Burials in Manila Cemeteries*, Grace Barretto-Tesoro is interested in how fetuses and children are treated in death. She looked at the locations of non-adults in the cemetery landscape and learned that there are designated burial places for these individuals. Epitaphs and designs on tombstones emphasized the unexpected or unfortunate deaths of these non-adults at very young ages. What was striking in her research was that burial locations are determined depending on whether the infant has received the sacrament of baptism or not. Although differential burial treatment of non-adults in archaeological sites exist (Barretto-Tesoro 2008b), the baptism ritual became a determining factor in the personhood of infants.

Donna Mae N. Arriola's and Eleanor Marie S. Lim's article *Angels and Dragons in the Manila Chinese Cemetery* is interesting because it looked at how symbolisms were utilized in a Chinese Cemetery. At the Manila Chinese Cemetery, active attempts to maintain Chinese customs and traditions in a foreign country can be observed in the terrain of the cemetery and the designs on the burial structures. It is a testimony also to the resiliency of the ethnic Chinese who have migrated in the Philippines during the Spanish occupation. Despite their low status in society being Chinese who were non-Catholics, they were able to thrive in the *parian*. The colonial government required the Chinese to reside in the parian, a district intended for them outside Intramuros as they were viewed as heathens and should have their own separate cemetery. Arriola and Lim noted that what appears as decorations are actually replete with meanings commonly associated with longevity, protection, and good fortune. They also documented the influence of Christianity in some areas of the Chinese cemetery. Many of the epitaphs are written in Chinese script. Through the years, the Manila Chinese Cemetery tombstones started bearing Anglicized names inscriptions using the Roman alphabet. Many

of the early tombstones indicate the origins of the deceased as they were buried in a foreign land. The epitaphs of males also include information on the number of wives and whether they are still living or not are also inscribed on the tombstones. There is also pride in the number of children as their names are also indicated on the tombstones. From the article, one can surmise the Chinese's strong affinity to its own cultural group, regardless of a dominant cultural influence as can be seen in the Manila Chinese Cemetery.

The concept of how a person is recognized as a patriot is explored by Andrea Malaya M. Ragragio in her paper *Ang Mamatay ng Dahil Sa Iyo: Patriots' Graves at Manila Cemeteries and Neighboring Provinces*. Identifying someone as a patriot is hinged on that person's activities during a particular event of our nation's history wherein its sovereignty was greatly affected by social and political conditions occurring during that specific place and time. One case that Ragragio pursued is the burials of the Philippine revolutionaries against Spain in the late 1800s. What is interesting in Ragragio's paper is that she traced the lives of the individuals she considers patriots after the revolution. She demonstrated that patriotism can take various forms and allegiances can shift. Regardless, most individuals were remembered for what they did for the *bayan* or country. She also looked at patriots who were considered radicals by the government but who were in fact, viewed by others, as serving the interest of the nation. There were other individuals who displayed their patriotism through the arts. Ragragio pointed out that the burial structures for some of the patriots may excessively display their patriotism or sometimes not capture the patriotic deeds of the deceased. There are several instances when it is the deceased's family who highlights the patriotic identity of the individual on his/her burial structure when it should be the national government that upholds the idea of patriotism. Ragragio demonstrated in her chapter that viewers can differently interpret patriotism as heavily influenced by their own political agenda. Regardless of the public roles of the individuals considered patriots in her paper, it appears that families assume the role of overseeing the final resting place of the deceased.

Kathleen D. C. Tantuico and Omar K. Choa's documented the tragic deaths of the Philippine Boy Scouts in the early 1960s in their article *Death, Grief, and Memorial: A Review of the Boy Scouts Tragedy of 1963*. Through an interview with the parents of one of the Boy Scouts, Tantuico and Choa were able to describe the anguish all the parents went through as they looked for

and identified their son's body. Some were fortunate because they found their son's body and brought them back to the Philippines and buried them, while others buried an empty coffin. Representing the Philippines in an international jamboree, the Boy Scouts were considered heroes after their untimely deaths. They left the Philippines as unknown private citizens and came back as public figures. The Philippine government made efforts to honor the Boy Scouts by holding a public wake and funeral and establishing memorials for them in the Manila North Cemetery and in Quezon City. Despite of their new status as heroes obtained after their deaths, they were still viewed as children by their parents. There seems to be a disconnect between the national government and the parents in the burial treatment of the boys. Wanting a private ceremony, some parents buried their sons, whether the body was present or not, in their hometowns or in family plots rather than in the government-sponsored memorial at the Manila North Cemetery. The article demonstrates that burial structures may not necessarily aptly represent the deceased. In this case, the memorial highlighted the public identity of the Boy Scouts in the light of the tragic event, whereas, to the parents, they were young boys who were gone too soon.

Colonial Period Cemeteries as Filipino Heritage written by Michelle S. Eusebio is a passionately written paper on why colonial period cemeteries should be considered heritage sites. She listed several heritage values applied to more popular sites and explored if the cemeteries in question exhibit these values. Eusebio started a survey of the cemeteries and assess their current conditions. She explains the challenges heritage workers face in developing cemeteries as heritage areas. In some countries, historical cemeteries have attained a heritage status. Filipinos should be able to shift their mind-set towards cemeteries and regard these places for the dead not as dead ends but as sites that can actually lead to discoveries about the social past of a place through the analysis of tombstones.

We hope that through these papers, we can encourage other scholars to look at cemeteries differently.

Grace Barretto-Tesoro

Chapter 1

ANGELS ON EARTH:

Investigating Infant and Children Burials in Manila Cemeteries

Grace Barretto-Tesoro

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2008, the graduate class Archaeology 241 (Mortuary Analysis in Archaeology) of the University of the Philippines-Archaeological Studies Program visited several cemeteries to observe how people were represented in death. One of the cemeteries visited was the Manila North Cemetery where we observed group plots based on ethnicity, occupation, organization, and family plots. These are among the most common categories of group plots noted. A designated area was also allotted for infants. In subsequent visits to other cemeteries such as the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, Manila South Cemetery, and the Paco Park Cemetery, it became apparent that infants and children received burial treatment different from adults. The visits provided an opportunity to look at the many facets of cemeteries—hence, the Exploring Philippine Cemeteries: Alive and Dynamic Spaces Project. The project aims to understand the dynamics and interactions in cemeteries such as those between people living in the area and the visitors and between the living and the dead. In this project, we also investigate material qualities of cemeteries such as architectural styles of mausoleums, designs, styles, and size of tombstones and epitaphs, and what these mean to visitors and the families

and/or organizations who commissioned the mausoleums, memorials, and tombstones. The project officially started in 2010 and culminated in a colloquium at the University of the Philippines at Diliman in February 2011.

This paper investigates infants and children burials in present-day Manila cemeteries. How do adults view the death of very young individuals? Are they considered full members of society or mischievous spirits? Are they included in or excluded from society? What aspects of their identities are highlighted in their burials? How are male and female non-adults buried? What are the material expressions of grief? Where are their graves located in cemeteries? Is there a difference in the treatment of infants and children? How is the social status of the family reflected in the burials? This paper attempts to understand the attitudes towards death of very young individuals by examining the styles of tombs, the location of the tombs in the cemetery, material offerings, and epitaphs. The last section of this paper will show how the results of this research were used to gain new perspectives on archaeological sites with infant and children burials.

PREVIOUS WORK ON INFANTS AND CHILDREN

Recent theoretical development in archaeology has provided an opportunity for scholars to explore the roles of infants and children in the past including their participation in adult activities and how adults relate with them and how society views their untimely deaths (Sofaer Derevenski 1994b; Scott 1999; Baxter 2006). Identity studies now include the roles of non-adults in the ancient past (Díaz-Andreu et al. 2005). Some have identified children in non-mortuary contexts (Bower 2010). The edited volumes by Kamp (2002) and Baxter (2006) demonstrate the different approaches to understanding children's activities, socialization, concepts, and constructions of childhood, expressions of childhood in the archaeological record, learning activities, children as apprentices, children's contributions to labor and craft production (Menon and Varma 2010), representation in the media of children in prehistory, child care paraphernalia, health and diseases, and rites of passage.

There is a growing interest on infant and children burials in ancient Southeast Asia (Beauclair 1967; Coupey 2008; Halcrow et al. 2008; Oxenham et al. 2008; Wangthongchaicharoen 2008). Outside the region,

studies encompass a variety of topics such as infanticide in the third and fourth centuries AD in Europe and child sacrifice in the early Middle Ages (Mays 1993; Becker 1995), the protective importance of houses which served as burial grounds of infants during the Mesolithic and early Neolithic in Europe (Borić and Stefanović 2006), recognition of infant and children through headstones from the 17th century in Ireland (McKerr and Murphy 2008), and even the objectification of infants during the Iron Age in England (Lally 2008). In the Philippine context, work on infants and children in archaeology is very limited because it is generally a relatively new topic. The earliest study explicitly discussing infants and children in Philippine archaeology was in 2008 (Barretto-Tesoro 2008b). Although, non-adults have been recovered in archaeological sites, no in-depth analyses were conducted to consider age as a factor in burial treatment. It was mostly adult-centric and the presence of children or infants in such sites would most of the time stop at describing the burials or interpreted as having ascribed statuses.

In 2003, the excavation of the stone ruins in Lumang Bayan in Sta. Teresita, Batangas, interpreted as a church complex, produced unique finds (Paz 2003). Small modern glass jars were unearthed which contained black fluid that turned out to be the remains of fetuses in blood. Locals in the area were aware that the whole site was still being utilized as a 'burial ground' for fetuses. *Agas* is the Tagalog word that refers to a dead fetus that did not reach full term due to the termination of pregnancy either through miscarriage or abortion. What was obvious in Lumang Bayan was the differential treatment in the handling of the fetuses. They were neither placed in a 'proper' burial receptacle nor buried in a 'proper' cemetery. Since this practice of burying *agas* in Sta. Teresita occurs in modern times, a 'proper' burial receptacle will refer to coffins and a 'proper' cemetery are formal cemeteries designated by the government or church. In ancient Philippines, a 'proper' burial receptacle included ceramic jars, wooden coffins/biers and/or pottery coffins; and a 'proper' cemetery includes tree trunks, caves, or hilltops (Barretto 2000). In general, cemeteries in the Philippines do not accept such burials since the fetus was not yet considered human because they were not yet physically fully developed (Barretto-Tesoro 2007). Only stillborn infants with visibly complete body parts can be buried in formal cemeteries. It is common practice among Christians to have newborn infants baptized and the dying or the corpse blessed by a priest before burial. Even if an *agas* was not baptized and

not blessed prior to burial, mothers opted to bury their agas in the Lumang Bayan site because they see the abandoned church as sacred and is the closest they could get to a cemetery. Although the agas lacks the first and last sacraments any Catholic must undergo, the nature of the site being a church gives the family comfort that their agas were buried in a consecrated place. In the early 1900s, the site was also utilized as burial ground for people who probably died of cholera (Paz 2003). After the excavation of Lumang Bayan, an expanded research followed. The research explored how fetuses, infants, and children in the Philippines were treated in death based on archival records, folklore, and archaeology (Barretto-Tesoro 2008b). Barretto-Tesoro (2008b) described superstitious beliefs which pregnant women followed and the impact of Christianity on burial traditions. As mentioned above, there are almost no studies on non-adults in Philippine archaeology. Infants and children are identified in the archaeological record (Barretto-Tesoro 2008b) but an understanding of their roles and how they were viewed in the past still need to be investigated. Little has been written on this specific segment of society (Barretto-Tesoro 2007; 2008a; and 2008b) and archaeological studies on this topic continue to be uncommon in the Philippines.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research initiative has the following objectives and research questions:

1. To explore the personhood of infants and children. Do differences exist in the burials of infants and children? How are sex, age, and other personal traits of infants and children presented in burials? *Sanggol* and *bata* are Filipino words that refer to infants and children respectively. Each has specific qualities to be considered as such and shall be discussed here. Different views exist on the transition from fetus to person and from infants to children. From the perspective of the Vatican, embryos are humans. For obstetrician-gynecologists and bioethicists, human life begins at the moment of fertilization. During the embryonic stage when no physical features are recognizable,

these cells are referred to as *dugo pa lang* (just blood), which is a common notion among many Filipinos when viewing miscarriages (Barretto-Tesoro 2007), hence are not yet persons. Eight weeks after conception, the cells would have then developed to form distinguishable human characteristic and referred to as fetuses (Carlson 2004). This paper will investigate the cultural constructs of what constitutes the personhood of infants and children and how these are displayed in burials. It will not debate on the philosophical view on when human life really begins.

2. To examine the transformation of infants and children from physical beings to spirits. What aspects of the burials suggest transformation? Infants who at the time of death remained unbaptized were believed to become malicious spirits whereas those baptized became angels. I am also interested in assessing the impact of Christianization on children burials. Lucy (1994) has demonstrated that in medieval cemeteries, children burials during the pre-Christian period differ from those during the Christian era. The arrival of Christianity in the Philippines signalled the institutionalization of an important ritual that infants should undergo. The rite of baptism formally introduces the infant into the Christian world. The well-being of infants is dependent on baptism (Barretto-Tesoro 2007 and 2008b). Failure to have a child baptized is seen as the parents' fault and can result in the child's burial being disallowed in sacred ground. It is believed that the absence of baptism may lead the spirit of the deceased to create mischief in the world of the living or may even be transformed to a malevolent being called *tiyanak*. Ethnohistoric accounts of *tiyanak* or *patianac* indicate that they were believed to be evil spirits that preyed on newborn infants (de San Agustin 1720; de San Antonio 1738; Ortiz 1731; Zúñiga 1803). Plasencia's 1589 account which was dated more than 100 years earlier than de San Agustin's in 1720 wrote that *patianac* were the women who died from childbirth. These accounts show the *patianac* were not derived from dead infants and that the association of the term with such most probably appeared much later in the context of baptism. Such transformation of meanings is

not uncommon during the conversion of early Filipinos to Christianity (See Meñez 1996).

3. To address issues of inclusion or exclusion of infants and children based on the material characteristics of their burials. Are infants and children segregated from or incorporated in the cemetery landscape? Others have looked at infants in cemeteries (Herring et al. 1994; McKerr and Murphy 2008) and have observed that they were located in specific places both in prehistory and contemporary times (Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Dakudao 1992; Parker Pearson 1999; Scott 1999; Barretto 2000; Rothschild 2002; Murail et al 2004; Halcrow et al. 2008). I want to see if this is also true in the cemeteries included in the study.
4. To assess how grief and status are expressed in non-adult burials. In Philippine archaeological sites where infants and children were recovered, the interpretation centers on the socioeconomic status of the non-adult or its family. How is socioeconomic status evident in the burials? Losing a child is so traumatic that parents' grief may also be expressed in the burials (Parker Pearson 1999). This article will also investigate the parents' strategy for handling grief. Francis et al. (2005) discusses how parents cope with the loss of a child. Regardless of the cultural background, words such as 'anguish', 'grief', and 'comfort' are terms commonly used by parents. Francis et al. discovered that some parents visited the graves to look for comfort even if the 'cemetery offered no comfort' (172) and sometimes 'keep the memory' (173) of their child.

METHOD

The main method employed was a walk survey through the cemeteries. Photographs of the tombs and mausoleum were taken during these surveys. We recorded tomb styles and colors, measured sizes of tombs and crypts, and recorded epitaphs. We interviewed cemetery officials and conducted archival research. Maps of the cemeteries were requested from the cemetery

administration and National Mapping and Resource Information Authority (NAMRIA) in order to locate and map the tombs. Our knowledge about the cemeteries was enriched from participating in cemetery walking tours conducted by the Heritage Conservation Society and the Old Manila Walks. The data for this paper come from Manila cemeteries. It will assess adults' attitudes towards the death of very young people by examining the material attributes of the burials such as types and designs of burial structures, offerings, epitaphs, and their location in the cemetery.

SOURCE OF DATA

The cemeteries included in this study are the Manila North Cemetery, Manila South Cemetery, the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, and the Paco Park Cemetery. The original research centered on old Manila cemeteries so these four were the primary cemeteries visited. The cemeteries were established in the late 1800s or early 1900s and they occupy a large area so that a variety of burials and changes in burial representation can be examined. La Loma Catholic Church and the Paco Church were built during the late Spanish colonial period and the Manila North and Manila South cemeteries were constructed during the early part of the American colonial occupation. Two of these cemeteries are public and the other two are Catholic cemeteries. I shall also compare the non-adult burials in Catholic and non-Catholic cemeteries.

La Loma Catholic Cemetery or *Campo Santo de La Loma* opened in 1884. It was originally called *Cementerio de Binondo* but was under the jurisdiction of Sta Cruz. This cemetery initially did not accept non-Catholics, subversives, and those who died of contagious illnesses such as cholera and dysentery according to Ivan Man Dy (personal communication, December 4, 2010) of Old Manila Walks. Part of it is located in Manila and the Northwestern section is in present-day Caloocan.

The *Cementerio General de Paco* originally called *Cementerio General de Paco* is now known as the Paco Park. This cemetery was home to the victims of the 1820 cholera epidemic but was not originally built for this purpose. Paco cemetery was built in the Bagumbayan in San Fernando de Dilao or Paco town (Historical Research and Markers Committee 1938). It was built in the 1820s, served as a cemetery until 1913 and converted into a park

in 1966. The general plan of Paco Park is composed of 'two concentric circular walls, three meters apart and about four meters in height. The walls measure about two meters in width The face of the wall is sectioned into openings of niches inside, grouped in three tiers, with each niche large enough to contain a casket' (Dakudao 1998, 263). There are about 1782 niches, 500 of which are in the section known as *Angelorio* where children and infants were buried (Dakudao 1998). The construction materials used were blocks of 'adobe,' actually hardened volcanic tuff called 'sillar' by Spaniards. In 1859, the cemetery was enlarged to 4500 square yards.

The *Cementerio del Norte* or Manila North Cemetery was built in 1904 in the Santa Cruz district of Manila. The Manila North Cemetery's proposed plan was a 'heart-shaped pattern bisected in the middle by an avenue' but the actual shape is an 'elongated heart, appearing more like a leaf, with the main avenue intersected by smaller arteries forming irregular blocks for burial plots' (Dakudao 1998, 267). Members of elite families and politicians were buried here (Barretto-Tesoro and Reyes 2008; 2013). Group plots including Filipino revolutionaries, firemen, masons, military, Jews, Thomasites, and war veterans are found here including the Boy Scouts who died in the tragic airplane crash on their way to the 11th World Scout Jamboree in Athens, Greece in 1963.

The Manila South Cemetery or *Cementerio del Sur* was built in 1925 in San Pedro, Makati which was part of the Sta. Ana district in Manila until 1901 (Barretto-Tesoro 2011). Following a grid-like pattern, it has its share of well-known occupants. The most famous is former Philippine president Elpidio Quirino.

THE INFANT AND CHILDREN BURIALS

Four factors are investigated in this paper to understand how infants and children are buried in cemeteries. Similar factors are used to investigate burials in archaeological sites (Scott 1999). These are (1) locations in the cemetery landscape; (2) burial styles including tomb size, designs, or decorations (colors); (3) epitaphs or inscriptions found on tomb markers; and (4) offerings.



Figure 1.1: The Angelito Section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)

Locations

The *Angelito* (Little Angel) Section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery is reserved for full-term infants who did not reach one year of age. The Angelito Section is composed of three separate structures of four tiers on each side with eight niches on each tier (Figure 1.1). These are called Apartment Niches. The main structure is 241 cms high and each niche is 50 cm x 50 cm with 46 cm borders on all sides between each niche. Statues of cherubims are positioned atop the structure apart from the individual angels engraved or painted on the tomb markers. The infants in the Angelito Section



Figure 1.2: Infant burials dating to the early 1900s at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Michelle Eusebio)

were not placed in coffins but in carton boxes or specially made wood boxes. The area is overgrown with vegetation and was scheduled to be torn down for redevelopment as of August 2010.¹ This is to accommodate more burials. In the older section of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, infant burials dating to the 1920s were also found to be located in a designated area (Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.3: The Child Apartment Section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Michelle Eusebio)



Figure 1.4: The *Alanganin* Section found on top of adult niches at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)



Figure 1.5: The Querubin Section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)

In the same cemetery, there is a Child Apartment Section where 1–6 year-olds are supposedly interred; but during the survey, it was found that some infants were also buried there (Figure 1.3). Children from 7–12-years of age are buried elsewhere because of the coffin size. The *Alanganin*² Section was established only in 2010 (Figure 1.4). This section is for children aged 7–12 year olds, who were considered not ‘bata’ or young enough anymore to be buried in the Angelito Section and too young to be considered adults. Thus, they are ‘in-between’ stages. Prior to 2010, 7–12 year-olds were buried with adults.

As of August 2010, the cost of burying in the Alanganin Section is PHP 7,000 compared to that of adults, which cost PHP15,000. The Alanganin Section is made of three tiers of niches positioned above two tiers of adult niches.

To accommodate more children burials, structures were in the process of completion as of August 2010. This section was labelled ‘QUERUBIN’ (Cherub) (Figure 1.5) and resembles the Angelito Section.



Figure 1.6: The niches for fetuses in an unnamed section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photos by Archie Tesoro)

An unusual section of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery is three concrete structures forming a letter U. Each structure has three rows of niches located at the corner of San Lorenzo Apartments (Figure 1.6). Unlike the Angelito section, most of these niches do not have permanent stone markers. The detached two structures are 98 cm wide and 115 cm high. These are three-tiered structures with ten niches on each tier on each side. Each niche is about 33 cm x 30 cm and smaller than those in the Angelito Section. Names of the deceased were written in cement, which irregularly covers the niches. One niche was painted pink to indicate the sex of the infant. According to Fr. Adrian Magnait and Mrs. Susana Elumba (personal communication, October 10, 2011), the Administrator and Records Department Head of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery respectively, buried in this unnamed section are the following: fetuses abandoned in hospitals or disposed in public places and miscarried fetuses from indigent families. Some aborted babies are also interred here, although a separate section for them was established in 1990 as discussed below. Instead of a baptism, these fetuses received a blessing before burial. La Loma Catholic Cemetery provides burial services gratis. The fetuses are placed in bottles or wrapped in cloth and placed in shoe boxes. Due to the small size of these fetus containers, a niche may accommodate many bottles or boxes piled on top of each other. The temporary cement seal displays the latest occupant's name. Since the service is free, it is uncommon



Figure 1.7: Tomb of the Aborted Babies at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

for these niches to have permanent gravemarkers. Fetuses with no known relatives are labeled 'Baby Boy' or 'Baby Girl'. According to the cemetery officials, they have not accepted such burials since 2009 because La Loma is a Catholic Cemetery. Apart from these unnamed niches, another apartment of niches, fronting the old chapel, located at the back of the La Loma Catholic

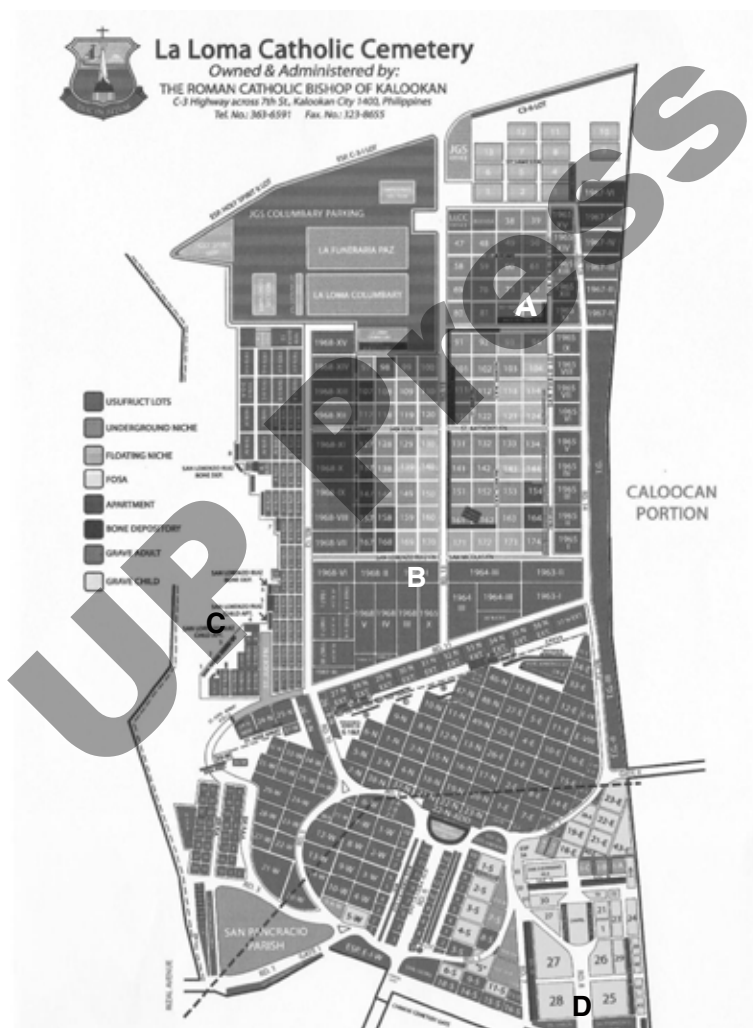


Figure 1.8: Map of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery showing areas of designated areas for infants and children. A – Angelito Section, B – Niches for fetuses, C – Children Apartments, D – Tomb of the Aborted Babies (modified from the map courtesy of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery)

Cemetery is also dedicated to aborted babies. Called the *Tomb of Aborted Babies*, it is made up of three tiers of niches. Nine niches are found in each tier. On top of the apartment niches set against the wall, is a statue of Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Figure 1.7). The niches bear the names of the occupants. Figure 1.8 is a map of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery that shows the locations of the fetuses, infants, and children burials.



Figure 1.9: H(e)aven for the Unborn found in the Manila North Cemetery (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

During our visit to the Manila North Cemetery in 2008, we found beneath the *Mausoleo de Los Veteranos de la Revolución* a tomb called the *H(e)aven for the Unborn* (Figure 1.9). We were informed that these infants were abandoned in Manila hospitals but their niches indicate otherwise. The epitaphs were personalized and some even had food offerings. In our last visit in November 2010, the label was missing and the tombs appeared to be empty.

The South Cemetery also has a special place for infants (Figure 1.10). These are niches decorated with angels. Another set of tombs are separated from the others where statues of young angels are not as common. They are found at the corner of Streets G and O (Figure 1.11). Based on the survey conducted by Noel Amano, a member of the project, in South Cemetery, graves of children were found in zones 17, 18, 25, and 26. These zones were labeled as ‘*Lupang Bata*’ or Land of/ for Children (Figure 1.12). Within the ‘*Lupang Bata*’ Zones, other infant



Figure 1.10: Infant niches in the Manila South Cemetery ‘guarded’ with statues of angels (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

MANILA SOUTH CEMETERY
VICINITY MAP

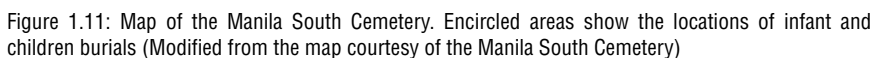




Figure 1.12: Group of infant and children burials at the Manila South Cemetery accompanied with crosses and angels (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)



Figure 1.13: Infant burial marked and separated from others by marking the perimeter with plants (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

Burial styles

It is common to see sculptures, statues, or painting of cherubs incorporated in the infants' and children's tombs. Young angels can be seen playing musical instruments on opposite sides of the name marker (Figure 1.14). Some have a small cross on top of the tombstone or a combination of a cross and a cherub. One had a cross on top of the tombstone and in the middle of the cross is a cherub. Another design was that of a cross on top of the tomb with the name written on it and the dates of birth and death.



Figure 1.14: Angels adorning the niches (Photo by Archie Tesoro)



Figure 1.15: Colored niches indicating sex of deceased, the niches with a boxed outline are actually blue while the niches with an oblong outline are actually pink. Boys are interred in blue-colored niches while girls are interred in pink-colored niches.(Photo by Archie Tesoro)

Except for those in the Paco Park Cemetery, most tombs are painted white. Some tombs are painted pink or (varying shades of) blue (Figure 1.15). It is not common to find other colors; though, green is sometimes used for niches belonging to males and yellow for females. One female's tomb was painted red. A flower or a star before a date indicates birth while a cross before a date indicates death. Those who died on the same day they were born are indicated with a cross inside the flower before the date. Variations of this design exist. Some include glazed in ceramic photos of the infants and the children as part of the marker. This is a relatively recent development and dated around the first decade of the 21st century.

Old infant burials dating to the early 1900s found at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery had designs on top of tombstones resembling a memorial. Some had obelisks or cherubs, and inscriptions were written in Spanish. In a more affluent part of the cemetery in Manila North Cemetery, a five-year old boy's tomb is decorated with his bust sculpture (Figure 1.16). Dante Ongpin belonged to a wealthy Filipino-Chinese clan. He unfortunately fell from a kitchen window and eventually died (Valdes 2006).



Figure 1.16: Dante Ongpin's bust (with permission from Cynthia O. Valdes)

Some infants and older children's tombstones deviate from the typical designs as they resemble adult tombstones. They, however, tend to be small and placed on top of other tombs in the family plot. Some months-old infants have large tombs if they are located within the family plots.

Inscriptions

The basic information engraved on a tombstone are the names of the deceased and the dates of birth and death. The tombstone of 'Bertito' who died when he was eight months old differs because it neither shows the exact dates of his birth nor death but, instead, his age at death. Some infant burials would only contain one date indicating that birth and death fall on the same day. This was observed on a tombstone dated 1885 and another marked 1990. Others would explicitly indicate that the day of birth and death was on the same day. Birth and death dates are used among those children who have survived more than one day or longer. In some of the markers the birth month and day are included but the birth year is missing since the birth year and death year are the same. One marker even had the time of death.

One interesting burial was that of the 'Baby of Martha Caulkins' who was unnamed (Barretto-Tesoro 2008b). I have proposed that the identity of the baby was attached to the mother and immediate family. Some burials dated to the 1990s do not have the infant's name but have attached both the mother's initials and the father's last name. In some cases, the sex is identified by using 'Baby Boy' or 'Baby Girl' together with the family name.

Some of the older burials of infant and young children dating to the 1930s and earlier show only the first names of the deceased with an exclamation mark at the end (Figure 1.17). Some markers have exclamation points before and after the name. These burials are usually associated with family plots that the family or last name would not have been required in such cases. However, there are cases of burials separate from the family plots that also exhibit the exclamation points. Two burials dated to the 1920s show nicknames bordered with exclamation points and below are the full names. One had the '¡AY' before the name of the infant. Some infants who died on the same day as they were born remained unnamed. The use of exclamation points is observed in the Manila North Cemetery, Paco Park, and the La Loma Catholic Cemetery.

Inscriptions on the tombstones are applied in many ways. It is common for the tombstones to be engraved with the relevant information pertaining to names and dates. Instead of the engraved information, some tombstones had names written in heavy ink, drawn flowers, or painted baby angels. The scrawling of the name and date on wet cement was also observed.



Figure 1.17: Markers with names bordered with exclamation points observed in the Manila North Cemetery and La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photos by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

In some tomb markers, personal messages and biblical passages accompany the basic information of name and dates. A five-year old boy's tombstone had a cross and flower design and R.I.P (Rest in Peace) written on top of the marker. A verse from John 3:16 is part of the epitaph. A seven-year old child's religious affiliation, 'INC' (*Iglesia ni Cristo*) and its symbol, were included on the tombstone. Some inscriptions indicate who had the marker made such as 'FROM PAPA AND MAMA.' A thirteen-year old boy had 'OUR BELOVED, OUR INSPIRATION, OUR ANGEL' together with 'WE LOVE YOU, MOKMOK' on his tombstone. Similarly, an eight-year old boy had

his nickname also written on the tombstone. His tomb however had an adult design. An eleven-year old's marker bore the epitaph 'SO SOON A SAINT.' 'WE LOVE YOU KUYA' referring to the role of the deceased as an older brother. A nine-year old girl had on her marker the words 'IN MEMORY OF A CHILD WHOSE CHEERFULNESS, GENEROSITY, & KINDNESS TOUCHED MANY HEARTS.' Inside her mausoleum were stickers and cardboard characters from children's shows. Butterflies and young angels adorned the iron gate, and a life-sized cut out poster of the deceased was also on display. One female infant's marker bore the words 'BORN AND OFFERED TO GOD' on the same day. Others had 'LOVE AND PRAYERS' inscribed. Instead of the common 'Born' and 'Died' or the symbols of the star and cross, the words 'ON EARTH' and 'IN HEAVEN' were written before the dates. At the bottom, the words 'I'M LEAVING YOU WITH A GIFT: PEACE OF MIND AND HEART!' 'A BABY IS GOD'S WAY OF SAYING THE WORLD SHOULD GO ON' from 'MOMMY AND PAPA' were written on another marker. Others see their baby or child as angels as the following inscriptions imply: "OUR LITTLE ANGEL, LOVE MAMA AND PAPA." Another infant had this 'TWINKLE, TWINKLE, LITTLE STAR ...YOU'RE OUR ANGEL IN HEAVEN.' On another is written 'ANGELS ARE ALL AROUND US, WHENEVER [sic] WE REALIZE IT OR NOT.' 'TO THE MEMORY OF OUR LITTLE ANGEL' were the words inscribed on another marker. Dates were not included. A six-day old male infant bore the epitaph 'IN LOVING MEMORIES OF OUR LITTLE ANGEL' and 'MAMA LOVES YOU.' His tomb is painted in blue. 'YOU WILL ALWAYS BE OUR PRINCESS' is found on the tombstone of a young girl. The dead will never be forgotten as indicated by the inscriptions 'FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS YOUR MEMORIES WILL STAY,' 'WE LOVE YOU FOREVER,' and 'YOU WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED.'

Other epitaphs such as the following indicate the surviving members of the deceased. Mostly these were parents, siblings, and grandparents. In some cases, even aunts and uncles and other relatives are included. Other inscriptions just indicate that the 'FAMILY' remembers the deceased.

1. FROM MAMA AND PAPA
2. LOVE MAMA AND PAPA
3. DADDY, MOMMY, & KUYA ('Kuya' refers to an older brother)
4. FROM LOVING PARENTS, BROTHERS, AND SISTERS

5. REMEMBRANCE FROM FATHER, MOTHER, SISTERS, AND BROTHERS
6. ALAALANG NANAY, TATAY, AT MGA KAPATID (REMEMBRANCE FROM MOTHER, FATHER, AND SIBLINGS)
7. REMEMBRANCE MAMA, PAPA, LOLA & LOLO
8. MAMA AND PAPA, LOLO'S AND LOLA'S, TITO'S AND TITA'S [sic] AND RELATIVES
9. ALAALA NI MAMA AT PAPA (REMEMBRANCE FROM MAMA AND PAPA)
10. ALAALA NG MAGULANG (REMEMBRANCE FROM PARENTS)
11. FROM DADDY, MOMMY, AND FAMILY
12. LOVE AND PRAYER'S [sic] FROM MOMMY AND DADDY
PROVERBS 3:6
13. IN LOVING MEMORY FROM MOMMY
14. FAMILY REMEMBRANCE
15. FROM FAMILY

'RIP,' 'WE LOVE YOU,' 'IN LOVING MEMORY,' and 'FAMILY REMEMBRANCE' are inscriptions commonly found on the tombs. Instead of 'RIP,' 'SLN' which means 'Sumalangit Nawa' (Translation: May the soul be in heaven) is sometimes but not often used. It was also interesting to observe burials for twins. There were male twins who unfortunately died on the same day they were born. These twins had separate tombs and markers, while other twins share markers.

To summarize, the inscriptions can be grouped into several themes. These are biblical passages/verses, dedications from family and relatives, wishes for the soul to rest in peace, descriptions of the deceased including underscoring the purity and innocence of the young, offertory prayers, and emphasis on the deceased's brief existence including the return to his/her maker.

Offerings

We observed that there were food offerings to infants and children in the La Loma Catholic Cemetery. These include packs of juice, cultured milk, chocolate milk drinks, and infant formula (Figure 1.18). This is distinct from the



Figure 1.18: Examples of food offerings for the infant or child: milk bottle, juice, and probiotic drink. (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

adult offerings of cigarettes and crackers we observed during the same visit. A six-month old boy had a 'Jollibee' container in front of his niche. Jollibee is a popular local fast-food chain that appeals especially to young children.

DISCUSSION

Personhood

This paper defines the concept of personhood based on Fowler's (2004) discussion. Personhood refers to a person's state of being. It is the essence that a person possesses to be recognized and acknowledged as a person in its cultural group. The person's state of being is maintained and undergoes transformation throughout a person's life stages, including death, through rites of passage. Transformational processes can alter personhood from 'not a person' to 'half a person' to 'fully a person.' It is also possible for someone's personhood to cease, meaning he or she is no longer considered a person in a given context or cultural group. The main source of personhood is interactions and relationships established with other persons and non-human entities such as objects, places, animals, and even supernatural beings. Another source is a person's uniqueness which should be recognized

and accepted by others. Full personhood is achieved through inclusion in the adult world. Inclusion is effective when there is acceptance of the person due to his or her physical and mental attributes. Integral to personhood are age, gender, kinship, ethnicity, and religion.

By means of mortuary rituals, personhood is transformed at death. The individual can either be removed from society or have its personhood redefined. The person ceases to be a physical being but can be seen as belonging to the spirit realm as a ghost or ancestor. In other cultures, the person becomes one with the earth and forever gone. The body is literally transformed through body treatment. Flesh decays naturally but through burial rites, the body can be mummified, cremated, apportioned, or cannibalized. Body parts can be consumed resulting in the ingestion of the essence of the dead. The personhood of the dead is now part of another's personhood. Similarly, (specific) bones can be collected, kept, or displayed.

Providing names for the infants, particularly those who died on the day of their birth signify that the family views them as persons. The use of personal names in the epitaphs reveal the intimate relations of the deceased and those who survived them. Names established their familial affiliation at death. They were not any other infant but a specific infant and child of a specific set of parents. From a Christian perspective, baptism is crucial in creating the religious identity of the infant and also announces the addition to the family and to circles beyond the domestic unit. In some literature, infants may not be viewed as full members or (even full persons) of the society because their interaction beyond the nuclear family was either absent or limited. The development of skills and roles were attached to age which, obviously, infants and young children have not achieved at the time of their death (Barretto-Tesoro 2008c). The permanent markers bearing the names and ages and sometimes even personal traits of the deceased (for children) announce to visitors how parents view their dead child. In some tombs, this is highlighted by including a photo of the infant (or child). A visitor sees not just a name and a date but a face which heightens pity for the dead, in addition to empathy for the parents who lost their child. In this case, through the use of photos, the dead infant or child becomes a distinct individual, a person to mourn for. This keeps the memory of the dead alive, and humanizes the dead. The epitaphs also maintained the personhood of the dead by describing the deceased. This

is a powerful means of memorializing the dead. There is acceptance of death simultaneous with keeping the memory of the dead alive.

In the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, the unidentified section of niches for fetuses as described above is interesting because of the clear divide between the baptized full-term infants and unbaptized fetuses. Aborted babies were likewise spatially segregated. In addition, there is also distinction between persons and non-persons. As stated earlier, in the Tagalog language, dead fetuses are known as *agas*. To understand better the nature of the *agas*, a local midwife was interviewed.

Lucena B. Zequeña³ (born 1953) of Barangay Sapang, Talim Island shared that *agas* were buried differently. Fetuses that died at three months were wrapped in cloth and buried under the stairs and around the house or sometimes in the garden. Those who died at five months were either placed in a shoebox or wrapped in Manila paper and buried in cemeteries. Zequeña said that the reason for the separate burial grounds was that the three-month old fetuses were '*dugo pa lang*' and '*di pa mukhang tao*' (still blood and not yet recognizable as a person) whereas, a five-month old fetus '*kahit na magkadikit ang mga daliri, alam mo ng tao*' (even if the fingers of the fetus are still fused and its shape not yet distinguishable, you can tell that it's already a person) (see also Barretto-Tesoro 2007). The *agas* that died at three months and were buried within the settlement are not usually visited during All Souls' Day on November 2. No ritual occurs after the burial. However, parents visit the older *agas* buried in the cemetery.

Another interesting fact Zequeña shared was the act of *buhos tubig*⁴ performed by a lay minister on infants only. *Buhos tubig* means to pour water on the infant and takes place in the house before the actual baptism but is not a requirement prior to baptism. The *buhos tubig* is performed on unbaptized infants for emergency purposes i.e., before travelling.⁵ An infant is not allowed to travel without the ritual of *buhos tubig*.

The unidentified niches in the La Loma Catholic Cemetery are 'hidden'. They are located on the side of the road beside a tall apartment of adult niches. They would have been easily missed had Mr. Ramon Caberto (personal communication, August 7, 2010), Detachment Commander of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, not mentioned them. The unlabelled section reflects restricted membership in the Christian world in the realm of the living.

They were buried in the Catholic cemetery but because they did not reach full term and are unbaptized, they are separated from those who received the Sacrament of Baptism. In addition, those buried in these niches had incomplete documents. This means that these fetuses, obviously, did not have birth certificates. A barangay⁶ or community certificate that states where the fetus was found or where the family resides is required before the municipal hall issues a burial permit. Some of these niches bear the names of the occupants while others were not given first names. What is striking for the author was the size of the name in relation to the date of death. Names were written in bold or large letters as if to indicate that yes, somebody is buried here. Mothers who lost a child by miscarriage still give it a name to acknowledge its very brief existence. Those buried in the Aborted Babies section, in contrast, remain nameless.

Age

Halcrow and Tayles (2010) provided a succinct discussion on the three types of age. They differentiated biological age, chronological age, and social age. Biological age refers to the biological changes an individual undergoes as one progresses through life; chronological age is the time that lapsed since birth and the age in calendar years; and social age is the expected behavior from individuals at a specific chronological age and this varies in a given culture (Lucy 2005). The use of sub-adults or non-adults to refer to infants and children, as pointed out by Halcrow and Tayles (2010), implies an inferior status compared to adults. However, as both authors likewise stressed in the same article, these age categories should not be hierarchically differentiated.

Halcrow and Tayles (2010) compared age divisions based on diverse literature dealing with age (Clinical Pediatrics, Bioarchaeology Continental Europe, Developmental Osteology, Bioarchaeology British, Evolutionary Anthropology, and Medical Anthropology). This shows a general agreement to the divisions of the different stages of a child's development from fetus to adolescent (juvenile). Table 1.1 summarizes the age divisions:

Table 1.1: Age divisions of non-adults. The first two columns show age divisions based on Western literature and the last two columns are Philippine-derived.

After Halcrow and Tayles 2010		After Jocano 1998	
Stages	Chronological Age	Stages	Chronological Age
Fetus	From Week 8/9 to birth		
Perinatal	Birth to 7 Postnatal days	<i>Bagong silang</i> (New born)	0–2 months
Neonatal	Birth to 27/28 days		
Postneonatal	29 days to end of first year 28–346 Postnatal days	<i>Sanggol</i> (Baby) <i>Nagdadapa</i> (Can lie on stomach)	2–4 months
Infant	Birth to one year 2–36 months	<i>Nagtutuhod</i> (Able to crawl)	5–6 months
		<i>Nagtitindig</i> <i>Nangungunyapit</i> (Attempting to stand)	7–8 months 9–10 months
		<i>Naglalakad</i> (Attempting to walk)	10–12 months
Childhood	Early childhood 0–5/1–5 years	<i>Bagsakin</i> (Falls when walking)	13–17 months
	Late childhood 6–12/5–15 years	<i>Naglalakad na</i> (Able to walk without support)	18 months
Juvenile/ adolescence	Youth 14–20 years Juvenile 15–24 years 5–8 years after Puberty		

Table 1.1 shows that the infant stage can be subdivided in other cultures such as the Philippines. In the Philippines, age divisions for infants are clearly based on activities which the infant can physically perform as determined by biological developments. In the vernacular, we refer to those more than one-year old as *bata*. Jocano’s (1998) work was formulated from an anthropological perspective. An interdisciplinary approach in understanding the development of the child is provided by the ‘Early Childhood Care and Development’ (ECCD) program by the United Nations.⁷ The ECCD monitors the child’s development by producing a checklist which takes into account the motor, self-help, language, cognitive, and socio-emotional skills at four months, eight months, twelve months, twenty-four months, thirty-six months, forty-eight months, and sixty months. The checklist shows that infants have limited movements and rely on the assistance of the parents. As the child

grows, he/she becomes more self-reliant. The checklist is similar to Jocano's (1998) age division which centers on the capabilities of the child.

The cemetery data are different from the archaeological samples where the latter often give an age range while samples from the former indicate the chronological age at death. Although biological age cannot be accessed, social age can be inferred from the burial treatment.

From a Western perspective, when children reach the age of six or seven 'they were expected to perform adult tasks' (Rothschild 2002, 2). This might have influenced modern-day views of childhood. However, socialization or apprenticeship among children may vary among different cultural groups (Bugarin 2006). It is interesting to note that from a bioarchaeological perspective, there is a difference between infants up to those seven years of age, and those seven years to sixteen years old. Perry (2006, 96) noted that 'crowns of the canines develop from about birth to seven years and crowns of the third molars from about 7 to 16 years.' Although this was observed among children of prehistoric pastoral nomads who migrated seasonally, it illustrates changes in the biological material, which may translate into the social stage in the lifecycle of children.

In the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, children from seven to twelve years old were buried in a separate section. This division based on the chronological age may tell us their social age. They were neither 'bata' (children) nor 'matanda' (adults) and thus buried in the Alanganin Section found on top of adult niches. This stage in the children's lives can be construed as the 'in-between' phase which separates very young children and adolescents. The 'tween' phase is a consequence of a marketing strategy in North America during the 1980s (Kurnit 2000). 'Tweeners' are neither a child nor a teenager and they are usually between eight and twelve years old (O'Barr 2008). According to Dr. Myra Garces Bacsal (personal communication, November 2011), a clinical psychologist and Lecturer at the National Institute of Education in Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, the term 'tweener' is believed to be a new developmental category. Those buried in the Alanganin Section maybe considered 'tweeners.'

A child who reaches the age of seven is expected to attend formal school⁸ and actively participates in activities beyond the immediate family (Schildkrout 1978 as cited in Bugarin 2006). Older members of the immediate

family can start to demand children of this age range to accomplish certain tasks. Perhaps, a deeper ritual meaning dictates the burial of older children in *alanganin* niches. Danilo Bautista, a forty-eight-year old gravedigger with twenty-seven years of experience at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, explained that children around the ages four to five were *alanganin*. The coffins are not big enough to fill the adult burial vaults. Bautista shared the belief that the remaining unoccupied space in the adults' vaults could bring misfortune because there was space for one more corpse. Thus, it became customary to place children coffins in appropriately size vaults. After a ten-year lease on the vaults, bones are then collected and placed in appropriately sized niches.

The cemeteries surveyed show that those in the Perinatal stage to Infancy stage (*Bagong silang* to *Naglalakad na*) commonly occupy a specific section in the cemetery. Fetuses are found in a different section or altogether not even buried in formal cemeteries. Those older are found in another section or found buried in family plots. Baptism may no longer be a factor in this division. Clearly, separation is according to chronological age. In addition, some of the epitaphs draw attention to the young age of the deceased through the dates or inclusion of the age at death.

Sex

Apart from the names of the deceased, colors of tombstones also signify sex. Both sexes are found in the same apartment niches and there was nothing in the tomb designs to suggest that a specific sex was favored over the other. It appears that age is more important than sex in the separation of infants and children from other burials.

Transformation

Death can also be seen as a rite of passage (Kerrigan 2007) as this is seen as a step to afterlife where the good souls go to heaven. Infant and children burials are perhaps seen as special from the Christian perspective as they are seen as innocent and pure, that they are transformed into angels when death happens provided that the rite of baptism was performed prior to death.

Although the La Loma Cemetery is a Catholic cemetery, the tombstones of the infants were still replete with angels and cherubs which announce their inclusion in the Christian world. Even section names such as 'Angelito' and

'Querubin' emphasize the innocence and the purity of infants. The same can be seen in the other cemeteries as described above. Prior to 2007, the belief was that unbaptized dead infants go to 'Limbo Infantism' (Kerrigan 2007) or they turn into malevolent spirits such as *tiyanak* in the Philippine context. In 2007, the Vatican abolished limbo and infants who died without the benefit of baptism would still be saved when Judgement Day comes (Kerrigan 2007). Although their state of being as a person may have already ceased upon their death, they continue to exist in another dimension where they are believed to be transformed into spiritual beings considered superior to humans. The use of 'angels' and 'saints' in the epitaphs clearly symbolize the belief in this transformation. The personhood of the infants were maintained not through their active interactions with the living but of their very essence defined by age. In this transformation from mortal to immortal, the infants are still included in the so-called afterlife where their parents will meet them when death claims them. This belief of meeting the dead again in the afterlife perhaps alleviates the parents' grief as there is promise of a future meeting.

Bones of younger children are often poorly preserved due to bone mineral density, structure, and size (Djurić et al. 2011). And the preservation of fetuses' remains is nil. This is reflected in the burial practice of reusing the niche for other fetuses and the impermanence of the name markers. The niches were continually reused and former occupants were completely forgotten. Due to their fragile nature, fetus remains literally disintegrate and disappear leaving no physical remains whereas bones of infants and children have a higher preservation rate. Although angels and spirits are without corporeal equivalent, the spirits of deceased humans are believed to take the form of their physical selves at death. Without a physical body to begin with, a fetus transforming into angels is therefore highly unlikely for angels are perceived to have complete body parts.

Inclusion and Exclusion

In the cemeteries surveyed, it was evident that infants occupied a special section. The Manila North Cemetery had the 'H(e)aven for the Unborn,' the Manila South Cemetery has infant niches near its main entrance, the La Loma Catholic Cemetery has the 'Angelito' section, and the Paco Cemetery had its 'Angeriorio.' Children burial ground is likewise demarcated in Manila South Cemetery with its *Lupang Bata* Zone and in the La Loma Catholic

Cemetery with the children sections. Some infant graves were also observed to be part of these zones. Some children were buried in family plots. The locations of the infant and children sections are not easily noticeable as they are inconspicuous inside the cemetery. They are dispersed in the cemetery grounds and are almost concealed by adjacent burial structures.

Although the boundaries of the infants' sections are clearly defined in these cemeteries, the author views their separation from the adult cemeteries as a form of emphases on age and purity. That death occurred at a very young age is something that people would not normally expect to happen. The age also determines the infants' supposed transformation to angels and therefore their instant entry into heaven, whereas adults, depending on how they lived their lives, can either enter heaven, purgatory, or hell. The infants share in the same burial rituals. Sex is marked with colors that are generally accepted for males and females—blue for boys and pink for girls. They also received food offerings that are obviously age-appropriate such as infant formula, chocolate drink, and even spaghetti, which is commonly served during children's birthday parties in the Philippines. Adults' graves are marked in similar ways and they also received food offerings. I suggest that it is the very nature of infants that impels adults to treat them in this manner.

Within the delineated space for infants or children, there are instances where a grave is further bordered by plants. Parents could have deliberately done this perhaps to make the grave more prominent and this may be attributed to grief or the desire to demarcate their own burial lot.

Though they are separated in the cemetery landscape from adults, apart from the section markers such as those found in La Loma, Manila South Cemetery, and Paco Park, their general appearance is not always obviously different. Apartment niches for infants and children are similar to those assigned to be in the ossuary and adult niches. Cherubim statues signify the presence of infants and children while older and sometimes weeping angels accompany adult burials. Size also characterizes infants' graves, whether they are in a family plot or not, as they tend to be noticeably smaller while children's graves can resemble those of adults.

The niches are for lease, they obviously belong to the cemetery and cannot be owned by the family of the deceased. The fact that the bones can be exhumed in case of default in payment of the lease clearly indicates that the place of commemoration is transitory. The separation maintained in the

physical landscape can lead to inclusion as part of the mass of bones in the ossuary.

With regard to the unnamed section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, there appears to be a legal reason for the exclusion of the fetus burial and an emotional and religious reason for their inclusion in the cemetery or in other sacred places. As mentioned above, the legal reason is that fetuses from miscarriages or those found in public places and brought to the cemetery do not have complete documents. Moreover, these fetuses are blessed, not baptized, as they were not born and did not reach full-term. The cemetery provides niches for these fetuses including the aborted babies because of the desire of the family, mother, or the public to bury the dead in sacred places or places for the dead. This can be supported by the archaeological evidence found in Sta. Teresita, Batangas, discussed above, where mothers buried their fetuses in the church complex. Although the church complex was not formally a place for the dead, it was considered sacred. Similarly, in the National Shrine of Our Mother of Perpetual Help in Parañaque City in Metro Manila, popularly known as the Baclaran Church, priests have reported finding bottles containing fetuses left inside the church (Verzosa n.d.). Fetuses in bottles were believed to have been aborted. Mothers who suffered miscarriages approach the priest and request the blessing of the babies (Verzosa n.d.). In any case, mothers feel the need to leave the fetal remains in sacred places. Due to the number of fetuses left in the church, the priests erected a Memorial for the Unborn Babies (Verzosa n.d.).

The Tomb of Aborted Babies at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery is accompanied by the statue of Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) while the unnamed section do not have any religious imagery. At first glance, the unnamed section appears to be neglected whereas the niches for the aborted is kept clean. Perhaps this is connected to status as discussed below.

Status

The socioeconomic background of the infant's or child's family is evident in the burials. The decorations shared among the niches were of varying quality. What differs is how these symbols were executed. Lack of funds may be indicated by the absence of a *lapida* or permanent stone markers where names, dates, and epitaphs are engraved. In some graves, the names were inscribed when the cement was still fresh, while other names

were inscribed in paint on cement, or written in heavy ink (Figure 1.19). Paint can also be in the needed quantity. In one tombstone, only the boy's name was painted blue and not the whole niche remained unpainted. In other cases, the attached vases or borders are painted. On a more practical note, the infant and children's standard niches are less expensive than the ground or floating (above ground) niches. The niches specially built for infants were for lease. After several years, failure to renew the lease may lead to the exhumation of bones to be deposited in the common ossuary. Some infants and children are buried within family plots indicating the status of the family as well. Only those who have existing burial plots can afford to bury their young with other deceased family members and separate from the other infants or children. One grave was of particular interest because it clearly showed that a lapida was installed after some time had elapsed because the name on the cement slab beneath was the same as the one on the lapida.

As mentioned above, the niches in the unnamed section at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery are free of charge. Impoverished families do not have enough money to put up permanent grave markers.

Affiliation

The group affiliations that were manifested in the burials were familial and religious associations. The infant's or child's affinity was very much directly connected with the immediate family usually in this order: the mother, father, and a sibling(s)—in some cases, even grandparents, aunts, uncles, and



Figure 1.19: Examples of niches where information about the deceased was written in heavy ink or painted instead of engraved (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

relatives are also indicated on the tombstone. I find it particularly interesting that the mother usually comes first. The grandparents follow the parents, who most likely also doted on the infant or child. Extended kinship is the traditional practice in the Philippines and blood relations are traced bilaterally, meaning both paternal and maternal relatives are recognized as kin or quasi-kin (Jocano 1998). Thus, the birth of a child, as mentioned above, is a source of joy for the whole family and is treated as God's gifts/blessings. And more importantly, the newborn is viewed as '*pagdami ng lahi*' (growth of the kin group). In the gravemarkers, the aunts, uncles, grandparents, (and relatives) mentioned all refer to the affiliations of both sets of parents.

Due to the frequent occurrences of angels and crosses, it did not register immediately that religious affiliation was being powerfully articulated. An infant's personhood clearly depends on this membership. The use of cherubs, crosses, and biblical verses on the tombstones clearly indicates that these infants and children or their families belonged to the Christian faith. The Manila North and South Cemeteries are public cemeteries where membership in a particular religion is not required as can be observed in the burials plots of Masons and Jews. The La Loma as a Catholic cemetery requires the deceased to have been baptized into the Catholic or Christian faith for burial in its grounds. One seven-year old boy who was not Catholic but belonged to the Iglesia ni Cristo (Church of Christ) was buried in La Loma. 'INC' was inscribed on his marker. Adults belonging to this Christian religion also had the 'INC' letters on their tombstones. The infants and children's ethnic groups were not considered significant to be marked in the burials investigated for this paper.

Grief

Jocano (1998) has emphasized that children in Philippine society can contribute to the economic, social, and psychological existence of the family. Children are seen as the 'source of happiness,' 'gift of God,' 'evidence of love,' 'investments,' and continuity of the 'family lineage.' The loss of a child is thus seen as cause for sorrow, God's withdrawal of the gift, the loss of love, forfeiture of the potential to earn from the child's projected income, and end of the descent line. The tragedy of losing a child might be reflected in the burial treatment.

Frequently, as in most cultures, females are seen as accountable and liable for a child's welfare—from mothers to grandmothers, older sisters to aunts, and nannies. This emphasizes the role of women in nurturing and raising a child. It is perhaps why women feel more bereaved at a death of a child. Epitaphs are mostly dedicated by mothers. This is not to say that fathers are indifferent to the anguish that mothers feel. Both parents commit to the child as can be observed in the epitaphs too. Grief is likewise shared by immediate family members and even relatives. The death of an infant or very young child evidently creates a void in the parents' life. A coping strategy is therefore required to address this void, to lessen the pain of their loss.

The niches are standard and prefabricated (except for those buried in family plots), they leave no room for the expression of grief except through the epitaphs, designs, and offerings that provide the parents an outlet to make their anguish public and consequently aid in diminishing their sorrow. If the child was buried in the family plot, parents are allotted more space to manifest their grief by preserving the identity of the deceased through personalized epitaphs and decorations. A new way of memorializing the dead was through the use of photographs of the deceased in life as part of the tombstone; this perhaps allows the family to personalize and maintain the identity of the dead that is crucial to the bereavement process. It was also an attempt to animate the dead child as if he/she was only sleeping or even alive in another realm, i.e., as angels around us or in heaven. On the other hand, the graves of the fetuses and the aborted lack ornamentation; no other information exists except for some markers for fetuses with the requisite names and dates of death.

Rothschild (2002, 4) suggested that 'one coping mechanism' to face infant death was to 'invest little emotionally.' This may indeed be the case as seen in some of the infant niches in the cemeteries surveyed. The lack of permanent markers, the names inscribed on cement, the economical apartment niches, the simple mass-produced designs and angel statues, and the inexpensive food offerings indicate low emotional investment. The decision not to give the fetus a personal name and to refer to it as a 'Baby Girl' or 'Baby Boy' is considerable evidence of avoiding emotional attachment. Treating the baby as a generic being perhaps lessens the grief of the parents particularly the mother. Infant and children burials in family plots have similar designs and angel statues.

The method to show grief is best expressed through the personalized epitaphs. Some of the inscriptions found contain the infant or child's name. Some have prayers offered by the parents and siblings to show their love. Others have messages of good wishes so that the child's soul can reach heaven and become God's angels. Some inscriptions focus on the innocence of the infant or child and their premature death at such young ages. These are seen in the use of words such as 'saint,' 'angels,' 'offered,' and 'soon.'

A particular feature of the earlier infant and children burials dating from the 1920s and earlier was the incorporation of exclamation points before and/or after the infant's name and the use of 'AY' as described above. Some of these infant burials have epitaphs in Spanish and also use an inverted exclamation point at the start of a Spanish sentence or phrase ending with another exclamation point. Question marks are likewise used in a similar way. Perhaps, an exclamation point indicates strong feelings like sorrow in the loss of the infant or child. The word '¡AY' is an 'interjection equivalent to 'Oh! Alas!'" (English 1986, 91) and an expression of sorrow too.

Local and foreign newspapers often report finding a dead fetus in the garbage bin or even in toilets. The nature of the termination of pregnancy influences greatly the fetus's 'burial.' Aborted fetuses connote unwanted and/or concealed pregnancies, which often lead to keeping the depositions a secret. Miscarriages, which I define as natural and unexpected by prospective mothers, may involve deeper emotional attachments, hence a different treatment of the fetus' (Barretto-Tesoro 2007, 13). Indigent families bringing their fetuses to the cemetery suggests that their burial was probably necessary for the mother's bereavement. These fetuses were also given names that clearly indicate the parent's emotional attachment.

CONCLUSION

Designated spaces for non-adults in cemeteries as described above may indicate the preservation of innocence and purity. They are seldom mixed with adults and if such is the case, these adults tend to be family members. The concentration of infants and children in specific areas prevents them being lost in the sea of adults who dominate most cemeteries. Apportioned plots for non-adults highlight feelings of pity for those who died very young.

'Kawawa naman' (Pity them) is often heard among those who view the graves of these infants and children. What registers in the minds of viewers is the untimely demise, the frequency of infant and child mortality, which sometimes is difficult to reconcile with our belief of when death should occur.

This study has examined infant and children graves in Manila cemeteries. I have looked at the material representation of what could have influenced their burials—from structures, designs, epitaphs, locations, and offerings. Christianity greatly influenced the burials as manifested in the use of angels and cherubs. However, status of parents, age, and sex of the infant or child, familial affiliation, grief, and notions of personhood likewise impacted how the deceased was represented regardless of the religious association. Although viewed as part of the family and community or society as expressed in the names and offerings, the adults probably unconsciously marginalized the non-adults. Through their burial locations, opposing concepts of separation and inclusion are simultaneously stressed. They were legitimate members of the family and the Christian world being that they were born into the family, given names, and baptized. Their short lives and untimely deaths prevented them from participating in the social world beyond the family or school setting, limiting the roles that they could have actually performed and thus keeping them separated from the 'adult world' in the cemeteries.

One significant result which the study showed was that grief and personhood, primarily because of the age of the deceased, are paramount factors that were made tangible in the burial structures, designs, and practices. The examination of modern burials can provide glimpses of the factors that could have influenced infants and children graves in the past. In the future, results of this study can examine available archaeological data and assess if similar factors acted upon non-adult burials in the past.

This study was also an attempt to encourage more studies on infants and children who are sometimes forgotten members of the society. Infancy and childhood are life stages that are replete with practices and rites ensuring the infant's or child's well-being so that they may reach adulthood in good health.

Endnotes

- ¹ As of October 2011, the Angelito Section is still standing but no bodies are buried there anymore. Some of the niches are empty indicating that the bones have already been transferred by the family of the deceased or exhumed by the cemetery. If the carton boxes are still intact, they are likewise moved. If they have already deteriorated, they are then discarded.
- ² Alanganin is not the official term used to refer to this section. It does not have a direct translation in English. It can be best described as 'cannot be classified' or 'uncertain.'
- ³ The date of interview was September 27, 2008. Talim Island is located in the Laguna Lake in Southern Luzon, Philippines.
- ⁴ This ritual of buhos tubig is also practiced in Bay, another municipality in Laguna (Jocano 1998).
- ⁵ "This practice has Catholic origins. A lay Catholic can baptized an infant in danger of death by pouring water over the head while saying, "I baptize you in in the name of the Father..." until a priest can be summoned to do a formal baptism. The baptism remains valid even if the infant dies before a priest could perform the rite" (Danilo Galang, personal communication with the author, September 2011).
- ⁶ A *barangay* is the smallest sociopolitical unit in modern times.
- ⁷ It seeks to protect the rights of the child by supporting programs for the development of young children. Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) has global and regional partners and work closely with local groups in each country. In the Philippines, ECCD is supported by the Council for the Welfare of Children, Department of Education, Department of Health, Department of Social Welfare and Development, Australian Government through AusAid, and UNICEF. Cooperation among these organizations has produced the Core Developmental Milestones of Filipino Children.
- ⁸ The educational system has developed the concept of a preschool where children starting the age of three can now attend play schools and socialize early.

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Chapter 2

ANGELS AND DRAGONS IN THE MANILA CHINESE CEMETERY

Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim

INTRODUCTION

For the *Exploring Philippine Cemeteries: Alive and Dynamic Spaces Project*, we chose the Manila Chinese Cemetery because of the significance of the Chinese community in the Philippines and their contribution to Philippine culture, society, and economy. The Manila Chinese Cemetery is the largest Chinese cemetery in the Philippines with a land area of 54 hectares. It is the second oldest among all existing modern cemeteries in the country, the oldest being the La Loma Catholic Cemetery. This paper lays down a historical background of the cemetery, investigates its material culture as the lens through which we may understand its unique place in Philippine society, and hopes to shed light on some archaeological questions such as how religious traditions can be seen in the archaeological record and how the blending of these different traditions are reflected in the Manila Chinese cemetery.

THE CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES

The history of the Chinese in the islands which would later become the Philippines can be traced long before the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan. Interaction between China and the Philippines had existed for many centuries, mainly in the form of trade, as first recorded in the Song Annals in 971 AD, under the name “Mai” (Scott 1994). Scott (1994) claimed this was the present island of Mindoro while Go Bon Juan (2005) argued that it was the Laguna de Bai [sic] area, agreeing with an early yet little known proposition of Blumentritt back in the late 1800s (Laufer 1979). The linguistic explanations for this is since the Chinese had no plosive “b” sound, this becomes an “m” sound, making it plausible that “Bai” would be pronounced as “Mai.” Apart from historical records, artifacts such as Chinese ceramics are common finds in archaeological excavations, especially in grave sites, attesting to the flourishing maritime trade between China and the Philippines within the backdrop of a larger network of Asian maritime commerce that reached up to the Mediterranean (Fox 1959; Locsin and Locsin 1967; 1968). However, it was not until Spanish colonization that the Chinese settled in large numbers in the Philippines (Ang See 2005) and the entire Southeast Asian region (Pan 1999) which predates their consequent spread throughout the world. They were called *Sangley* that meant, according to Liao (1964) “travelling merchant”, or “frequent visitor” based on Scott (1994) and Ang See (2005). In 1560, there were only about 150 Chinese permanently residing in Manila. The population rose to 10,000 by 1588 and grew rapidly to 30,000 by 1603 (Ang See 2005). Spanish presence in the Philippines presented an economic opportunity for the Chinese, who came mainly as merchants and artisans (Schurz 1979; Wickberg 2000; de Viana 2001; Ang See 2005). They were indispensable to the colony because while the indigenous population was generally agriculturalist, the Chinese were merchants engaged in the sale of various products such as textiles, medicinals, ceramics, jewelry, food like wheat, fruit and meats, as well as knickknacks and other items (de Viana 2001). The Chinese also worked as coolies, porters, artists, masons, shoemakers, cooks, stonecutters, and bakers among other service-oriented occupations (de Viana 2001).

The relationship between the Spaniards and Chinese was one of mutual need and distrust (de Viana 2001) as the Chinese became the subject of prejudice and discrimination while remaining indispensable economically

(Tan 1972). One colonial policy was to separate the Chinese, especially those who refused to embrace Christianity from the local population, leading to the creation of the Parian (Ang See 2005) (Figure 2.1). This scheme also aided in controlling the population and movement of Chinese migrants. Archaeological excavations in Manila revealed that some of these locations are in present-day Mehan Garden and Arroceros Forest Park (Belmonte and Cuevas 2001; Jago-on et al. 2003; KAPI 2005; Santiago 2006). Not only was the Parian a Chinese ghetto, it was also a bustling market (Ang See 2005). The first Parian was built in 1581 within the Walled City of Intramuros (Chu 2012). It was destroyed by fire in 1583, and thus moves to the "swampy area on the border of the city between its Northern and Southern sides" (De Viana 2001 as cited in Chu 2012, 58). In 1593, the Parian was relocated outside the city walls "after thirty Chinese galley rowers murdered Governor Gomez Perez de



Figure 2.1: Manila in the late 1800s showing the location of the Parian (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/45/Intramuros_Manila_1898.jpg)

Dasmariñas,” and was placed under constant military surveillance. To make way for the walled city of Manila (Chu 2012, 58) the Parian was demolished in 1790, causing the accelerated spread and resettlement of non-Catholic Chinese throughout the archipelago. Most, however, moved to Binondo and Sta. Cruz. By the nineteenth century, Binondo had risen as the Chinese and Mestizo enclave, and was one of the most successful marketplaces in the Philippines (Chu 2012; Wickerberg 2000).

Aside from segregation, the Chinese suffered higher taxes than the naturales and mestizos, legal discrimination, and was seen as both economic and political threats to Spain with regard to their monopoly of retail trade and uprisings respectively. Sinibaldo de Mas remarked that the attitudes towards the Chinese, Jews, and Moors run parallel, that is, the Chinese became convenient scapegoats upon whom the dominant group vented its hostilities, frustrations, and hatred in times of a crisis (Tan 1972). The Chinese existed at the whim of the authorities and were considered as belonging to the lowest social rank in Spanish Colonial Philippines. This fact is reflected both in the life and death in the Parian and the Manila Chinese Cemetery. Massacres and expulsions have been perpetrated against the Chinese and there was even a period when it was decreed that no more than 6,000 Chinese were to be allowed in the country at any given time. However, all these restrictions did not deter the Chinese from migrating, and since the colony was far from Spain, the limits set on their population were hardly enforced (Wickberg 2000).

The majority of Chinese migrants in the Philippines and the entire Southeast Asian region come from Southeastern China. Most of them are descended from the seafaring Fujianese who speak Hokkien/Fukien (also spelled Fookien) aside from Mandarin (Chin 1998). Next largest number are from Canton, which was a major port especially during the Spanish period (Wickberg 2000; Ang See 2005). These overseas Chinese organized themselves under the *kongsi* system throughout Southeast Asia or Chinese community associations. These organizations were also known as *gremios* (guild), which functioned as semiautonomous units for the Chinese community, analogous to the Chinese Kongkoan (*gongguan*) (Chin 1998; Wilson 2004). This was to prove very significant in the formation of Chinese cemeteries overseas since one of their advocacies was to establish Chinese cemeteries, especially those that conform to *feng shui* (Purnell 1993).

THE ORIGINS OF THE MANILA CHINESE CEMETERY

The Manila Chinese Cemetery is adjacent to both the Manila North Cemetery and La Loma Catholic Cemetery. During the early Spanish period, burials were conducted inside churches and/or within church grounds depending on the importance of the deceased to the community. This explains the presence of tombstones and grave markers in old churches. In the early 1800s, this custom was prohibited and cemeteries were put up outside the churches for each town that was under the control of religious orders (de Viana 2001).

The graves observed in the Manila Chinese cemetery have the 1800s as the earliest date of interment. Relevant to Chinese burials before the Manila Chinese Cemetery was established, some Chinese rectangular tombstones made of granite or *piedra china* were dug up from archaeological excavations in Intramuros such as the Revellin del Parian. A tombstone with both Chinese characters and Roman script dating back to the 1700s in secondary deposition was unearthed in Intramuros (Dizon 1980). Other tombstones can be found in the parking lot of San Agustin Church and the central courtyard of the University of Santo Tomas (Man Dy and Go 2005). There is also a granite tombstone with Chinese inscriptions found just outside the Binondo church (de Viana 2001). Dr. Eusebio Dizon (personal communication, 2010), an archaeologist with the National Museum of the Philippines says that the granite stones were used as ballast in Chinese junks, otherwise known as *sampans* (Man Dy and Go 2005). These could not have come from the Manila Chinese cemetery because they date back to the 1700s, much earlier than the founding of the Manila Chinese cemetery. Some of these tombstones are on exhibit at the Bahay Tsinoy Museum in Intramuros, Manila.

Before the Chinese Cemetery was built, non-Catholic Chinese either sent corpses back to China or interred them outside the La Loma Catholic Cemetery although the exact location is unknown (Man Dy and Go 2005). Binondo had its own cemetery in La Loma, already in the arrabal or outskirts/province of Santa Cruz, and this was a Catholic cemetery with a chapel built in 1884. In fact, the La Loma Catholic Cemetery was formerly known as the "Cementerio de Binondo." Before the Manila Chinese Cemetery, there was a "Cementerio de Chinos de Binondo" in La Loma (de Viana 2001).

There are a number of stories on how the Manila Chinese Cemetery was founded. There are three versions of how the present-day Chinese Cemetery came to be, most of which relate to various interpretations of Mallat's (1846) account. According to Wickberg (2000), Mallat wrote that in 1840, there was already a Chinese cemetery in its current location at La Loma. It was established in order to exclude non-Catholics from consecrated grounds as well as other outcasts of society—those that died from contagious diseases and political enemies of the Spanish Crown. There are records dating from 1850 that show the Spanish government rejected the petition from the Chinese community requesting that they be allowed to build a better road to the Chinese cemetery. The community was willing to pay for it but the Spanish government did not want to give up the land (Wickberg 2000). A slightly different version is given by de Viana (2001) who names Don Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-Sien⁴ as the founder, citing Wickberg's 1965 version of his 2000 publication. She noted that Mallat observed that a *campo santo*, literally "field of saints," or cemetery was already in existence in 1846 for the exclusive use of Catholic Chinese. So, non-Catholic Chinese of Binondo requested for a cemetery of their own. In those times, Chinese who observed Buddhism had their burial grounds in Bangkusay in Tondo, located on a hill slope near the San Lazaro, a hospital for those stricken with leprosy, a disease that was then thought of to have no cure, and hence, needed isolation. This account also points to Lim Ong as the initial founder of the cemetery who bought a plot in La Loma in fulfillment of his promise when he became the elected *gobernadorcillo* of the Sangleyes. The original plot was expanded later on by Don Mariano Fernando Yu Chingco, a subsequent *gobernadorcillo*. In 1878, Yu Chingco bought land worth 14,000 pesos to expand the cemetery from the Dominican Provincial which used to own the Hacienda de La Loma from which the cemetery land was built. This cemetery catered to poor Chinese who could not afford to return to China to bury their dead or send the bodies. The Chinese strongly believe that the souls of the deceased would only find peace if they were buried in their ancestral villages in China. This was a blend of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist beliefs (Purnell 1993). Interestingly, it was mentioned in this account that the Chong Hok Tong was originally built as a Chinese-style Catholic chapel for 33,980 pesos (de Viana 2001). Today, this

structure is seen as a Chinese temple, observing Chinese religion, and not a Catholic chapel at all.

Another version set the date much later around 1870, but Man Dy and Go (2005) failed to mention the primary source. This account generally resembles the version described above and identified Lim Ong, then capitan of *Gremio de Chinos* or the Chinese Guild, as one of the personalities instrumental in the creation of the Chinese cemetery. *Gremio de Chinos* can be referred to as 'Chinese Merchant Guild' (Chu 2012). One of his proposed projects when he was campaigning for *gobernadorcillo* was to purchase land for the cemetery, which he later fulfilled upon election. This patch of land was added to the cemetery in 1878 with the help of Mariano Fernando Yu Chingco, who was then the *gobernadorcillo* after Lim Ong. He bought land beside the existing cemetery for 14,000 pesos from the Dominicans. The Chong Hok Tong temple was constructed at a cost of 33,980 pesos inside the cemetery and is the oldest Chinese temple in the Philippines. What used to be the *Gremio de Chinos* (Wang 1967) is presently known as the Manila Chinese Cemetery and managed by the Chinese Charitable Association (Man Dy and Go 2005). Wang (1967) names Lim Wang (which is Mandarin for "Ong") as the founder of the Chinese cemetery in 1870. Wang's account adds that the cholera outbreak in the 1800s was one of the reasons the cemetery then called "Chan Sui Ti" was instituted. It also says that *gobernadorcillo* Yan Chun Ching bought the old cemetery then spent 33,000 pesos for a memorial hall for more prominent members of the Chinese community. In 1881, then *gobernadorcillo* Tan Kiam Sian¹ purchased the land in the Southern part of the cemetery to further enhance the cemetery and built the Chinese General Hospital where his statue still stands today (Wang 1967). Still from Wang (1967), another source by the name of Mr. Santos Tan entirely credits the establishment of the Chinese cemetery to Tan Kiam Sian, while also saying that a Chinese cemetery had already existed hundreds of years before 1891. It was the Chinese community that helped underwrite the cost of the cemetery. The Manila Chinese cemetery is located near a hospital—the Chinese General Hospital and Medical Center (Man Dy, personal communication, 2010) as is the case with many Chinese cemeteries in other countries.



Figure 2.2: The Gate of the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

THE MANILA CHINESE CEMETERY

According to Man Dy and Go (2005), the gate of the Manila Chinese Cemetery was changed a number of times (Figure 2.2). Its design announces that one is entering a different realm, not only because it is a cemetery, but more particularly one that is rooted in Chinese culture. It may be a Chinese cemetery but one can see how Filipino culture has contributed its influence. In the following section, we will describe the different facets of the Manila Chinese Cemetery.

The Chong Hok Tong Temple

The name “Chong Hok Tong” temple comes from Hokkien (Figure 2.3). It is called Zhong Fu Tang (宗福堂) in Mandarin which when translated into English means “hall where ancestors are in bliss or blessed.” The temple was built in the late 1800s. The architecture combines Taoist, Mahayana Buddhist, and Confucian elements that are typical of Chinese temples outside the Mainland (Purnell 1993). There are clouds on the eaves, two dragons facing each other on the roof, with the symbol of fire in the middle. Interestingly, there is a Western-type bell on both ends of the façade. Furthermore, de

Viana (2001) mentions that when this structure was built, it was meant to be a Catholic chapel. A 1911 photo of the temple shows that a great deal of renovation was done when compared to the current architectural details (Figure 2.4). A sketch of the older version of the temple is also shown in Ang See's (2005) edited volume *Tsinoy*. The middle section of the temple stayed virtually the same, with the upturned eaves and two circular windows, but there were no dragons or fire symbol this time. However, the bell towers used to have more of Western architectural design, and the concept of having bell towers up front and on the side of churches is a Spanish introduction. Today, these were modified to have the Chinese-style roofs match the main structure in the middle. Since the 1911 photo was in black and white, perhaps future research would reveal what color the structure was because now it is



Figure 2.3: Chong Hok Tong Temple⁵ (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim). Unfortunately, this temple was demolished in March 2015 to give way to a new one.

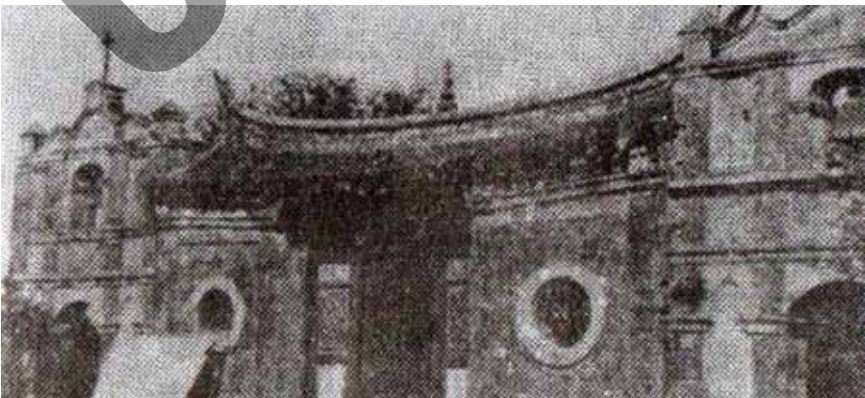


Figure 2.4: Chong Hok Tong Temple in 1911 (Renacimiento Filipino 1911 as cited in De Viana 2001, 159)

dominantly in red, a color that denotes happiness in Chinese culture. It is now more known as a Chinese temple and not a Catholic chapel which was originally intended to be. Curiously, de Viana (2001) seems to be using the terms temple and chapel interchangeably, which is not wrong at all, though temple is not the usual term used in the Western Christian tradition to refer to religious structures in more recent times.

The main hall of the Chong Hok Tong is empty, with only one bench on each side. There are no pews as in a typical chapel. It has clearly been transformed into a Chinese temple. However, on the altar, there is a Buddha statue, a Bodhisattva, Taoist images, a crucifix, Confucianist idols, and four manifestations of Mary (Ang See 2005) as well as a *bagua*. A *bagua* is an octagonal figure with a circular mirror in the middle, usually placed on top of doorways of Filipino-Chinese homes. It is not known how long this blending and fusion of religious icons has existed but it is a clear indication of religious syncretism (See 1989; Yu 2000; Ang See 2005). This is also evident in the graves and mausoleums at the Manila Chinese Cemetery that often have a mixture of crosses, angels, qilins (a mythical creature with the hooves of a horse, the body of a deer, and the tail of an ox), and dragons as architectural, decorative, and religious features. Moreover, inside the temple is a life-size statue of Tan Quien Sien, also known as “Don Carlos Palanca Tan Chuey Liong” or “Tan Chueco” (Wickberg 2000) who was the basis of the character Quiroga in Jose Rizal’s novel *El Filibusterismo* (de Viana 2001).

La Loma and its good feng shui

The location of the Chinese cemetery is deliberate not only because of its relative proximity to the largest Chinese enclave but also because of its geography. According to Purnell (1993), in feng shui, mountains and hillsides are considered hallowed ground. It is thus advisable to bury on the slope of these high areas. There are three basic beliefs regarding the nature or behavior of the dead according to the Chinese: They tend to go to the world of the living causing them good or harm, they have the same needs as living people, and they require their descendants to venerate them. The dead must be buried on hillsides where there is a view of a body of water, so the souls could also have a view. Ideally, there should be mountains or cliffs on at least two sides. The water serves as the boundary between the world of the living and the dead (Purnell 1993) since the souls cannot cross water

(Man Dy and Go 2005). The area of the Manila Chinese cemetery is actually high ground, just beside the La Loma Catholic Cemetery. ‘Loma’ comes from Spanish meaning “knoll,” and, true enough the cemetery sits on a hill.

On graves

A typical Chinese grave is composed of the grave and tombstone, similar to non-Chinese's. Yet there are several evident differences that can be seen in a Chinese cemetery. Perhaps the most obvious are the chimney-like structures and the tablet stone set opposite at the far front corners of the graves. It is a common Chinese practice during funerals or visits to the graves to burn joss² papers stamped with the name of the deceased. These papers are folded and rolled in a special way with the name of the departed on the outside before burning to ensure that the spirit of the deceased will have good things in the afterlife since it also serves as their money in the spirit world. Joss papers are burned in a hearth with chimney-like structure (Figure 2.5) and these structures come in different sizes, colors, and designs. If there is not enough space to build the hearth within the plot, a can is usually used as a substitute. Opposite the hearth, a small rectangular stone tablet (Figure 2.6) is placed. The stone tablet is carved with two Chinese characters, 后土 (hòu tǔ), which stands for the “god of the Earth.” This is where the red joss sticks or red incense are burned. As a Taoist belief, burning joss sticks is a form of respect and a plea to the god to not doom the soul of the deceased in the underworld and be



Figure 2.5: Variety of chimney-like structures wherein the joss paper or “ghost money” are burned (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.6: “Sovereign Earth” or the god of Earth stone tablet where red joss sticks are burned (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

permitted to enter its gates on the day of their death and during the Hungry Ghost Festival celebrated on the 15th night of the seventh month in the Lunar calendar. On the other hand, the golden-yellow joss sticks (similar in color to that of the ghost paper) are for the deceased. The golden-yellow joss sticks are burned in front of the deceased's grave and are positioned in censers (or makeshift ones), which are all part of the ancestral worship practices of the Chinese.

Aside from the social status that is attached and associated to the degree of affluence or the lack of it as manifested in the grave, kinship is very well represented in the Manila Chinese Cemetery tombstones. Married couples are usually buried beside each other (Figure 2.7). If one of the spouses is still alive, the marker of the empty grave is labeled with ‘壽’ (shòu), which means ‘long life’ or ‘福’ (fú) which means happiness or good fortune or luck, in an upright position or inverted. Sometimes a small, live turtle is put inside the empty grave for the rest of the family to have long lives because turtles represent longevity due to their slow movements. Additionally, as it was a custom for many Chinese men to have more than one wife, the husband's grave is positioned between the graves of the wives. It can also be noticed that, facing the graves, the husband is always located on the right



Figure 2.7: Tombs of married couples buried side-by-side; On the left photo, the inscriptions indicate that the wife is still alive. (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

side while the wife is situated on the left. Some mausoleums have younger members of the family on either side of the parents. There are also a few child burials in the Chinese cemetery which seem affluent and well-maintained, and are the sole grave, sometimes inside a mausoleum.

The graves can perhaps be classified accordingly into two major types: (1) open-air grave markers and (2) mausoleums. They both vary in size and design. Open grave markers are tombs that are in the shape of a turtle/kiln, mountain, rectangle, cube/square, memorial, and apartment. Some are even arranged atop of each other, yet these are small compared to the pyramid or step-like graves. Some of these kinds of grave markers are also evident within the mausoleums. Perhaps, mausoleums can be treated as a kind of embellishment on open air graves, an enclosure of some sort. Nonetheless, these types help facilitate our understanding of the social and cultural significance of the grave markers. Most graves now are of affluent Chinese who were either Christian or still practicing traditional Chinese religion. The



Figure 2.8a: Type I-Mausoleum – Type I-A: rectangular (with variations); Type I-B: square (with variations); Type I-C: condo/apartment; Type I-D: memorial/obelisk; Type I-E: bench (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

cemetery evolved from being a cemetery of non-Christians and Chinese outcasts to a cemetery for Chinese—whose mausoleums (mostly post-World War II) reflect their elevated social and economic statuses. Mausoleums house grave types such as rectangular, cubic/square, apartment, and memorial, similar to that of open air graves (Figures 2.8a and 2.8b). It is not known however if the graves that are not big enough to accommodate a body in extended burial position contain bones or ashes of the deceased.



Figure 2.8b: Type IIA - mountain, IIB- above ground niche (rectangular), IIC - turtle/kiln, IID -apartment type, IIE - obelisk, IIF - square above ground niche (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

Most mausoleums belong to entire families, usually having more than one person buried, or intended to be buried in them. Some even contain apartment-type of graves (Figure 2.9). A number of mausoleums have roofs with cloud designs and mythical creatures, most commonly dragons; others designs include tigers and *fu* dogs³ along with angels, crucifixes, and statues of the Christ and Virgin Mary (Figure 2.10). The inclusion of the latter statues and symbols are clear evidence that Christianity has become part of the belief of the Chinese-Filipino community in the Philippines. Many had been baptized Christians but maintained their belief in the practices of their ancestors.

Some mausoleums memorialize heroes such as Don Carlos Palanca who championed the rights of Chinese in the Philippines and those who fought in the Second World War such as Liat See Tong, and those who have



Figure 2.9: Apartment-type graves inside mausoleums (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.10: Common images found in Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

died in a tragedy such as the collapse of the Ruby Tower due to an earthquake in 1968. Some of the most noticeable mausoleums belong to Dee Ching Chuan, founder of China Banking Corporation and Ma Mon Luk, the so-called “King of Mami,” both of which are reflective of personality and achievement. Their affluence can readily be seen in the size and decorations that adorn their mausoleums. Chuan's mausoleum is an imposing three-storey building while Ma Mon Luk has a large crown on top of his mausoleum. Aside from the mausoleums with heavier Chinese architectural influence, another interesting feature of the Chinese cemetery are the Art Deco architecture mausoleums, which were influenced by the design's boom in Paris in the first decades of the 20th century (Man Dy, personal communication, 2010). These also have large signs of the family name of the owner of the mausoleum, more commonly in Roman alphabet.

Despite its name, there are also some non-Chinese Filipinos buried in the cemetery. The most prominent ones are writer Manuel Arguilla, journalist Rafael Roces Jr., founder of Girl Scouts of the Philippines Josefa Llanes Escoda, and athlete Virgilio Lobregat. There is a triangular marker dated 1903 where Apolinario Mabini (Figure 2.11) used to be buried, since he was denied burial at the La Loma Catholic Cemetery for being an agnostic and anti-American. The Americans spread the news that he died of cholera, hence the need for him to be buried at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Man Dy and Go 2005).



Figure 2.11: Memorial of Apolinario Mabini (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

In the cemetery, open grave markers are more varied in terms of shape and decoration than the ones in the mausoleums. Perhaps this is because tombs inside mausoleums are hidden, thus the emphasis on the design of the façade of mausoleums instead. Rectangular and square-shaped graves sometimes have additional headstones on top, or a large cross, or a pagoda with four columns (Figure 2.12). There are also some whose tops are decorated with a stair-like structure. It is interesting to note that the turtle/kiln-



Figure 2.12: Rectangular and square-shaped graves, (some) with a variety of headstones (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

shaped graves (Figure 2.13) are not roofed or enclosed. The end-tail of the grave may represent a mound or a mountain, as it is slightly inclined higher than the front, noting that the head of the grave is at the foot of the hill. There are also variations of this. Interestingly though, there are three graves with a “hill” or mound on top of them (Figure 2.14)—which could be imitations of hills, an expression of the importance of mountains/mounds/hills in Chinese burial practices. However, the mountain-shaped graves or mounds (Figure 2.15) are more obvious as these are built on slopes and appeal to the predilection for hill slopes. The apartment type graves come in rows and columns with economical squarish plaques where the inscriptions are made. On the opposite end of the



Figure 2.13: Turtle/kiln-shaped graves (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

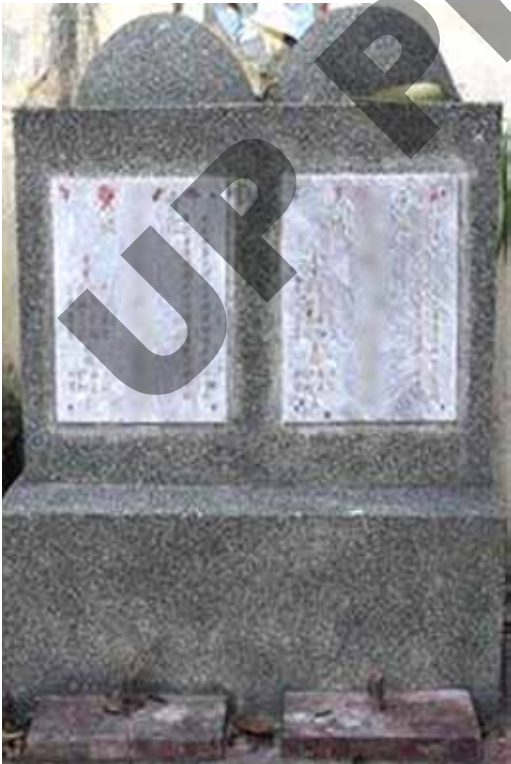


Figure 2.14: Graves with “hill” or mound atop of each (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.15: Graves with a mountain or hill background (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.16: “Megaliths” or “obelisks” to commemorate heroism or tragedy (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

spectrum, there are large and prominent memorials that resemble “megaliths” or “obelisks” to commemorate heroism or a tragedy, usually narrow and more than ten feet high (Figure 2.16).

On the symbols

Present in all cultures, symbols can be perceived in art, architecture, pictures, and words, and the Manila Chinese Cemetery is clearly not lacking in them. The nature of the Chinese writing system and the language itself became factors in the rich vocabulary of symbolism of the Chinese. The pronunciation of words is often linked to other words that are pronounced the same by referring the sound of each individual character. Aside from the linguistic symbols, mythical and ancient astrological symbols are also represented.

Animals

The most common symbol that can be found in the said cemetery is the Chinese dragon (龍; lóng). Unlike in Western cultures, the dragon in Chinese culture represents the ultimate cosmic energy (qi), good fortune, protection, and longevity, and they are often found on roofs of mausoleums (Figure 2.17). Many of the Chinese emperors have used the image of the dragon as a symbol of power.

Animals such as tigers, cranes, deer, fish, and phoenixes are also represented. The tiger (Figure 2.18) is said to represent the yin in the yin and yang symbol. It means courage and sternness, yet it is also a symbol



Figure 2.17: Examples of Chinese dragons found in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.18: An image of a tiger on one of the graves at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

for protection, to ward off harm and assure safekeeping. Some even regard it as the god of wealth, since Tsai Shen Yeh—the Chinese god of wealth is portrayed seated on a tiger. The phoenix (Figure 2.19) is the yin energy as well, but when combined with the dragon, its meaning changes and it then represents the yang energy (with the dragon as the yin). The phoenix is associated with fire and the four winds and is synonymous with good fortune, luck, and abundance. Second only to the phoenix, the crane is an ancient symbol for longevity since it has a long life span and its white feathers are associated with old age (Figure 2.20). The fish represents abundance and affluence (Figure 2.21); when paired, it means marriage. A forest animal, the deer (Figure 2.22), is also a significant symbol in the Chinese culture. They believe that the deer is the only animal that knows where to find the fungus of immortality, thus, it signifies wealth and longevity (Jacknis 2005).

A pair of dog like animals adorns the entrances of several mausoleums. These are the Chinese guardian lions *shishi* or stone lion (Figure 2.23), known incorrectly in the West as fu dogs, which are believed to possess mythical powers. A pair is commonly seen flanking temples and graves. They are also found in government offices, restaurants, and homes of government officials.



Figure 2.19: A phoenix design on a grave in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.20: Representations of the crane in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.21: Fish on a mausoleum roof in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.22: Representations of the deer in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.23: Sculptures of fu dogs (lion guard) in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

Another mythical creature which the Chinese believe to signify good omen is the qilin or *chilin* (Figure 2.24). The chimera-like creature is thought to bring serenity or prosperity.

Interestingly, there is one more animal that is present in the Chinese cemetery. It may not be as obvious as the others but the representation of bats is widespread (Figure 2.25). Like the dragon, bats are regarded negatively in Western culture, but for the Chinese, they are a sign of happiness and good



Figure 2.24: Qilin or the Chinese Unicorn found in some tombs in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.25: Bat symbols found in some mausoleums at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

luck, due to their character—fu (蝠)—being homophonic to ‘good fortune’ (福) in Chinese (Jacknis 2005).

Plants

Plants are also well-represented because of the meaning attached to them. The most common that can be found in the Chinese cemetery is the *meihuā* (梅花) or plum blossom, the flower of winter, which represents ‘renewal’ as it is the first flower to bloom in spring. It is also the symbol for perseverance and purity because it remains in bloom even during cold weather conditions. The plum blossom's five petals are significant since the number five is associated with the five elements essential to good life (Figure 2.26). The lotus (Figure 2.27) is another flower that can be seen on motifs in the cemetery. It symbolizes purity since it blooms out of mud. It is often used to illustrate a throne of Buddha, and it is one of the auspicious symbols



Figure 2.26: Representations of the meihuā or the plum blossom in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.27: An example of a mid-bloomed lotus in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.28: A peony in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



of Buddhism. Considered the 'king of flowers,' the peony symbolizes virtue and royalty (Figure 2.28). It is widely used as a badge of wealth and honor.

The bamboo (Figure 2.29) is also symbolic because it bends with the winds, withstands storms, and stays green throughout the year. It stands for vitality and longevity. The Chinese character of bamboo (竹; zhú) is homophonic to the word 'congratulate' (祝; zhū). The gourd

Figure 2.29: Bamboo designs in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.30: Representations of gourds in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

can also be found in the Chinese cemetery. Similar to the others, it signifies long life (Figure 2.30).

Other Symbols

There is also the fire element, which is mostly found between two dragons (Figure 2.31). In feng shui, both fire as well as dragons, indicates power due to its life-giving nature. The bagua is very much connected to feng shui and literally means ‘eight diagrams’. It is a Taoist symbol used in

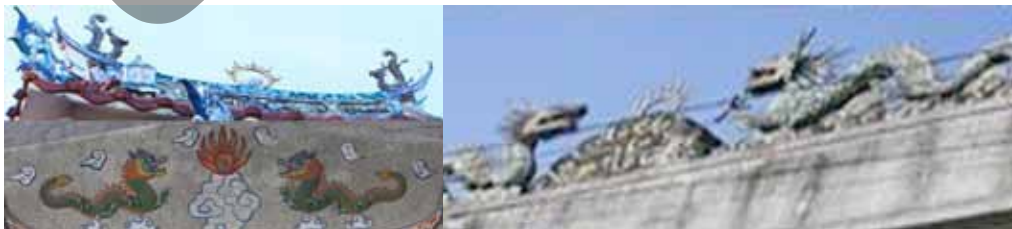


Figure 2.31: Examples of fire-between-dragons at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

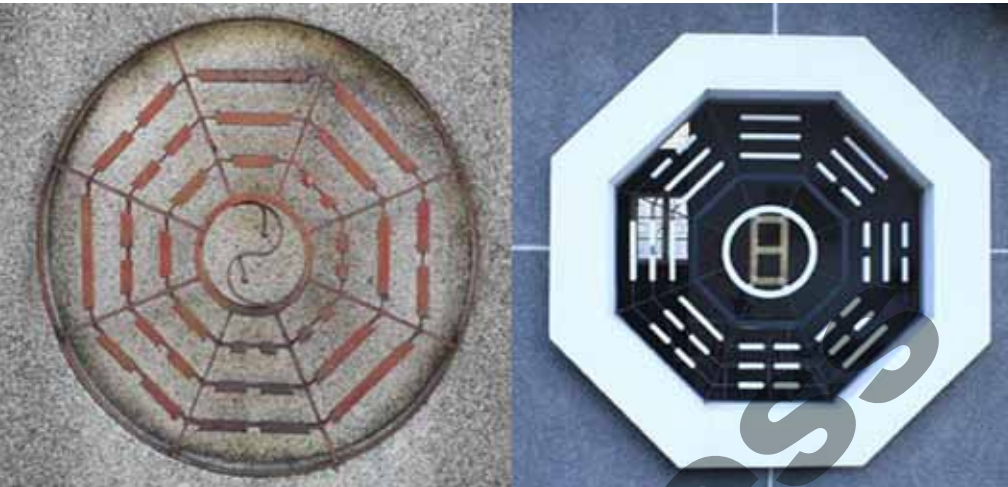


Figure 2.32: Representations of Earlier Heaven Bagua used in burials at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

cosmology. There are two versions of the bagua: the Earlier Heaven Bagua and the Later Heaven Bagua. The former is used in burials (Figure 2.32) while the latter is used in residences.

Aside from the above symbols, there are also Chinese characters present in the gates of mausoleums, the most common being the symbol for long life (Figure 2.33). It must be understood that these symbols are not all meant for the deceased, but also for the descendants and family of the deceased (Man Dy, personal communication, 2010). The symbols are more



Figure 2.33: Chinese characters symbolizing longevity at the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

reflective of the hopes, comfort, and well-being of the visitors to these graves than that of those who were interred.

Chinese gravestone inscriptions

What are inscribed on the tombstones in Chinese burials also vary when compared with non-Chinese grave markers. A Chinese gravestone contains several details regarding the deceased that make it easy to identify his/her origins. It has at least three main columns of Chinese scripts, which are read from top to bottom starting from the right-hand side. Bigger script size indicates the relative importance of the information (Jones 2001). The central characters are always larger than the rest since it is the name of the deceased. Inscribed on the east-facing side is usually information of the date and place of birth and the age of the deceased, while the date and time of death are written on the west-facing side. This, of course, is not always the case (Figure 2.34). Some have long details about the deceased. However, what is common in Chinese grave markers is the name of the deceased always being at its center and the place of origin is always on either side of the deceased's name.



Figure 2.34: Various gravestones with Chinese scripts: far left photo has the name of the deceased in larger font and the place of origin or birth; middle photo has the name of the deceased in larger font, the place of birth, and the date of death; and far right has the name of the deceased in larger font, the place of origin, the dates of birth and death (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

In the Manila Chinese Cemetery, it can be observed that each tombstone has grouped scripts on the top row, right column, central column, and left column. The top column (on the rightmost side) indicates the place of birth, and immediately below it are the dates of birth and death. On the other side, the topmost left may contain the district, county, or the village of the deceased. Below are the names of the departed's sons and daughters (and grandchildren).

Name/s of the deceased

As typical of the Chinese, the surname always comes first before the given name, which equates to three characters. Yet, it can also be that there are additional scripts between the surnames and the given names and after the given names. The Chinese character ‘公’ (gōng) is used for male, as it pertains to a decent old man, while the character ‘母’ (mǔ) is used for female since it is deemed maternal or motherly (Jones 2001). The arrangement of the words ‘gong’ or ‘mu’ may also be placed after the last character of the given name. Other characters are also added above and below the center column. The bottom characters often translate to ‘grave of’ or variations of it to indicate that such a named person rests in the said grave. Characters atop the surname of the deceased inform that a son or daughter erected the grave for their father or mother. In some instances, the Anglicized name of the deceased is included, inscribed at the topmost field, often together with the date of birth and death (Figure 2.35). In other cases, the



Figure 2.35: Anglicized name of the deceased with English date of birth (left) and date of death (right) (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.36: Anglicized name of the deceased written beside his Chinese name (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.37: Grave of a Chinese man with a non-Chinese typical gravestone layout (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

Anglicized name is beside the Chinese name (Figure 2.36). Additionally, there are gravestones that follow the typical design of a non-Chinese gravestone, but Chinese inscriptions are still included (Figure 2.37).

Place of birth

Elements of the place of birth can be seen on the topside of the tombstone, on either side of the middle column. The rightmost side bears the name of the province where the deceased was born. Since it is customary for the Chinese to start from the largest to the smallest (as seen in how their dates are written)



Figure 2.38: Top right and left scripts are the place of birth or origin of the deceased. On the right side is the province and district and on the left is the county and village (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

or from general to specific, what is written next to the province is the district. Then on the left side, the name of the county is written and, lastly, the name of the village. It must be remembered that Chinese reads from right to left, so the arrangement of the place of birth of the deceased is province, district, prefecture, and then village (Figure 2.38). If the family does not know the specific details, only the province and the district are inscribed on the tombstone, their names occupying either sides of the middle column.

Dates of birth and death

Both dates are often grouped together, etched on the right-hand side of the tombstone, located slightly below the province of birth and/or district. It should be noted that on the corner-most field, the date of birth is written, which starts with the year of birth, followed by the month and then the day. The same arrangement is observed on the date of death (Figure 2.39).

In some graves, the dates are represented in Arabic and/or Chinese numerals, and most often follow the Gregorian calendar. However, some use a different dating system—the Chinese era. For instance, in Figure 2.40, the date of birth is on Guangxu's (Kuang-hsu, a Qing (Ch'ing emperor) reigning era, and the date of passing is during the Chinese Republic, which began in



Figure 2.39: Encircled inscriptions are the dates of birth (right) and death (left) (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)



Figure 2.40: The date of birth is on the 14th year, 8th month, and 18th day of Guangxu (a Qing Emperor) reign. The date of birth is on the 34th year, 1st month, and 20th day of the Chinese Republic (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

1911. The numbers of year after the following scripts should be added to the era's beginning date.

Descendant's names

The names of the sons and/or daughters of the deceased are usually found at the left side of the tombstones, below the place of origin. The son/s' names always come first before the daughters. According to Man Dy (personal communication, 2010), the earlier gravestones only include the names of the sons. This is because once a daughter marries, she is buried in her husband's family grave plot. At times, if the deceased has grandchildren, their names are also inscribed on the gravestones below the names of the daughters (or sons if there are no daughters).

It should be pointed out that not all inscriptions are in Chinese. Some are combined with other languages such as English, Filipino, and Spanish along with Chinese scripts. Often, there are also photos of the deceased on the grave marker itself, the mausoleum wall, or anywhere near the grave.

DISCUSSION

The grave markers and mausoleums show variations in style, contents, and detail, reflective of milieu and certain cultural influences that must be evaluated according to their development through time. The Manila Chinese Cemetery is replete with indications that clearly show the social status of the individuals interred among the graves and mausoleums that have been the focus of most of its tourist visitors. However, religious beliefs reflected in burial customs and grave decoration and design carry more significance for the purpose of this paper.

The history of the Manila Chinese Cemetery can be divided into three major periods: The first period is the foundation and early years, within the years 1850 until 1898. The Sangley *kung-so* or community association was responsible for the establishment of this cemetery—one that was for Chinese non-Christians who were not allowed to bury their dead in Catholic cemeteries. Though there are very few examples of existing graves from this time period, it can be expected that these will lack any Christian symbols, and will rather be more reflective of Chinese beliefs and culture.

The second period is uncertainty and transition. During the American Period, the official citizenship status categories were changed. Instead of *sangley*, *mestizo*, and *indio*, the *sangley* was identified as Chinese or alien. Then *mestizo* and *indio* were lumped into Filipino (Chu 2002), wherein Filipino was at the time used for Spanish *insulares* and *peninsulares* living in the Philippines. This new "identity" as well as the Filipino nationalist movement highlighted Chinese "otherness" (Chu 2002). Before this era, mainland China had little to do with Chinese diaspora or Chinese who had moved overseas. This was a time when China began to be involved in the affairs of Chinese residing outside China. Citizenship for Chinese residents in the Philippines was also an issue. The administration of the Manila Chinese cemetery was transferred to the Chinese Charitable Association. The graves from this era began to show some Christian symbols. Catholic Chinese began to use the Manila Chinese Cemetery and likewise, non-Catholic Chinese were able to use Catholic cemeteries. This period ended during World War II when the cemetery became a battle ground, endangering the existence of the cemetery and its possibility for rehabilitation and perpetuation. The Americans also began to establish new large cemeteries such as the Manila North Cemetery.

The third period covers current times, starting from the Second World War until the present. This period is characterized by the rise to affluence of the Chinese as reflected by the extravagant mausoleums in the Manila Chinese Cemetery. The rise to wealth can be attributed to their business acumen and work ethic. After the war, the Chinese started many businesses. Mausoleums or tombs as large as houses began to be built. These mausoleums are like houses, some with a bathroom and a cooking area, as well as a lounge area. More Catholic Chinese were interred in the cemetery as can be seen in the iconography used in their graves.

The word "syncretism" has often been used to describe or explain the Chinese-Filipino religious phenomenon we witness today. The term refers to the blending of elements of different religions as expounded in the writings of Ang See and is evident in the general practice of religion by the Chinese in the Philippines. According to Yu (2000), Chinese-Filipinos or Tsinoys can be called religious syncretists because they practice Catholicism along with other religions such as Buddhism and Taoism. The grave shown in Figure 2.41 shows a mixture of Catholic and Chinese religious beliefs—a cross and incense burning on the same grave. As Catholics, they attend mass but they



Figure 2.41: A grave in the Manila Chinese Cemetery wherein there is a cross and evidence of incense burning (Photo by Donna Mae N. Arriola and Eleanor Marie S. Lim)

also visit Chinese temples. Aside from the Chong Hok Tong Temple, there are other public places where the Filipino Chinese display images from different faiths side by side. For example, Our Lady of Caysasay in Taal, Batangas is also worshipped as the goddess Ma-Tzu (Mazu), and the Black Nazarene of Capalonga in Camarines Norte is visited by Catholic Chinese pilgrims.

Joss sticks are burned and food offerings are made to venerate these icons (Yu 2000; Ang See 2005). Syncretism emphasizes that all religions have borrowed elements from other belief systems, therefore, no religion or belief system can be considered pure. However, syncretism can work and remain useful if we accept that it is not neutral and involves politics (Shaw and Stewart 1994). Perhaps, what critics would like to highlight is that beliefs do not just become straightforwardly mixed together, but there exists a complex process involving areas of conflict, compromise, and intersections, and a great amount of negotiation. For example, the renovation of the Chong Hok Tong temple to look more Chinese in architecture, assuming also its present identity as a Buddhist temple, can be seen as an assertion of Chinese heritage or ancestry.

As said earlier, rarely do Chinese identify themselves as belonging to only one religion or belief system. Most Chinese are eclectic or pluralistic and practice a combination of elements of “traditional Chinese religions.”

One explanation for this occurrence was that during the Ming Dynasty, great thinkers in China such as Lin Chao-en (Lin Zhaoen) wanted to create harmony between the three great religions, which resulted in a unique combination (Yu 2000). Chinese in the Philippines as well as mestizos typically have an altar at home with the pictures of their dead grandparents, as well as the Virgin Mary or Sto. Niño, Buddha, an incense burner, and food offerings. The Chinese also observe Catholic holidays such as All Saints' Day, visiting the dead but also performing some Chinese religious rites such as burning joss sticks and ghost money, offering food, and sticking colorful papers on the graves (Ang See 2005). In this sense, it is important to note that before Catholic conversion, majority of the Chinese arriving in the Philippines already were syncretists.

Each host country to Chinese migrants is bound to have its effects on the immigrant population and vice versa, and depending on certain factors, and these will be manifested in different ways. Like most Philippine cemeteries, the Manila Chinese Cemetery is also made for the living who frequently visit and maintain the graves. Chinese and indigenous Filipino beliefs in ancestral veneration were the reason for such a situation, and religious syncretism between traditional Chinese religions and Catholicism took place because these did not conflict with each other (Ang See 2005). Instead, the Chinese took elements from all these religions. For example, Chinese Catholics assimilated the reverence to Kuan Yin and became Guanyin Mary. The physical features of Quanyin Mary resembles that of the Chinese image of Kuan Yin as well as Mother Mary. Buddhists regard Quanyin (Wades–Giles romanization) as the goddess of mercy and compassion. Thus, she becomes the Avalokiteshvara Bodhisattva, a Buddhist figure who is the personification of perfect compassion.

The Chinese in the Philippines are said to be well-integrated. Yet, a factor that may have contributed to the ability of the Chinese to preserve some elements of their culture is their own language and way of writing as evident in the Manila Chinese Cemetery. Chinese characters may appear meaningless to outsiders but they clearly show Chinese presence. In their art, they can “hide” certain things from undiscerning eyes such as that of their symbol for ‘bat’ and ‘luck’ as seen in the ironwork of the mausoleums. This may be intimidating to outsiders but at the same time comforting because the meaning is not readily apparent and can be easily dismissed as not hostile.

Native Filipinos have a different experience from the Chinese immigrants where the former's religion was actually replaced by Catholicism and as a way of coping, the indigenous population incorporated already existing beliefs about anitos or ancestral spirits in Christianity—appropriation (Jose 1992). However, Filipinos have also integrated albeit a few Chinese practices and beliefs such as the use of a bagua, feng shui, lighting firecrackers during the New Year, among others, even if these are not encouraged by the Catholic church. Moreover, the native Filipinos may have had their own interpretation of Chinese symbols, and have been aware of these since the first contact with the Chinese because these are pervasive in porcelain designs. Catholicism has been indigenized and even Sinicized, helping promote harmony between different ethnic groups (Ang See 2005). The mestizo class, created by a Chinese population of mainly males who intermarried with local women, is also known to have more Catholic converts. This also aided in the assimilation of the Chinese into Filipino culture (de Viana 2001). Another factor that facilitated the assimilation of the Chinese into Filipino society, though not yet fully explored, is one does not involve Hispanization. There are striking similarities between the folk beliefs of Chinese and Filipinos, primarily ancestral veneration and belief in spirits.

Most of the graves seen in the Manila Chinese Cemetery today belong to post-Second World War times but there remain a few older ones still intact. Keeping this in mind, in terms of material culture, the cemetery also reflects the artisanship of the Chinese, as they were known to be artisans during the Spanish period. The production of material culture from the hands of Chinese artisans helped in blending Catholicism and Chinese religions, for example, the Chinese produced Catholic religious icons with Chinese style such as that of Nuestra Señora Socorro among many others. In a more economic sense, the production of tiles and bricks during the Spanish period was a Chinese trade while many Chinese also worked in construction (De Viana 2001). This continued well after the Colonial period, at least for the tile and brick factories. Some tombs have decorated and glazed tiles that cover the surface of mausoleums and graves. It would be interesting to further investigate other raw materials and construction/decoration techniques used in the cemetery and its relationship to Chinese businesses.

However, there existed socioeconomic stratification within the Chinese community. As mentioned earlier, Hokkiens are the most dominant Chinese

group in the Philippines. According to Chin (1998), the Hokkiens in Manila were stratified into three main groups. The wealthy merchants belonged to the highest position, followed by petty traders and peddlers, while the artisan were regarded the lowest in the community. Their associations helped them in business, especially during a time when mainland China did not interfere with their affairs, compelling them to create associations of their own to manage their activities and protect their interests. During the period beginning 1850, not only did more Chinese flock to the Philippines, but China also had more involvement in the lives of overseas Chinese (Wickberg 2000). The late 1800s also saw the end of the Parian, thereby allowing non-Catholic Chinese to mingle freely and reside with Catholic Chinese, mestizos, and the native population who were mostly Christianized. This was also a time when *gobornadorcillos* and *gremios* had increasing power and influence thereby buffering the effect of Spanish government (Wickberg 2000). Ironically, it was also in the last part of the 19th century that the Manila Chinese Cemetery was formally established. In death, there was still a marked separation between non-Catholics, mostly Chinese, and other ethnic groups. It is interesting to find out when the Manila Chinese Cemetery shifted from being conceptually a graveyard for poor non-Catholic Chinese and locals to a cemetery also for Chinese and mestizo Christians. From a cemetery for poor Chinese, the Manila Chinese cemetery has become known for its mausoleums of the wealthy. This shows that there has been a conceptual shift from “non-Catholic” cemetery to “Chinese cemetery” over the years.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this paper, we have demonstrated how syncretism is evident in the material culture of the Manila Chinese Cemetery, and how the Filipino Chinese community continues to assert itself while accepting other beliefs and practices. These syncretic characteristics show the shift from a “non-Catholic” cemetery to a “Chinese” cemetery, which is connected to cultural assimilation and economic power.

There is a need to discuss Chinese religious syncretism in greater detail and depth, as well as explore other Chinese cemeteries in the Philippines. It is important to examine the religion, ethnicity (“pure” or mestizo), parentage,

and genealogy of the owners of the graves and what year these were made in order to better understand the politics of religious synthesis as reflected in the designs. This demographic information will provide a more systematic method to this study. Another issue that can be explored is a review of the degree of accuracy connecting the seeming affluence of the graves with the socioeconomic status of the deceased and its family in a culture that gives premium value when it comes to honoring their dead regardless of cost.

Comparisons with other Chinese cemeteries in Southeast Asia can also be instructive. The Chinese may be found all around the world today, but they first started to spread out in Southeast Asia hundreds of years ago. A few interesting Chinese cemeteries in Southeast Asia can be used as comparative material. For example, there is Bukit Brown in Singapore, also known as *Kopi Sua* or Coffee Hill, named after its first owner George Henry Brown, a ship owner. Despite most of its grave sites having been demolished to make way for housing projects, Bukit Brown is one of the few old cemeteries left in Singapore. It features the largest grave in Singapore belonging to Ong Sam Leong, his son Ong Boon Tat, and their wives who were Straits Chinese businessmen who started to make their fortune in the late 1800s. The graves in Bukit Brown have several mountain-type graves, as well as rectangular headstones. The oldest grave there dates back to 1844. This is only one example of the many Chinese cemeteries that can be found all over the world, reflecting the experiences of Chinese overseas which can differ from country to country.

The Manila Chinese Cemetery serves as a veritable record of history as well as testament to the diversity of culture in the Philippines and how these cultures interact, as well as according to Wickberg (2000) the continuous process by which the Chinese were assimilated into Philippine life—the economy, society, and culture, all in these silent tombs. The Manila Chinese cemetery is indeed an important historical and even archaeological site.

Endnotes

- ¹ He probably was also Tan Quien-Sien (Tan Quin Lay), later known as Carlos Palanca.
- ² 金紙 (jīnzhǐ; gold paper) is also called “ghost paper” or “hell money”.
- ³ This refers to the mythical creatures featured in the Chinese New Year lion dance that resemble dogs but are actually lions.
- ⁴ Don Carlos Palanca used to be known as Tan Quien-Sien (Tan Quin Lay) but he converted to Catholicism. He adapted the name of his baptismal godfather, Colonel Carlos Palanca y Gutierrez. Later on, Don Carlos Palanca became gobernadorcillo of Manila from 1875–1877 and in 1885 and 1889.
- ⁵ This temple was demolished in March 2015 to give way to a new one. See Edgar Allan M Sembrano, “Heritage advocates condemn demolition of ancient Chinese temple,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, April 6, 2015, accessed April 9, 2015, <http://www.lifestyle.inquirer.net/189776/heritage-advocates-condemn-demolition-of-ancient-chinese-temple>.

Chapter 3

ANG MAMATAY NG DAHIL SA IYO:

Patriots' Graves at Manila Cemeteries and
Neighboring Provinces

Andrea Malaya M. Ragragio

*Ang isang bayan ay sinusukat ayon sa uri ng mga taong kanyang
dinadakila.—Senator Jovito R. Salonga¹*

INTRODUCTION

When we think of memorializing Filipinos patriots, what may first enter the mind are *rebulto* or statues of these persons often in poses that are supposed to recall their heroism. They are depicted in the midst of their patriotic acts, such as wielding weapons in battle or in their moment of martyrdom. However, most of these monuments were erected years and even decades after their deaths. Sufficient time has already passed for their representations and images to be worked and reworked in the collective or social psyche. Burial structures, which are in general erected closer to the person's death, can provide insights about his or her identity that may not exactly be congruent with other forms of memorializations. This chapter seeks to look at the symbols and motifs present on the graves of known Filipino patriots. How do they represent and/or memorialize the individual and his or her contribution to Philippine history? What values and/or meanings are conveyed to the living, and how so are they reproduced and communicated?

PATRIOT AS AN IDENTITY

“Patriot” is, in anthropological parlance, an achieved status. It is a distinction a person acquires or earns during the course of his or her life. The other category of status is ascribed status, which refers to statuses that one is born into (Kottak 2008). The biological sex and ethnic origins are examples of ascribed statuses, while occupation, level of education, mastery of certain skills, and membership in organizations are achieved statuses. Some criteria, such as wealth, religion, and nationality can be both ascribed and achieved. A person born in a Catholic family and raised as Roman Catholic, may opt to retain this ascribed status, but he or she may also change their minds and work towards being accepted into another religion, which then becomes an achieved status.

In contemporary society, the correlation between ascribed and achieved status is more patent. For example, chances are, a national politician (achieved status) would have been born into an elite, wealthy family (ascribed status). However, being hailed as a patriot or nationalist is not the sort of achieved status that necessarily relies upon other ascribed statuses. Persons of different genders, level of wealth, age, and ethnicity can be considered patriots.

There are two important features of this category that are of particular importance to, and will thus delimit, the present discussion. The first is based upon the formal definitions of the word. Two versions of the Oxford dictionary define it as “a person who strongly supports their country and is prepared to defend it” (Soanes 2001) and “one who exerts himself to promote the well-being of his country ... who maintains and defends his country’s freedom or rights” (Onions 1955). Both these definitions rely upon an entity, a country/nation/state, which serves as an inspiration and on to which patriotic feelings can be projected and made to serve.² “Patriot,” then, is necessarily a recently formed category. It is hinged on the existence of a country—a larger, all-encompassing political, social, and economic entity beyond one’s family, kin group, tribe, rank or other collectives that have commanded the loyalties of individuals throughout human history.³

The second, though it is not included in the definitions cited above, must be taken into consideration as we aim to make this discussion significant for the public at large. The ascription of patriot should be completed by the

recognition of these persons' achievements by his or her own generation or at least the generations that followed. I have necessarily broadened this feature precisely because the ascription itself is an unavoidable interplay of politics, culture, and other social forces that are not usually equal or reconcilable. For example, because the formal definition of a "patriot" relies upon the establishment of a "country," it seems straightforward that the recognition of the nation-state be a requisite for a person to be deemed a patriot. Though this may be the case for many of the personages tackled in this chapter, some may not be immediately considered patriots if based upon this specific criterion.

In this sense, this category is subjective, with no formalized standards. Still, there are commonalities among these personages which we may generally agree upon as patriots, or how a person becomes one. Personages may be tackled at length by historians and scholars as having played pivotal roles in the country's history, or cited for exemplary acts. They may also be commemorated through the passing of laws or through proper recognition by national and local government agencies. At the same time, they can be commemorated by particular segments of Filipino society for actions considered nationalist or pro-Filipino.

To be certain, I have also considered their burial structures themselves as additional support as to their status as patriots. Almost all the burial structures discussed herein have explicit references to this category, effectively making it as part and parcel of how the individual is commemorated.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE RECENT PAST

Despite the traditional focus of archaeology on the distant past before writing, the so-called "prehistory" of humankind (Renfrew and Bahn 2008), recent studies have increasingly focused on the historical past, on recorded events, and recent cultural phenomena (e.g., Orser and Fagan 1995; Orser 1996; Paynter 2000; Gilchrist 2003a). The archaeology of recent conflicts was born out of the desire to understand war and its causes, as well as the more personal, "emotive" aspect of this phenomenon, as it affects families, communities, and nations as a whole (Gilchrist 2003a).

Cemeteries are ideal places for exploring this through the burial places of the people who can be considered as its participants. Though engaging in conflict is not necessitated by the definitions of a patriot above, the biographies of some of the individuals discussed in this chapter reveal that their participating as combatants was a significant, if not the defining aspects of their lives and is often what is commemorated of them. The archaeological approach of this exploration, with its focus on material culture, complements, fills the gaps, and may even contradict more traditional historical accounts that are based only upon written documents, giving us a richer picture of individuals and events.

This examination will further contribute to a better and deeper appreciation of the lives and actions of people we recognize to have made a positive impact in our nation's history by examining structures that memorialize them in ways that may be different from (in terms of motives for the building of such structures, people responsible for it, level of intimacy/familiarity with the deceased) that of other traditional commemorative structures.

Also, as social scientists, we generally possess an anthropological concern about questions of identity (Mytum 2007). This question has long been addressed archaeologically in other countries, but it has just begun to be considered in the Philippines. This will hopefully also pave the way for more in-depth discussions about not just political identity but other types of identity as well.

Finally, tombs, mausoleums, and other burial structures could and should be considered as cultural resources, because as works of art, as memorials to important personages, even as places of pilgrimage, the significance of these structures go beyond a single kin group. Our visits to these cemeteries have reminded us that, as are other heritage structures in the country, these burial structures are also threatened by neglect, vandalism, and other detrimental human acts, so documentation will help in creating plans for long-term preservation and management.

METHOD

Previous studies outside the Philippines treat political identity both at the individual scale (for example, kings and chieftains) and at the scale

of groups (chiefdoms, archaic states) (see, for example, Jones 1997; Hope 2003; Delgado et al. 2005). This study will use the former approach, since the markers of political identity to be used (burial structures) refer to specific individuals and the time depth allows for a treatment at that level (i.e. biographies of specific persons).

Finding the burial sites of Filipino patriots is more difficult than it first appears. I began with more well-known Filipino patriots, though several could not immediately be used for this study. Many, like Jose Rizal⁴ or Apolinario Mabini⁵ have had their bodies transferred from their original place of interment to modern shrines. Others, like Andres Bonifacio⁶ and the three martyr priests known as Gomburza,⁷ lie in unmarked graves. For many, there is simply no available published information as to where they were buried. Alternative sources then had to be sought. The Internet proved to be useful, as municipalities throughout the Philippines are increasingly creating their own web pages and promoting local culture and local history. Public online fora also helped in collating unpublished information and local knowledge. As mentioned above, I kept an eye out for memorials wherein the identity of the patriot was obvious in the burial structures, though this was not a requirement. As the number of patriots whose places of interment are known appeared to be limited, it is deemed better not to confine this discussion to a particular date/decade, historical event, and social movement.

The cemeteries where these personalities are interred were then visited. Documentation of the pertinent material culture (their tombs and burial structures) through photography was done, along with noting names, dates, epitaphs, and other text that may be found on the burial structures. This would serve to identify what the motifs and representations present on the burial structures are and allow a comparison of their usage here with their usage elsewhere both in mortuary and other contexts. As structures of recent vintage, the symbols and the usage thereof on these burial structures also belong to the recent past.

Though symbols have multiple meanings and their interpretation is always a guarded study, problems of interpretation can largely be avoided as the subjects of this study are temporally and culturally close to us today. This is buttressed by the fact that the biographies of many of these persons are available, and could thus be connected to their own actual burial structures. Also important are the commemorative activities that center around the

graves of these persons and how these activities are carried out and what their significance are. However, since not all of them are currently actively commemorated, this will only apply to certain tombs.

THE MAUSOLEO DE LOS VETERANOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN

The patriots who defended their country did not die
in their beds. — Father Jacinto Zamora

The Manila North Cemetery is the largest public cemetery in the country. Opened in 1904, it is the final resting place of many important personages in Philippine history. The Manila North Cemetery is also ideal for exploring group identities as there are several plots that are devoted to specific sectors of society, such as according to occupation, religion, affiliation, as well as involvement in historically significant events. One such group plot that caught



Figure 3.1: The Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución (Photo by Roel Flores)

our eye was the *Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución* (Figure 3.1). It caught our attention right away because the identity category concerned was not typical. Not only was this anthropologically significant, but it was historically significant as well. As this was the grave that inspired this topic in the first place, it would then be a fitting starting point for our discussion.

The *Mausoleo* was built at the behest of the *Asociación de los Veteranos de la Revolución* (Association of Veterans of the Revolution) in cooperation with the City Government of Manila. The *Asociación*, which was founded by General Emilio Aguinaldo⁸ in 1912, was tasked with securing pensions and other benefits for its members. Baldomero Aguinaldo, Emilio's first cousin and former head of the Magdalo provincial council of the *Katipunan*, was the *Asociación*'s first president (Figure 3.2). As a veterans' association, the *Asociación* was preoccupied with securing the pensions of their members and ensuring various benefits including land purchases from the government, and, as the *Mausoleo* demonstrates, a place for their deceased members to be buried.

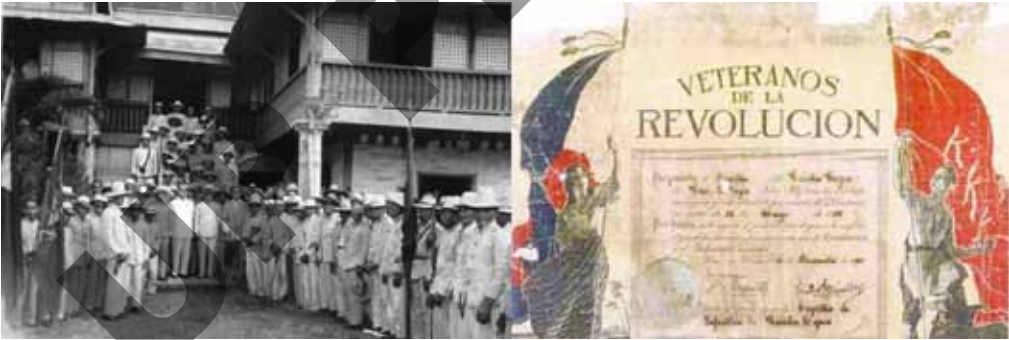


Figure 3.2: Left: Reunion of the *Asociación* members in 1955; Right: Certificate of membership in the *Asociación* (Source: <http://philippineamericanwar.webs.com/captureofaguinaldo1901.htm>)

The *Mausoleo* was designed by Filipino architect Arcadio Arellano, who, incidentally, was also personally involved in the revolution against Spain as a volunteer engineer. The *Mausoleo* was built in 1915 and inaugurated in 1920, making it perhaps one of the earlier mausoleums to be built in the North Cemetery.

Today, the Mausoleo bears a National Historical Institute (NHI, now known as the National Historical Commission of the Philippines) marker declaring it in 1993 a National Historical Landmark (Figure 3.3). Following Republic Act No. 8491 or the Flag and Heraldic Code of the Philippines, the Mausoleo is one of the memorials where the Philippine flag is to be displayed 24 hours a day throughout the year. As mandated also by Administrative Order 99 in 2004, commemorative activities take place at the Mausoleo on Independence Day (June 12) since it is a place of national historical significance.



Figure 3.3: Left: Marble marker with names of Veteranos; Right: NHI marker on the The Mousoleo [sic] de los Veteranos de la Revolución (Photo by Roel Flores)

WHO ARE BURIED AT THE THE MAUSOLEO DE LOS VETERANOS DE LA REVOLUCION?

The facade of the Mausoleo bears the years 1896 and 1902 in Roman numerals, marking a specific span of time during which the persons interred here should have served. The year 1896 marks the beginning of the Revolution for Independence from Spain, while 1902 is generally recognized as the end of open resistance against American forces and the Philippine-American War, after which the Filipino struggle throughout most of the islands took on the form of guerrilla warfare (Figure 3.3).

The Mausoleo has housed or currently houses several figures who qualify for the condition above. A marble marker at the facade gives their names and ranks as:

Comandante Tomas Arguelles
Comandante Leoncio Gonzales
Comandante Tomas Santiago
El Comandante M. Navarette
General Licerio Geronimo
General Adriano Hernandez
General Pío del Pilar
General Mariano Noriel
General Anastacio Francisco
General Emilio [sic] Riego de Dios
General Fernando Canon
General Pascual Ledesma
Coronel Honorato Agrava
Coronel Manuel Sityar
Coronel S. San Pedro
Coronel Quintin Salas
Teniente Coronel Agustin Bañez Bello
Teniente Coronel Luis Leconico
Teniente Coronel Carlos Malfort
Teniente Coronel Fernando Zamora
Capitan Enrique Serrano
Capitan Juan Arevalo
Teniente Pablo Hilario
Teniente Marcos Manlig
Sargento Fidel Franco

Aguinaldo's second wife Maria Agoncillo-Aguinaldo, the propagandist Marcelo H. del Pilar, and revolutionary Emilio Jacinto were also said to have been buried in the Mausoleo, but all were later exhumed and reburied in shrines in other places. Other individuals whose names were mentioned above have also been transferred, such as Pascual Ledesma and Licerio Gerónimo, who were both reinterred in their respective hometowns.⁹

Some of the names above may be familiar even to the casual reader of Philippine history, such as Pio del Pilar or Licerio Gerónimo. However, of the individuals listed in the marker, there is information available for only thirteen of them, and at varying levels of completeness. This somewhat limits what can be said about the personal circumstances of the interred individuals, though some commonalities are apparent.¹⁰

Many of them were visible figures in significant battles from 1896 to 1902. Of the thirteen individuals, six fought in Manila and neighboring provinces in Luzon while two (Quintin Salas and Adriano Hernandez) were commanders in Panay Island in the Visayas. As they were all bestowed military ranks, this makes it seem straightforward that they all had combat experience in either the Revolution or the Philippine-American War, though the biographies of the other individuals do not reflect this.

Juan Arevalo and Honorato Agrava seem to have been involved more with the bureaucratic side of the Revolution as Arevalo was a signatory to the Philippine Declaration of Independence on June 12, 1898, and Agrava was the representative of the province of Albay to the Malolos Congress on September 1898. Almost nothing is known about Anastacio Francisco except for the fact that he was among the leaders exiled in Hongkong with Aguinaldo, and was part of the Hongkong junta.

Pascual Ledesma, for his part, was a ship captain and trader whose most significant contribution could be that he was assigned by Aguinaldo as the *Director de Marina y Comercio* in the short-lived second revolutionary government from 1898 to 1901. Tomas Arguelles was an architect and career bureaucrat, whose most important accomplishment was the establishment of the *Camara de Comercio Filipina* or the Philippine Chamber of Commerce.

Before the war, most of them were educated and/or had already made careers for themselves, like Ledesma and Arguelles above. Fernando Canon was Rizal's contemporary in Europe where they were both students. Both Arevalo and Agrava were ilustrados.¹¹ Most of the others were local officials prior to the war. Pio del Pilar was a cabeza de barangay in Makati and Emiliano Riego de Dios was a gobernadorcillo. Both Quintin Salas and Adriano Hernandez held posts in their respective municipios, positions that they used to deceive Spanish authorities with regard to their loyalty when they were in fact already organizing the resistance in Panay. A somewhat similar story is Manuel Sityar's. A Spanish mestizo, Sityar served as a lieutenant with

the Guardia Civil and underwent military training in both Manila and Spain. As late as July 1896, Sityar was reporting suspicious activities to his Spanish superiors. It was not until May 1898 that he defected to the Filipino side and served as Aguinaldo's aide-de-camp. Because of his military expertise, Gen. Antonio Luna recommended him to head the Military Academy of the Revolutionary forces in October 1898 (Sityar 1998).

As with Sityar, Aguinaldo figures significantly in the military and bureaucratic career of many of these individuals. Del Pilar and Noriel were among his trusted generals. According to Aguinaldo, they were the ones who dissuaded him to commute the death penalty meted out to Andres Bonifacio (Aguinaldo and Pacis 1957). Ledesma and Canon were assigned important positions in Aguinaldo's Republic. Aguinaldo himself inducted Riego de Dios into the Katipunan secret society,¹² though they would differ in opinion on many issues later in the Revolution, such as the Pact of Biak-na-Bato¹³ and Bonifacio's execution.¹⁴ Aguinaldo's efforts in consolidating the Republic were supported by Arevalo, Agrava, Hernandez, and Francisco.

After 1902, their lives as civilians were spent in different ways. Most of those involved in military campaigns were either captured by or surrendered to the Americans at around the same time that Aguinaldo himself was captured in Isabela in March 1901. Perhaps, the harshest punishment meted out to any one of these individuals was Pio del Pilar's exile to Guam, though this lasted for only a year. Many of them resumed the careers they had had before the Revolution: Canon resumed teaching, Ledesma became a prosperous businessman, Salas became a lawyer, and he and Hernandez were elected to local positions in Panay.

They were not the only ones who participated in the government that was now run by the Americans. Sityar, was a member of the pro-American statehood *Partido Federalista*. Opposing the *Partido Federalista* were his former comrades Ledesma, Arguelles, and Hernandez, who belonged to the pro-immediate independence *Partido Nacionalista*.¹⁵ In fact, Ledesma was one of the founders of the *Partido Nacionalista* and its first president (from 1906 to 1908) and Arguelles served in its Executive Board. Though there are valid questions as to what the genuine motives of each party were, what is pointed out here is that these individuals who were once bound by a common cause, have now adopted different persuasions.

The person whose life took what is perhaps the strangest turn amongst the Veteranos was Licerio Gerónimo. Gerónimo was the celebrated commander of the Battle of San Mateo, where Filipino troops engaged American soldiers led by Major General Henry Lawton, and Lawton himself was killed in the battle, making him the highest-ranking American officer killed during the entire war. With the help of the Federalistas, Gerónimo surrendered in 1901, then joined the Philippine Constabulary (PC) the next year. Though the PC is more known as the precursor of today's Philippine National Police (PNP), at that time, the PC was formed by the American colonial authorities to assist the US military in pacifying the Philippine Islands. Gerónimo, in short, joined the very force that were pursuing some of his former comrades, a situation he personally found himself in with his pursuit of anti-American revolutionary leaders Faustino Guillermo and Luciano San Miguel, who were both later killed by American authorities. His career in the PC was cut short by allegations of gambling which led to his dismissal in 1904. He returned to farming and lived in relative peace for the next twenty years.

That said, none of the individuals whose biographies were collected died in combat. Only Mariano Noriel was later killed in unfortunate circumstances—he was found guilty of murder and executed in 1915.

In short, the one commonality that we can be sure of was that they were all members of the Asociación, to have merited being interred in the Mausoleo. This would also entail that, of the differing groups within the Filipino Revolutionary forces at that time, they would have most been associated with Aguinaldo's circle. This connection must have continued after 1902, as the Asociación was essentially set up by Aguinaldo and his associates.

Motifs and Meaning of the Maúsoleo

Let us set aside for the moment the individual stories of these veteranos and look at them as a collective as represented by the Mausoleo de los Veteranos in the Manila North Cemetery.

The Mausoleo is a square structure designed in the Beaux-Arts style, with a combination of Hispanic, American, and Filipino elements which was probably the result of Arcadio Arellano's European training. The symmetrical facade bears both simple geometrical elements and statuary that are reflective of the purpose of the building. Even the recently applied coat of paint shows the "subtle polychromy" of this architectural style (though it is not certain if this

was part of the original design). The character of the building is mostly derived from these, as well as some of the motifs that are unique to this structure.

Motifs

Most of the symbols on the mausoleum are derived from Western iconography, perhaps again reflective of Arellano's training. However, since this structure was made under the auspices of the Asociación de los Veteranos de Revolución and for a specific purpose, it can be assumed that the Asociación had a hand in the design process as well as the construction. In any case, the final design would have been endorsed by the Asociación.

Dates

I have already mentioned the years 1896 and 1902 in Roman numerals that correspond with the generally accepted span of time of open resistance against colonizers. The prominent placement of these years on the facade, therefore, specifies that the involvement of these veterans, and their actions that are commemorated, fell within those years. However, after 1902, many Filipino revolutionaries remained recalcitrant despite the surrender and capture of many in the upper echelons. Though their actions and the unconventional warfare in which they engaged during these years have been labeled as banditry by colonial authorities, nationalist historians take these as the continuation of the struggle for independence (e.g., Ochosa 1995).

Fasces

A prominent element on the Mausoleo's facade is a pair of fasces topped with a cross and a wreath



Figure 3.4: Fasces, wreath and cross motif on the facade of the Maúsolo (Photo by Roel Flores)

located on either side of the main door (Figure 3.4). Throughout the Western world, fasces are recognized as symbols of power, both military and political—often in combination. Etruscan in origin, the fasces has often been associated with and recognized as a symbol of authority used by Roman rulers. Fasces were tied bundles of wooden rods, often with an axe blade projecting from the side, carried by lictors or attendants of Roman rulers. It is said to traditionally symbolize strength through unity (tied rods) as well as the power and authority (the axe blade) exercised by Roman rulers (Hall 1974; Becker 1994).



Figure 3.5: The fasces as symbol of the French Republic; From left: A painting depicting the fasces as part of French Revolution iconography (Nicolas Henri Jeauret de Bertry, *An Allegory of the Revolution with a Portrait Medallion of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1712–78, oil on canvas, 57.50 cm x 43 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France. Reproduced from http://colmilquetoast.blogspot.com/2013_02_10_archive.html (accessed October 27, 2015), Unofficial national emblem of the French Republic (from Wikimedia Commons), Cover of French passport (from Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 3.6: The fasces as used in the United States government; From left: Seal of the US Senate (from Wikimedia Commons), at the House of Representatives (from http://artandhistory.house.gov/art_artifacts/virtual_tours/house_chamber/rostrum.aspx), frieze at the US Supreme Court (from http://www.christianheritagemins.org/articles/Ten_Commandments.htm), the Lincoln Memorial (from <http://www.destination360.com/north-america/us/washington-dc/lincoln-memorial>), and the Washington statue at the Virginia State Capitol (from <http://www.popehat.com/2009/07/09/i-knew-him-horatio-a-fellow-of-infinite-pecs/>)

This meaning is largely unchanged in the other later usages of this motif. It is most negatively associated with Benito Mussolini's Fascist Party in Italy, where it was used to recall the supremacy of Roman dictators (Jones 1997) and to symbolize his ultranationalistic and militaristic regime (Heller 2008). However, unlike the swastika, its long history in the West prevented its stigmatization as a symbol. Still deriving from the Roman example, the fasces are prominent in French Revolution iconography as it can also stand for the values of the Republic. It first appeared in the French context to symbolize the supremacy of the State, as opposed to the overthrown monarchy (Figure 3.5). A version of the French coat of arms with fasces still appears in French consulates as well as on the cover of the nation's passport. It is perhaps in this context—as a symbol of the Republic—that the fasces also appear in the US Supreme Court, Senate and House of Representatives, and popular memorials, such as the Lincoln Memorial and George Washington's statue at the Virginia State Capitol (Figure 3.6).

Fasces are also popular in military and law enforcement insignias, appearing in the badges of the US Military Police, the US National Guard, the Spanish Guardia Civil, and the Norwegian and Swedish police departments (Figure 3.7).

It goes without saying that the fasces are a recurrent motif in the West, though it is somewhat more difficult to find similar examples in the Philippines. The only two examples found so far are akin to the usages above, as they are associated with the Philippine Constabulary. The emblem of the PC features a single fasces with an exposed axe head, in a field of blue and surrounded by a wreath (Figure 3.8). Above it is a knight's helmet and three stars, in a field of red. An old version of the PC coat of arms features an eagle holding a feather in its left claw and a fasces (with the axe head attached) in the right. A pair of pennants and three stars tops the entire figure, and the coat of arms of the Republic of the Philippines is superimposed on the eagle's thorax. Finally, the letters P and C are placed over each of the eagle's wings. The date of the usage of this coat of arms is currently uncertain, though the presence of the Philippine coat of arms on the eagle suggests this was post-1946.

Today the fasces are no longer featured in any latter insignias or seals. It is not found as well in the current iconography of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), Philippine National Police, and other similar agencies.



Figure 3.7: Fasces as used in the military and law enforcement; Clockwise from top left: Insignia of the 18th MP Brigade (US), insignia of the 42nd MP Brigade (US), Spanish Guardia Civil, Swedish police, Norwegian police, National Guard Bureau (US) (all images from Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 3.8: Left: Philippine Constabulary emblem with fasces; Right: Philippine Constabulary coat-of-arms with fasces (Photo by Roel Flores)

Wreath and Cross

Wreaths are likewise a common motif in Western iconography, and are used in more varied contexts than the fasces. More specifically, in military as well as mortuary contexts, wreaths are used to signify victory and immortality (Becker 1994). One of their first uses was as crowns for victors in Greek games; indeed, they can be considered the precursor of actual crowns made of precious metals used by sovereigns to symbolize their rule (Bruce-Mitford 1996). The circular wreath also symbolizes eternity (Bruce-Mitford 1996), as its shape has neither beginning nor end; in cemetery, iconography can stand for eternal life, a concept that is not alien to Christians for whom the crucifix is a more potent symbol. While the cross is more usually associated with Christ's death, this may also be seen as Christ's ultimate victory, or the fulfillment of his mission on earth.

Could the superposition of the wreath and the cross suggest victory twice over or a victory in a Christian context? If it does, then these would be the only overt symbols of triumph on the Mausoleo as we shall see below.

Human figures

Another prominent feature of the Mausoleo are human figures that are not only at either side of the main entrance, framing the door at the level of the visitor, (making it impossible not to notice them) and actually encircle the building itself. These figures, both men and women, are in an obvious state of sorrow and hardship, with their nakedness emphasizing their helpless countenance. At the corners of the mausoleum again occur the sad figures, but with a logo of the Veterans' Association between them. Their inclusion in the overall design of the building is in keeping with the Beaux-Arts style of coordinated sculptural groups that reveal the identity of the building (Figure 3.9).



Figure 3.9: Human figures encircling the Mausoleo (Photo by Roel Flores)

Lintel

Over the door is what must have been a coat of arms whose details have been obscured by time and layers of repainting. It is placed over an assortment of weapons pointing outward. Upon a closer examination, it can be seen that it is a combination of Western and indigenous weaponry. Most easily recognizable are the saber, a symbol of soldiery, crossed over a Filipino *bolo* and a *kris*, typically considered a “Muslim” weapon. The barrel of a rifle peeks out at the edge, along with various kinds of spears and points. A sun shines out from behind them all (Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.10: Lintel above the *Mausoleo* entrance (Photo by Roel Flores)

The Mausoleum symbols are such a combination of sorts, expressing values such as respect for authority and the State, sacrifice, and victory—values that can arguably cross cultures. However, it is immediately noticeable that the more dominant elements are those of Western derivation, which may not be immediately recognized and understood, and in any case were rarely used, by other Filipinos (especially the fasces). Indigenous representations are limited only to images of weapons at the lintel and incorporated into the logo of the Asociación. Their use in this overall composition makes it impossible for

them to stand out. This lends the impression that they appear too subtle and are more token than anything else.

The use of the former elements is all the more puzzling considering the rich iconography of Filipino warfare, and because the appropriation of indigenous elements in the struggle for independence against Spain is certainly not unheard of.

Filipino patriots of the late nineteenth century consciously made use of prehistoric precedents in engaging with introduced Western schools of thought. For example, the reformist Jose Rizal (1890) annotated and republished the 1609 manuscript *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* written by Antonio de Morga, which contained the latter's observations of what the Philippines was in the sixteenth century. In Morga's view, Mother Spain and the Catholic Church saved the inhabitants of this archipelago from savagery and superstition, and thus, Filipinos owed their civilization to these entities. Rizal's annotations sought to redescribe the condition of the Philippines at the time of the arrival of the Spanish and dispel their ethnocentric notions. He argued for the existence of a Filipino civilization before colonization, a nation, which had as much right to be considered at par with others.

These and similar ideas were popularized by Andres Bonifacio in his works written in the vernacular, such as the *Ang Dapat Mabait ng mga Tagalog*¹⁶ (Ileto 1979). Bonifacio too was convinced that life before the Spaniards was more peaceful and prosperous, and, that such conditions could and should be restored through revolution to overthrow the colonizers. The extent to which the Katipunan ethos was derived or inspired by European ideas is currently being reassessed in the light of newly translated documents, which suggest that it arose independent from other liberal movements (see Richardson 2013). This may mean that the founders of the Katipunan had a deeper grasp of native intents; indeed, Bonifacio's vision of a free nation as articulated in the values and languaging of Katipunan documents (written by him and other members) was indeed more deeply rooted in indigenous concepts and past experiences of revolt. What is certain is that this incipient historic consciousness, therefore, played an important role in shaping Philippine revolutionary ideology in the late nineteenth century.

This perspective also found its way into the material culture of Filipino revolutionaries. Combatants, like their prehistoric counterparts, also made

use of amulets and other paraphernalia with its implications of supernatural powers. These paraphernalia now combine indigenous symbols with those adapted from Western iconography, such as Christian and Masonic traditions (Figure 3.11). A recurrent motif in amulets and insignias is the sun, a very potent prehispanic symbol (Salazar 2004), which occupies a central place in the paraphernalia of the incipient Philippine Army, as well as in no less than the Philippine flag.



Figure 3.11: Motifs of the Revolution – Left: Different Philippine Army insignia (Courtesy of the William K. Combs collection); Right: Amulets used by Filipino revolutionary forces (Source: <http://mandirigma.org/up-content/uploads/2011/01/anting2-227x300.gif>)

There is therefore ample precedence in the usage of precolonial images and iconography, something that is only limitedly applied on the Mausoleo. This then begs the question as to why the Mausoleo, for lack of a better phrase, tries too hard to be “Western”

As I have mentioned, it may simply be a reflection of the architect’s formal (i.e., European) training, but this answer will not suffice because of the fact that this was a mausoleum designed for public commemoration, and therefore its form and substance could not have possibly depended solely on the architect’s whimsy.

Perhaps it helps to bear in mind that, when the US government decided to claim the Philippines as a colony, ordinary Americans had never even heard of the Philippines. They had no idea where the Philippines was or what her people were like; cartoons at the time depicted dark-skinned, grass-skirted savages with various expressions of violence or insolence (Figure 3.12). The sight of Felipe Agoncillo on his diplomatic mission to Washington in a proper suit and eloquent tongue must have caught many Americans off guard (Francisco and Arriola 1987). Though his final mission was unsuccessful, Agoncillo's adopting Western style (as did all the other members of Aguinaldo's government) could be a subtle response to the evident discrimination they faced.

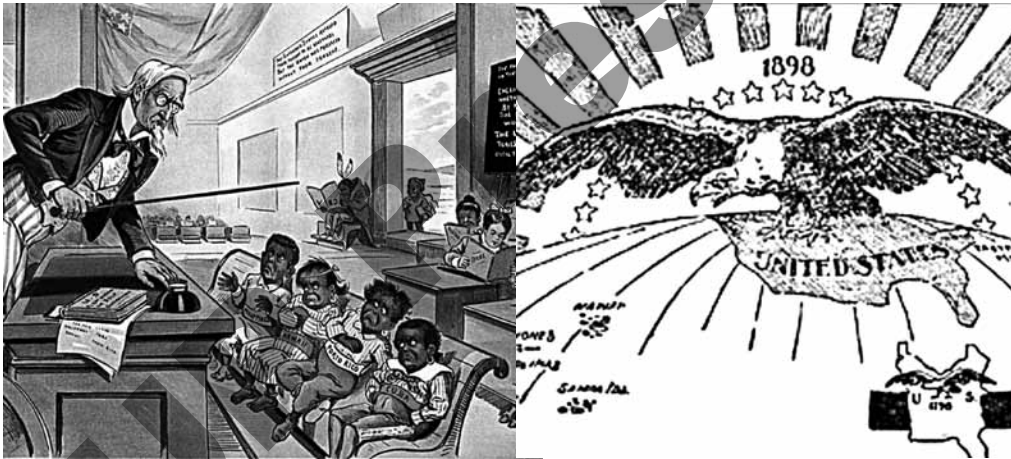


Figure 3.12: Political Cartoons illustrating Philippine-American relations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Left, from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e7/School_Begins_1-25-1899.jpg; right, from <https://common.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:10kMiles.jpg>)

In any case, Aguinaldo and his government had long been fans of Western trappings. The Malolos Convention, which marked the inauguration of the First Philippine Republic with Aguinaldo as President, was the epitome of this outlook, with Aguinaldo (wearing a suit, top hat, and gloves) arriving on a carriage drawn by white horses. The menu for the occasion was styled after European cuisine and was written in French, what Ocampo (1998, 235) called “a tasteless, unfeeling display of wealth, and contrived culture.”

This fits well within Salazar's (1997) frame distinguishing "bayani" and "héroe" and the respective roles both played in Philippine history up to the conclusion of Spanish rule. According to Salazar, the common understanding that both terms are interchangeable is misleading as each embodies a radically different notion of heroism, directed towards and extolled by radically different segments of society. The *bayani* is truly homegrown, rooted in native notions of bravery, respect, and dedication to the preservation of their respective groups, appreciated and supported by the majority, and ultimately heir to the autochthonous social movements that arose through the early years under Spanish colonization. The *héroe*, on the other hand, is correlated with the *ilustrados* and the *principalia* class whose main objective was to recreate the *nación*, European-style, through exceptional individual actions such as sacrifice and responding to higher callings.¹⁷ Having no deep, local historical mooring, the *héroe* would seek to recreate the Western ideals and ways of governance such as a republic held squarely in elite-intellectual hands.

In Salazar's analysis, the latter would eventually dominate the Revolution, its protagonists lead it into compromise, and continue to manifest itself in contemporary politics and culture.

The Mausoleo is precisely the material manifestation of the *héroe*: the representation of republican values, the emphasis on sacrifice, the recreation of Western ideals through the importation of Western symbols. This would be the only fitting form of commemoration for a *héroe* (and thus, not a *bayani*).

Perhaps the proper context in which the Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución should be seen is through the biographies of the persons interred within and the story of the Mausoleum itself. It was built years after the last formal surrender of Filipino officers to American authorities, when the Philippines was squarely under American colonial rule and is located in no less than an American-established cemetery. The Asociación that built it had but the most tenuous of ties binding its members: after the surrender and capture of many the political directions of their individual members were all over the map. Some made concessions, others outrightly supported or worked for their erstwhile enemies, others simply dropped out of sight.

It is therefore no surprise that its iconography recalls the contradictory nature of the lives of the persons interred within. The prominence of the fasces emphasizes military power and authority, Western-style, and I have yet to hear of its usage in a public arena prior to the arrival of the Americans.

When it finally was, it was used in the emblem of the Philippine Constabulary, arguably an institution that stood squarely against the ideals of the Revolution.

The only arguable symbols of triumph are the cross and wreath. However, not only do the cross and wreath have multiple meanings in a mortuary setting, perhaps the first meaning they evoke in the Philippine setting would be a Christian one. In any case, these symbols of victory are upstaged by the images of human suffering found all around the external wall and at the level of the visitor. Though this can be interpreted as recalling the sacrifices of the veteranos, they contrast with the other victorious, or at the very least, resolute images depicted in other memorializations of the 1896 Revolution (such as the Bonifacio Monument in Caloocan City and the Rizal Shrine in Luneta in Manila). Could it have something to do with the fact that, among the veteranos whose biographies were collated, none of them died in battle? Was there no need to incorporate the Filipino equivalent of the Roman Temple Mars Ultor (Hope 2003)? Did the depictions of sadness, hanging of heads, and personal bereavement during peacetime (by the time the Mausoleo was erected) suffice? Whatever it was, it has resulted in an image wherein the implicit overthrow of foreign colonizers is muted.

As a postscript of sorts, it is interesting to recall now how this Mausoleum is actively commemorated—as a landmark where the Philippine flag is to be permanently displayed, and on the date of the Declaration of Independence, with activities that mask the paradoxical nature of the memorial, as we can see in its materiality.

EMILIO JACINTO

Ah, to relieve thee, my country, in thy distress, in thy
suffering, Pain would I give my lifeblood, gushing forth from
my bosom To the last drop, and oblivion find, eternal rest.

— Emilio Jacinto¹⁸

One of the better-known patriots said to have been interred at one time in the Mausoleo was Emilio Jacinto. He is also perhaps one of the better-known patriots to be discussed in this chapter. Any schoolchild would be able

to rattle off facts about this man's life, perhaps almost to the same level as with other personages like Bonifacio, with whom Jacinto was closely associated.

Jacinto was born in Tondo, Manila on December 15, 1875. He studied at the San Juan de Letran and briefly at the University of Santo Tomas, and was by all accounts intelligent and widely read, traits he would later put to good use as a member of the Katipunan.

That he was called the "Brains of the Katipunan" stemmed from the fact that Jacinto was a prolific writer, founding and editing the Katipunan newspaper *Kalayaan*, penning the *Kartilya ng the Katipunan*¹⁹ and other documents pertaining to its organization and administration, as well as other treaties and even poetry that reflected his nationalist sentiments. Jacinto performed many roles as a leader of the Katipunan, including that of secretary, fiscal, and even commander. Before leaving for that fateful trip to Cavite that ended in his execution, Bonifacio assigned Jacinto as head of the revolutionary forces in Manila and the Southern Tagalog region.

Unlike many of the other personages discussed in this chapter who served during the Philippine War for Independence, Jacinto remained loyal to Bonifacio until his death. We cannot know for certain how he reacted to the news that his friend had been killed by fellow troops, but what we do know is that both Aguinaldo and Apolinario Mabini invited him to join the Malolos government, and that he turned them down. He instead chose to remain in Laguna to carry on with the revolution, a plan that was cut short by his untimely death due to malaria at the age of 23.

The burial structure of Emilio Jacinto

At the time of his death, Jacinto was still very much a fugitive, both from the Spanish authorities against which he openly fought, and, in a way, from most of his fellow revolutionaries, whom he never again completely trusted after the execution of Bonifacio. His illness may be attributed to the harsh conditions he must have endured during his last years, conditions that are also reflected in his original burial ground.

Jacinto's body was originally buried in what is now Barangay San Juan in Sta. Cruz, Laguna. Today, there is a simple if somewhat unimpressive memorial on that spot, which includes a marker from the National Historical Institute, dated 1999. This memorial, also built through the efforts of the NHI, is made of cement and marble, and consists of a wall upon which the marker

is placed, with a concrete slab in front of it. The slab bears no markings and thus its actual significance is uncertain. The surroundings are likewise questionable. Facing the memorial, the vista behind it is obstructed by a concrete waiting shed and a public toilet. The memorial can only be reached by a ten-minute tricycle ride over a dirt road (which turns to mud when it rains, as we found out on the day of our visit) (Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.13: Left: Burial marker of Emilio Jacinto; Right: Area surrounding the marker (Photo by Roel Flores)

The spot and the memorial reflect the circumstances under which Jacinto died, and perhaps even as he lived. His original grave site is located outside the center of Sta. Cruz, and the area does not appear to have been a formal cemetery at any point in time (certainly not currently). A photograph of what was purportedly his original grave shows a white cement marker low on the ground framed by white round cobbles. The base of a flagpole, perhaps a latter addition, stands behind the cement marker (Figure 3.14). Today, much of the landscape surrounding it remain



Figure 3.14: Possible early picture of Jacinto's burial plot (Courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines)

as rice fields and pasture for cattle and the only built structures are the houses of the residents.

In death, Jacinto appears to have been commemorated in the manner that he lived. The simple life he led is reflected in his no-frills burial—perhaps this and the unconventional location of his grave could have something to do with his status as an enemy of the state.

But what we lack in monumental materiality we can glean from other objects. A photograph (*recuerdos de patay*) of Jacinto's body, prior to burial, has survived (Figure 3.15). In it, Jacinto lies flat on a table, no coffin or casket, but with his head lying on some sort of pillow or headrest. He is clad all in white: a long-sleeved white shirt and white trousers. He does not appear to be wearing any shoes, though his head is covered by a dark colored hat with a short brim. A rifle is laid parallel to his body, tucked under his right arm. There are two rows of people in the photograph; on the seated row are all women and behind them standing, are men. According to Ocampo (1990), the third woman from the left, who is contemplating his face and is seemingly pregnant, may have been his wife. The photo seems to have been taken outdoors as there is ample vegetation behind the row of men.



Figure 3.15: Recuerdos de patay of Jacinto (from Ocampo 1990)

This photograph is direct evidence as to the final identity adopted by (or conferred by kin and comrades upon) this man in death—especially in the absence of actual contemporaneous burial structures. This was a Katipunero in death—through the clothes and the weapon, even the bare feet.²⁰ There is no trace of this militant image in the somewhat bland shrine we currently have.

The simplicity of the man, called the patriot's patriot (*Manila Bulletin*, 14 December 2009), in death was perhaps his last personal sacrifice in a long list of sacrifices for this country, and it is only too bad that it is not amply reciprocated by this particular contemporary commemoration.²¹

JUAN CAILLES

When Col. Cailles saw the approaching enemy horde...
(he said that) any attempt to stop the enemy would be
futile. Moreover, he said, we would all die if we did.
—Major Salvador Baro (a.k.a. Baro)

Some kilometers from San Juan in the Sta. Cruz Municipal Cemetery (also in Laguna province) is an interesting tomb belonging to Brig. Gen. Juan Cailles. Juan Cailles was born in Batangas to a French father and an Indian mother. After graduating from the Jesuit Normal School for Teachers in Manila, Cailles taught in various public schools in Cavite. At the outbreak of the Revolution for Independence, Cailles recruited the fathers of his pupils to join the revolutionary cause. Cailles's charisma and their respect for him as a teacher was said to have convinced many of them to join him. Cailles was initially associated with the *Magdiwang* chapter of the Katipunan, though he soon changed sides to join the *Magdalo* and earn Aguinaldo's favor. He soon rose in the ranks to become Brigadier General.

Though Cailles was a skillful military leader, his career was also marked with the vacillation common among many of his peers in the Revolution. In early 1897, after the fall of many revolutionary strongholds in Cavite, General Lachambre offered amnesty to surrendering insurgents. The town of Santa Cruz de Malabon (now Tanza, Cavite), where Cailles together with other *Magdalo* officers Daniel Tirona and Jose del Rosario, were supposed to hold the town for the revolutionary forces against the enemies' very strong

offensive. Cailles was one of the first to peacefully surrender. The residents welcomed the entering Spanish troops along the road festooned with white flags, and shouting “Viva España!” (Alvarez 1992). Among the people lining the street were Cailles, Tirona, and del Rosario (Ventura 2001). This incident was called by Bonifacio himself “a supreme treachery” (Alvarez 1992, 91), a piece of “sickening news” (*kasuklam-suklam na balita*) (Richardson 2013, 393) he reported to Emilio Jacinto in a letter dated April 24, 1897 (for the original Tagalog text and English translation of the letter, see Richardson 2013). Earlier, a military debacle in Lian, Batangas was blamed on Cailles’ desertion of his command in Talipusngo,²² an act that Katipunan General Santiago Alvarez would claim cost the lives of many other revolutionaries, caused the failure of the overall plan of attack, and led to Cailles’ expulsion from the army (Alvarez 1992).

After Aguinaldo’s return from exile in May 1898, he reaccepted Cailles into the ranks as a brigadier general to join the fight against the Americans (Tucker 2009). Cailles’ notable achievement in this phase of the War was becoming military governor of Laguna and part of Tayabas. He also scored a victory in the Battle of Mabitac in September 1900, where twenty-one American soldiers were killed. However, soon outmaneuvered in the Laguna area, Cailles resorted to guerrilla tactics until his surrender in June 1901.

Cailles continued to serve as the governor of Laguna after the Philippine-American War. He held several more terms including a tenure in the 1930s, when the Sakdal revolt and other peasant uprisings erupted in several locations in Luzon, including Laguna. Cailles and the Philippine Constabulary dealt with these groups severely; one of the bloodiest encounters was in Cabuyao, Laguna, where more than fifty Sakdalistas were executed in the town’s churchyard. Cailles also had a hand in the execution of Teodoro Asedillo, a labor and peasant leader and independence advocate, in 1935. Cailles died of heart attack in the Philippine General Hospital in 1951.

Juan Cailles’ original tomb is located in the Sta. Cruz Cemetery (Himlayang Bayan ng Sta. Cruz) in Laguna province.²³

The burial structure of Juan Cailles

The tomb stands out among its neighbors because of its statuary and its striking coloration. It consists of an open half-dome that stands over the tomb, a low fence, and statuary elements (Figure 3.16).



Figure 3.16: Juan Cailles' tomb in Sta. Cruz, Laguna (Photo by Roel Flores)

The open half-dome has four ribs radiating from the center, and is supported by eight pillars. The front two ribs of the half-dome are connected to the two front pillars: these ribs are also thicker and more substantial in that they are able to support the sculptural elements on top of them; the other two ribs do not seem to bear any real weight. Six of the eight pillars have the same capitals, which appear to be a composite of ionic volutes, but instead of the ornate Corinthian leaf motif, there is a multi-rayed sun (Figure 3.17).

The most striking elements of the tomb are the human figures on the dome, next to the pillars and within the fenced area. The two front ribs of the half-dome support a total of three figures in all: a pair of females with torches, and a central female figure holding a vessel on top of her head (Figure 3.17). Facing the tomb at about the level of the viewer are two female figures, one attached to each of the front pillars (Figure 3.18). To the viewer's left-hand side is an angel with wings spread. That she is aloft is emphasized by the fact



Figure 3.17: Left: Detail of arc; Right: Detail of columns (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.18: Left: Figure of angel in flight; Middle: Sorrowful female figure holding a propeller; Right: Pair of Katipunero guards (Photo by Roel Flores)

that the sculpture has no other support save its attachment to the front pillar. Today, the figure only has one arm; cemetery caretaker Mr. Elpidio Palencia recalls a time when its other arm—holding what he said was a bouquet of flowers—was still attached. Successive repainting has obscured the original attachment facets of this broken appendage. On the viewers' right-hand side is a statue of a standing female figure with loose, flowing hair, and a sad expression, holding tightly against her chest on what appears to be a triple-blade marine or ship propeller.

Outside the half-dome but within the fenced area are a pair of male figures depicting Filipino revolutionaries wearing what appears to be rayadillo uniforms.²⁴ The rayadillo is a military uniform made of blue cotton fabric worn in the later years of the Philippine Revolution during the Spanish regime. They both wear hats with upturned brims at the front; a triangle is pinned upon both upturned brims, though no other symbols are immediately obvious. As fitting this role, they both stand at attention at the front corners of the fence, near the entrance. The hands of both figures are also broken off; again Mr. Palencia recalls that they once held replicas of rifles, and that they could have been broken off by unscrupulous souvenir seekers (Figure 3.18).

Finally, at the center of the half-dome is a bust of Juan Cailles himself wearing a suit and bow tie (Figure 3.19). This is not the only visual representation of the man; on the gravestone is an etching of his face probably based on his well-known photographic portrait that is now at the US Library of Congress (Figure 3.19). Below the etching is the following text:

Hen. Juan Cailles
Nobyembre 10, 1871–
Hunyo 28, 1951
Guro, Kawal at Politiko
Dakilang Bayaning Pilipino
Gobernador ng Laguna²⁵



Figure 3.19: Left: Double visual representations of Cailles as bust and on the tombstone (Photo by Roel Flores); Right: Cailles's portrait bearing resemblance to etched depiction (from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8f/Juan_cailles.jpg)

Today, the tomb is a combination of neoclassical and more modern details; the cement grillwork at the back of the tomb seems to be a later addition. There is currently no data as to who designed the original tomb, though it still bears some clues as to its provenance.

At the top of the half-dome is a sign with “1919” on it, which may be the year during which this structure was erected. The styles of the sculptures would certainly fit this date, though Juan Cailles did not pass away until 1951. This then raises the possibility that this structure was not originally intended for Cailles himself. Another clue is on the circular concrete ornament above Cailles’ bust which bears the words *Panteon Familia Cailles*. The ornament is framed by a laurel wreath and topped by what appears to be a solar motif. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, *panteón* is a Spanish word that can be translated into English as cemetery or mausoleum, still in keeping with the mortuary function of the structure. This also indicates that while Cailles’s date of death and interment may not coincide with the date on the structure, these remains a rightful match as this belongs to the Familia Cailles. Finally, across the beam at the base of the half-dome are etched the words *Hija de la Revolución*. Again this is Spanish, meaning “Daughter of the Revolution” (Figure 3.20).



Figure 3.20: “Hija de la Revolución” (Photo by Roel Flores)

The closest connection between Juan Cailles and this phrase unearthed so far is the organization *Hijas de la Revolución* (Daughters of the Revolution) which Hilaria del Rosario established in Malolos on February

14, 1899. Later on, it became the *Asociación Nacional de la Cruz Roja* (National Association of the Red Cross) and the forerunner of the Philippine National Red Cross (National Centennial Commission and the Asian Institute for Journalism 1998). Del Rosario was Emilio Aguinaldo's first wife. She was born in Cavite but joined her husband's military activities all over Luzon. As one of Aguinaldo's generals, Cailles could very well have interacted with the Hijos de la Revolución in the past, though I currently cannot find a specific link between them.

Clearly, there are some inconsistencies in terms of style. Most of the elements, especially the female figures, belong to an earlier era than the mid-twentieth century, when Cailles died. The phrase Hijos de la Revolución over his tomb cannot as yet be explained. These could be explained by the assumption that this tomb was originally built for another member of Cailles's family (hence the Panteon Familia Cailles), some time in the early twentieth century, though this assumption cannot be proven as yet. Also, he is the only member of his family to be recorded as having actively participated in the Revolution. In any case, these elements are still consistent with a tomb or a cemetery. Angels are obviously a popular cemetery figure, as are female figures in a state of mourning. This particular figure is in mid-flight, wings spread, literally suspended from the ground with her eyes cast over the tomb and towards Cailles's bust. The mourning woman is a more compact figure—she is standing straight and her arms are drawn close to her. The proud females holding torches at the topmost arch of the dome are in contrast to the more somber figures below. Their particular placements on the arch add height and draw the eyes upward; these are the figures that make the tomb stand out among its neighbors. The female figures thus convey a combination of sadness and triumph, but triumph canopies them all.

The other statuary surrounding Cailles's tomb are clearly associated with him, primarily his bust, and the pair of revolutionary guards. The bust emphasizes his individuality, or singularity among the *Panteon Familia Cailles* as a celebrated son. The pair of revolutionary guards, in Katipunan uniform, directly recalls his role as a revolutionary general (and, perhaps, the attendant trappings). All these, of course, are buttressed by the text on Cailles's tombstone enumerating his individual achievements as teacher, soldier, and politico. But of these three identities, what is more emphasized in the light of the other nonverbal symbolisms surrounding the tomb is his identity related to the

Revolution, very literally represented by the phrase *Hija de la Revolución* and the Katipunan guards. Even the entire visual theme of the tomb—a throwback to the turn of the twentieth century—recalls a similar era (indeed, of all the other tombs in this discussion, this and the Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución are most akin to each other), and not the aesthetic of the decade in which he actually died. It seems, then, that the *kabayanihan* (heroism) of this “Dakilang Bayaning Pilipino” (as written on his tombstone) that is reflected in his funerary structures ultimately derives from his experience as a leader in the revolution against Spain.

On the other hand, the second phase of Cailles’s biography, as the governor of Laguna for several terms, is not very significantly portrayed except for the tombstone text “*Gobernador ng Laguna*.” This phase is arguably just as important as Cailles’s earlier life as a general in the revolution, as his actions as governor would be much noted in the following “peacetime” under the Americans.

TEODORO ASEDILLO

*Tayo ang mga punongkahoy ng kagubatang ito. Tulad ng lahat ng bagay,
tayo ay mamamatay. Ngunit ang kagubatan, tulad ng ating layunin,
Ay mananatili.²⁶
—Teodoro Asedillo*

Teodoro Asedillo was born in Longos (now Kalayaan), Laguna in 1883. Like Cailles, Asedillo, too, started out as a teacher until he was dismissed for insubordination for refusing to use the English language in class. Asedillo transferred from job to job until he joined the *Katipunan ng mga Anak Pawis sa Pilipinas* (KAP)²⁷ during a stint as a coffee planter. Somewhere along the way, he also joined the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP).²⁸ Soon after, he was sent to Manila by this organization to organize the workers at the La Minerva Cigar and Cigarette Factory. In 1934, Asedillo organized a labor strike with the La Minerva workers which ended in violence, with the PC killing five workers and wounding many others. Asedillo, escaping from the authorities, returned to Laguna and soon went underground with the communist-led Katipunan ng

mga Anak Pawis in the foothills of the Sierra Madre in the Laguna–Tayabas area (Constantino 1975).

From 1934 to 1935, Asedillo and his group roamed the foothills. He and his group implemented land reform, organized the peasants against paying taxes, and espoused the cause for immediate independence. These actions earned them the support of the peasantry.

Asedillo's was not the only group operating in various countryside fronts. The economic and political conditions at that time made a volatile and restive peasantry whose lot under the land tenure system from the Spanish colonial era did not improve under the Americans. Their land policies were aimed "primarily to reconcile the Filipinos to American sovereignty and only secondarily to improve the lot of the landless" (Guerrero 1998). Being entrenched in local bureaucracies and taking advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the law of the tenant farmers, elite families who were already landed, as well as big agricultural corporations, easily purchased vast tracts of land made newly available by American authorities. The latter did little to correct the situation other than promoting the value of harmonious relations between the rich and the poor in the public schools, and sending the Philippine Constabulary to put down the small protests and uprisings that would periodically erupt in the countryside (Guerrero 1998). Majority of Filipinos experienced landlessness, poverty, dismissals, high taxes, and hunger despite the supposed "peacetime" and harmonious transformation of the country into a Republic that was projected to the world (Guerrero 1998, Ordoñez 2009).

Predictably, Asedillo's group and others similar to it grew in number and influence, disturbing even the government centered in Manila. Many of these conflicts arose in 1935 when 60,000 peasants rose up and marched across Luzon. The province of Laguna was no exception. As mentioned earlier, Cailles supported the violent response against the Sakdalista uprising in Sta. Rosa on May 1935. Following up this bloody episode, Cailles and the Philippine Constabulary went after the armed guerrilla groups in the hinterlands of the province. They instigated the first case of hamletting (or physically transferring a community suspected of sympathizing with rebel elements in order to isolate and cutoff support for the latter) of Filipinos by fellow Filipinos in the foothills of the Sierra Madre between the towns to the East of Laguna de Bay to the neighboring towns in Quezon province (Paz 1994). This effectively

led to the entrapment of Asedillo and his death at the hands of the PC. As a deterrent, his body afterwards was strung up on a cross and paraded in different Laguna towns including the capital Sta. Cruz and his hometown of Longos (Constantino 1975) (Figure 3.21).



Figure 3.21: Asedillo's body strung up after his death (left) and news photos of the peasant uprisings of the 1930s (both photos courtesy of Mrs. Rosa Asedillo-Medalla)

The burial structure of Teodoro Asedillo

Asedillo was eventually buried in the municipal cemetery of Longos, now a barangay of the town of Kalayaan, Laguna province. Today, the cemetery has undergone many changes. Superficially, majority of the tombs appear to have been recently (circa within the last twenty years or so) built. Asedillo's is one of the few tombs in the cemetery to still bear some of the characteristics that dates back to the first half of the twentieth century.

His tomb is a low rectangular crypt, at the head of which stands a cement column with a flame sculpture on top. The column itself is painted white while the flame is painted red. This particular feature stood out as it lent the entire tomb a more neoclassical touch, something starkly absent from the surrounding tombs (Figure 3.22). The tombstone itself is raised slightly higher than the rest of the crypt. Currently, the names of three individuals are written on it with black marker: Teodoro Asedillo, his wife's name, and his grandchild's name. Asedillo's date of death (December 31, 1935) is written under his name. As for his wife, she does not have a date under her name (Figure 3.22).



Figure 3.22: Current tombstone of the Asedillos (Photo by Roel Flores)

An interview with Asedillo's youngest child, Rosa Asedillo-Medalla, reveals that this was not the original tombstone of the Asedillos. The current stone appears to be the third one placed, after the death of Myrna Garcia. Old photographs and personal accounts show that the first two tombstones were more identified with the revolutionary Asedillo. According to retired Prof. Danilo Galang (personal communication, October 2010), former professor at St. Scholastica's College, Manila, Asedillo's first tombstone as he saw it in the 1980s was somewhere around two feet across, with a large, embossed hammer and sickle in the middle. During the 1990s, the tombstone change again. Probably, it was replaced upon the burial of Asedillo's wife who died in 1990. This time, both their names (instead of Asedillo, his wife's maiden name was used) are etched on the stone. However, the hammer and sickle is still retained at the top border of the stone (Figure 3.23).



Figure 3.23
Asedillo's tomb in the 1990s (photo at left courtesy of Dr. Victor J. Paz, photo at right courtesy of Mrs. Rosa Asedillo-Medalla)

Asedillo and others like him were, back then, portrayed by the mainstream press as bandits and threats to civilized society. With this outlook ingrained in people's mind, children in the 1930s and the following decades, were frightened by their parents with threats that they would be kidnapped by Sakdalistas if they were disobedient (Ordoñez 2009). This outlook is still echoed today in popular social media like a Facebook page calling Asedillo “the Terror of the Sierra Madre”

Nationalist historians have presented an alternative view of Asedillo and the uprisings that characterized this decade (e.g., Constantino 1975, Francisco and Arriola 1987; Ordoñez 2009). Asedillo is often discussed along with Macario Sakay in the same vein: they were labeled as brigands and bandits by the colonizers they opposed and the elite that they rebuked, to hide the fact that they were not ordinary criminals but actually had principles that were very much aligned with the original *raison d'être* for revolution. While the French Revolution certainly influenced our own Revolution, the emic articulations of what our revolutionaries wanted to achieve would be more along the lines of *kalayaan at kaginhawaan*, which could be translated then as quality life.

In death, Asedillo's tomb is quite curt in its simplicity. The single column with the flame appears to be the most extravagant touch, and indeed would be the only feature of the tomb that would make it noticeable and/or unique. The names of the deceased and the pertinent dates are the only text present. There are no religious imagery of any sort; on the spot where such is usually found is the hammer and sickle. This potent symbol of Communism, present in two of the three tombstones, seems to be sufficient statement to anybody who would view his grave regarding his life, death, and how he, his family, and his comrades wanted to commemorate him. This practice continues to this day in some parts of Luzon for deceased members of the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army (CPP-NPA), which fits with Paz's (1994) assertion that the movement started by Asedillo would expand and become the forebear of the CPP-NPA.

Cailles and Asedillo, though both are arguably “patriots,” nevertheless were two individuals who could not, to say the least, see eye to eye. Aside from that, the defining moments of theirs lives would not have culminated if not for the other, hence this author's decision to look at their graves

together. Cailles's is opulence and nostalgia, with an emphasis on his persona as seen with the repeated visual depictions of himself (bust, tombstone engraving) and his name (Panteon Familia Cailles and on the tombstone) and the references to the Revolution against Spain. On the other hand, Asedillo's grave is simple and direct. It makes no bones about projecting ideology, with the not so subtle hammer and sickle (on not just one but two of his tombstones), red coloration, and red flame. It is no surprise that these two men, who stood on opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, would likewise be commemorated so differently.

AMADO V. HERNANDEZ AND HONORATA "ATANG" DELA RAMA

*Nakalaan akong
maglamay:
lupa ang simula ng lahat ng bagay,
diyan din sisibol
ang binhi ng bagong pag-asa at buhay³⁰
— Amado V. Hernandez*

From the tomb of rivals, let us then look at the tombs of partners. By the time Amado V. Hernandez and Atang Dela Rama were united in matrimony, each had already independently begun the careers that would make them well-known and loved by many Filipinos.

Raised in Tondo Manila, Amado was a journalist in the Filipino language newspapers *Watawat* and *Pagkakaisa*. In 1932, he became the editor of the daily *Mabuhay*, the same year that he married Honorata Dela Rama. Hernandez's renown as an author springs from his deep commitment to the social issues of his time. His stint as an underground resistance fighter during the Japanese occupation inspired his major novel *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* (Birds of Prey). His second novel, *Luha ng Buwaya* (Crocodile Tears) reflected the various crises of Philippine society from the 1930s to the 1950s. Though the Second World War had already ended, Hernandez realized that the struggle for genuine reforms in the country had only just begun. During these decades, he organized militant unions and labor strikes, espoused the cause of the increasing number of landless peasants in the countryside, and criticized US neocolonial policies in

the Philippines. His work led to his arrest in 1951 for rebellion and imprisonment for the next five years. While in prison, he wrote numerous poems including *Isang Dipang Langit* (A Stretch of Heaven), the drama *Muntinlupa*, and other satirical works. After his release, he continued writing, mostly from his experiences in prison, and won numerous awards. He was posthumously bestowed the title of National Artist for Literature by Ferdinand Marcos in 1973.

Also raised in Tondo, Atang was a certified child star of the Spanish *zarzuela* or operetta. She continued with her career in the popular Filipino *zarzuela* *Dalagang Bukid* (Country Lass), where she played the lead at the age of 15. By the 1930s, when she married Amado, Atang was not only an accomplished stage performer, but she had also reprised her role in the film version of *Dalagang Bukid*, the first Filipino feature film that was locally produced in the Philippines. Throughout her career, Atang was a tireless promoter of Filipino theater arts, functioning not only as actress but also as writer and producer. Like Amado, she resisted colonial rule by championing the Filipino *kundiman* (love song) and *zarzuela* (plays that often conveyed hidden nationalist messages), not just in theaters in Manila and abroad, but in provincial venues as well. During her husband's incarceration, she smuggled out his writings. She was proclaimed National Artist for Theater and Music in 1987.

The burial structure of Hernandez-Dela Rama Mausoleum

The mausoleum of this couple is a modern cement structure, which was probably built in the 1990s (after Atang's death). This decade is reflected in the simplicity if not the functionality of the architecture (the absence of grandiose elements, such as statuary), but can likewise be attributed to the preference of the individuals interred within (Figure 3.24). Individual identity is likewise asserted through the words etched over the entrance. At the center is the phrase *Mga Artista ng Bayan*; below this is, in parentheses, "National Artists". At the left-hand edge is etched "Ka Amado" and at the opposite end is "Ka Atang". The central phrases are framed by a pair of National Artist insignias (Figure 3.25).

The interior is a simple combination of marble and cement. The central elements are the tombs of the couple made of marble, set up against the far wall. If one looks into the mausoleum entrance, on the left-hand side is Amado and on the right-hand side is Atang (Figure 3.26). The tombs bear matching simple marble-and-metal plaques. For Amado it reads:

Ka Amado
A.V.H.
Sept. 13, 1903–Marso 24, 1970
“ANG MASA”

And for Atang it reads:

Ka Atang
H.R.H.
Enero 11, 1902–Hulyo 11, 1991
“AWIT AT DULA PARA SA BAYAN”

Against this far wall too hangs a crucifix on either side of which are photos of the couple: Amado on the left and Atang on the right. Closer to the entrance and at a lower level are the marble tombs for two of their relatives.

Finally, at the lower portion of the facade below the windows are the National Historical Institute markers (both installed in 1994) each containing a brief biography of Amado and Atang (Figure 3.26).



Figure 3.24: Hernandez-Dela Rama Mausoleum (Photo by Roel Flores) The burial structure of the Hernandez-Dela Rama Mausoleum



Figure 3.25: Detail of the Hernandez-Dela Rama Mausoleum (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.26: Left: Interior of Hernandez-Dela Rama Mausoleum; Right: National Historical Institute markers for the Hernandez-Dela Rama couple (Photos by Roel Flores)

The Personal is Political

Like the other tombs so far discussed, the tombs of Atang and Amado clearly convey a patriotic feeling, but not so much through the nonverbal symbols and other decorative elements in their graves (the only nonverbal symbol would be the pair of National Artist insignia) but through the inscriptions on their markers, on the mausoleum structure itself, on the accoutrements like the NHI plaque. These words seem straightforward enough (if not lacking in subtlety) in conveying the patriotic identity, but a second look will reveal how this patriotism is qualified.

First is the inextricability of another dimension of their identity—as artists. Indeed, before schoolchildren can fully understand the works of Amado and Atang, their first introductions to this pair in the classroom would be that they were writer and actress respectively. Thus, there are efforts to co-opt their work (especially Amado's) within frameworks that are detached from social realities, such as his posthumous award as National Artist during Martial Law. However, as Remollino (2004) argues, such efforts are hopelessly flawed as an historical reading of the man's life and works that demonstrate his allegiance had always been with the peasant and working class. This perspective is echoed by the words *Ang Masa* (The Masses) on Amado's tombstone. Likewise, the directionality of Atang's inscription is also outward (*Awit at Dula para sa Bayan*—Song and Stage[play] for the Nation/People), a gesturing towards others and not just to one's self. Both these inscriptions

reprove the popular tenet of “art for art’s sake,” or of the artist as divorced from external or social obligations.

Second, if this was their guiding philosophy as artists, just exactly towards whom are they as artists directed? This is already made clear by Amado’s inscription of “The Masses,” but can be further revealed in looking at the phrase “Mga Artista ng Bayan” prominently placed over the entrance. According to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), one of the government entities³¹ that administers the conferment process, the term to be formally used as the Filipino translation of “National Artist of the Philippines” is “Pambansang Alagad ng Sining” (literally, National Disciple of Art), as the award itself is formally known as *Gawad Pambansang Alagad ng Sining*.³² A more direct translation is Pambansang Artista (literally, “National Artist”) a construction that is more easily made and commonly used to refer to anything “National” (e.g., Pambansang Awit, to refer to the National Anthem; Wikang Pambansa, to refer to the National Language, Filipino). However, instead of using either constructions, “Mga Artista ng Bayan” (Artists of the Nation/People) is the chosen phrase.

This phrase is somewhat more commonly used within progressive circles and militant organizations. An exhibit in October 2010 entitled “Artista ng Bayan” (translated by exhibit organizers Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP) as “People’s Artists”) featured tributes-cum-portraits of twelve artists, painters, and writers, including Amado. CAP has described the People’s Artists to be those who “[use] art as a weapon to resist oppressive culture, to promote a nationalist and people-oriented art, and [who] become a crucial part of the people’s struggle for freedom” (Dateline Philippines 2010).

In line with this is the use of the address “Ka” before the names Amado and Atang, both on their tombstones and over the mausoleum entrance. Anecdotaly, “Ka” in Filipino is said to be rooted in the word “kasama,” meaning companion or comrade, often used in the context of social struggle and among members of the working class. This is explained by a founding member of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines³³ and labor leader Ceferino “Cesar” Lacara as recounted by fellow labor leader Crispin Beltran: “When you are called ‘Ka,’ it means that you are a comrade of the oppressed. Your ties with workers [are] tighter than friendship, thicker than blood.” (Silverio 2010, 82). It is also often used informally, indeed as how friends address

each other, usually with nom de guerres or, as with this case, nicknames. That said, another unique attribute of this mausoleum is that the couple's complete formal names are not featured anywhere in the mausoleum other than the NHI plaque. Instead, what appears are their nicknames, "Amado" and "Atang." Probably, such names were used because it is what family members or close friends use to call them. In addition, ordinary people like Amado's readers and Atang's fans remember them with their 'screen' name. Being both National Artists, the use of the couple's nicknames seem unceremonious but it indicates that even in death, they still complement each other.

A final word must be said regarding the mausoleum of the Hernandez-Dela Rama couple. Part of their uniqueness and perhaps even their allure to today's students of art and culture was their dynamic relationship as a couple. Both were individually successful in different, though complementary fields, and both have attained the same level of achievement with their reception of the National Artist Award. At the same time, they espoused the same values and principles and together as a couple weathered the challenges these presented. In short, both of them were individually fulfilled and were genuine colleagues and partners in their professional and personal lives. Their dynamic relationship is much reflected in all aspects of their mausoleum, from the equal placement of their names across the top of the entrance,³⁴ to the virtually identical tombs, NHI plaques, and the placement of their photographs on the mantel.

Tombs can also be used to investigate gender relations and kinship, and in my opinion, this mausoleum is a good contemporary example. As Amado and Atang lived in the twentieth century and thus reflect the relations prevalent at that time, let us look at another patriotic couple from another era.

GREGORIA DE JESUS AND JULIO NAKPIL

*I had no fear of facing danger, not even death itself, whenever I
accompanied the soldiers in battle, impelled as I was then by no other
desire than to see unfurled the flag of an independent Philippines ...*

—Gregoria de Jesus

Gregoria de Jesus, was born on May 9, 1875 at 13 Calle Baltazar, Caloocan, then a town under the province of Rizal.³⁵ Her father was Nicolas de Jesus, a gobernadorcillo, and her mother was Baltazara Alvarez Francisco of Noveleta, Cavite. Oriang, as she was called, was only able to finish the first levels of schooling as she had to make way for the education of her two brothers and assist in overseeing the family farm. In 1893, she married Andres Bonifacio, despite the initial objection of her parents due to Bonifacio being a freemason. Soon after, she was initiated into the Katipunan and adopted the name *Lakambini*.³⁶

The couple's first residence on Calle Anyahan³⁷ also served as a secret meeting place for members of the Katipunan. As Emilio Jacinto resided with them at that time, the weapons, seal, and some papers of the Katipunan were under Oriang's custody. Periodic searches by authorities forced Oriang to gather beforehand the incriminating objects and roam the city in a *quiles* (a covered horse-drawn coach) before coming back home once the inspection had ended. Oriang was also the founding vice president of the women's chapter of Katipunan. They acted as lookouts when there is a meeting of the society, oftentimes holding a "party" in the house when there is a meeting to divert the attention of the authorities.

During this time, she bore a son, also named Andres, but he died of smallpox before reaching the age of one. At the outbreak of the Revolution for Independence in 1896, Oriang went into hiding in various parts of Manila. Authorities arrested her father, two brothers, and an uncle, leaving her little choice but to go to the mountains where she reunited with her husband in late 1896. From hereon, she accompanied her husband in consolidating the forces of the Katipunan and was a Katipunero in every sense of the word: "I had no fear of facing danger, not even death itself, whenever I accompanied the soldiers in battle, impelled as I was then by no other desire than to see unfurled the flag of an independent Philippines, and, as I was present in and witnessed many encounters, I was considered a soldier, and to be a true one I learned how to ride, to shoot a rifle, and to handle other weapons which I had occasions actually to use," (de Jesus 1930, n.p.).

After the disastrous Tejeros Convention, Aguinaldo ordered the arrest of Bonifacio on trumped-up charges. The arrest ended in a firefight wherein Bonifacio's brother Ciriaco was killed and he and his other brother, Procopio were injured. During Bonifacio's trial and imprisonment, Oriang, despite

having been held against her will herself, tried mightily to intervene for her husband and brother-in-law. Not even having been informed of her husband's execution after the deed was done, Oriang went on a desperate search for his body but was unsuccessful.

On December 10, 1898, she married Julio Nakpil, a composer and a Katipunero. She died on March 15, 1943.

Her fellow Katipunero, Julio Nakpil, was born in Quiapo, Manila on May 22, 1867. Nakpil inherited his love for music and skill for playing instruments from his father; his early career saw him as a regular pianist at the Malacañang Palace and as piano instructor to children belonging to elite families. When the Revolution broke out, Nakpil joined the Katipunan and acted as Secretary of Command under Andres Bonifacio. He was also in charge of Katipunan troops to the north of Manila. Upon Bonifacio's request, he composed a piece meant to be used as a national anthem. Unfortunately, it was rejected by Emilio Aguinaldo. After Bonifacio's assassination, Nakpil likewise felt that his life was in danger. In his memoirs, he boldly condemned Aguinaldo's actions during the last stages of the Revolution, identifying him as the one responsible for the deaths of Bonifacio and Antonio Luna, and accusing him of surrendering to the Americans so that he could become President. Returning home to Pasig, he again met Gregoria de Jesus and they eventually fell in love and were married in 1898. As a couple, they stayed in the residence of Dr. Ariston Bautista and his wife Petrona Nakpil, Julio's sister. Oriang wrote happily about her time in this house in Quiapo as well as of the support she received from her new family. She and Julio had eight children together (though two died in childhood) including National Artist for Architecture Juan Nakpil, all of whom would be sent to school by the Bautista couple.

After the Revolution, Nakpil continued to compose music. His numerous compositions were often inspired by the Revolution and his own patriotic feelings. Some of these would be recognized and awarded both here and in international circles. He died on November 2, 1960.

The burial structure of de Jesus and Nakpil

Both de Jesus and Nakpil are buried in the Bautista-Nakpil plot in the Manila North Cemetery. Unlike other burial plots of the elite, the Bautista-Nakpil plot does not have a mausoleum. Instead, a tall monument, an art-deco tower-cum-ossuary stands in the middle of the open ground (Figure 3.27).

The monument bears the name Bautista and Nakpil at the top. Four art deco “angels” flank each corner of the tower, and the side fronting the entrance to the plot is well-decorated with stylized floral shapes (Figure 3.28). Around this tower are the tombs of other members of the Bautista-Nakpil clan and at the corners of the low wall fencing the entire plot are stylized concrete sculptures of eternal flames. There are suggestions that the architect Juan Nakpil was himself responsible for the design of the plot; though unconfirmed, the overall style is still consistent with the younger Nakpil’s other works.

De Jesus’s and Nakpil’s remains are deposited in niches placed side by side at the right-hand side (when facing the tower) of the central tower. Simple marble markers indicate where they lie (Figure 3.29). Both their markers bear only their names, dates of birth and death, and a simple memorial phrase. For de Jesus it reads *Tu Esposo e Hijos* (Your husband and children) and for Nakpil: *Tus Hijos y Nietos* (Your children and grandchildren). This is consistent with the markers with other members of the Bautista-Nakpil clan that are interred within the central tower.

Though both de Jesus and Nakpil were avowed patriots and despite the significant roles they played in the Revolution for Independence, nothing on their tombstones or other funerary structures reflect these values. If anything, the only theme binding this plot is that of family, with the emphasis on the



Figure 3.27: The Bautista-Nakpil plot (Photo by Andrea Malaya M. Ragragio)



Figure 3.28: Central monument of the Bautista-Nakpil plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3:29: Tombstones of de Jesus and Nakpil (Photo by Roel Flores)

family names Bautista-Nakpil and the interment of family members belonging to more than one generation. This is archaeologically important as tombs are important sources of information about details of kin relations, such as post-marital residency, and, by extension, gender relations.

With the information we have from the biographies of de Jesus and Nakpil, we can say that the conditions of their interment and its attendant material culture are a continuation of the life they shared after the Revolution. As they lived and raised their family under the patronage and protection of a wealthier relative, so are they now still (literally) under the Bautista-Nakpils. It can be argued that this is in line with traditional Filipino gender roles where males (and their families) are deemed dominant in both public and private spheres.

This last point becomes more significant in looking at Oriang's final resting place. A gendered reading of Oriang's life is yet to be done, but a cursory look at her biography can reveal instances when Oriang herself negotiated and represented her role as a woman—as a daughter and wife. We can cite the young Oriang's dutifully giving way to her brothers' education but at the same time recall how she feistily asserted her intention to marry Bonifacio, the man she loved (Ocampo 2001). In the Katipunan during the Revolution, she assumed various roles such as caretaker, soldier, nurse, and fugitive among others that could traditionally be considered both male

and female, which she nevertheless performed well in the spirit of patriotism. However, in death, what is emphasized for Oriang is her traditional female role as wife and mother (Tu Esposo e Hijos). She has been removed from her first incarnation (which combined traditional roles and traits of both genders) for which she is more widely known, to be subsumed under a more conventional identity, one which does not readily come to mind as associated with the Lakambini of the Katipunan.

The tombs of these two patriotic couples are interesting cases in the exploration not just of political identities but of personal identities as well. For Oriang and Julio, their political (public) identities as prominent members of the Katipunan and patriots are masked by their personal identities as members of a particular clan. In Oriang's case, this meant assuming an identity far different from that which secured her place among the national heroes of the country. On the other hand, Amado and Atang's tombs present us with a balance of the personal as well as the political. The texts on their tombs and on their mausoleum itself are heavy with political undertones, yet are surprisingly informal and even intimate. More importantly, the identity of neither is sacrificed for the other in their final memorial. This may very well reflect the changes in social ideas about gender by this time.

In any case, though the relations between sexes may change through the years; what has not changed is the legacy of patriotism which they have left.

LIBINGAN NG MGA BAYANI

*Ako'y isang kawal,
Singko isang araw.
Kapeng malamig,
Isang pandesal,
Ang aking almusal.
Sombrero ko'y bulok,
Sapatos ko'y butas,
At ang baril ko, at ang baril ko,
Ay may isang putok.
Bang!³⁸
—Children's rhyme*

Finally, this discussion would not be complete without touching upon the cemetery expressly for national heroes. The Libingan ng mga Bayani (LNMB) is a national cemetery located in Taguig, Metro Manila. It was first established in 1947 as the Republic Memorial Cemetery; its name was changed to its current one by Pres. Ramon Magsaysay in 1954.

As a shrine, it is “a fitting tribute to the gallant men who brought honor to the country and who died for the sake of freedom and democracy,” according to the Philippine Veterans Affairs Office website (www.pvao.mil.ph), which administers the LNMB. Strictly speaking, the LNMB is maintained by the Grave Service Unit (GSU), under the Philippine Army Support, Armed Forces of the Philippines, and ultimately, the Department of National Defense. As such, at first glance only qualified personnel of the AFP can be accommodated by the LNMB, though a number of civilians are interred here as well, specifically, former presidents, statesmen, and those who have been declared as National Scientists and National Artists.

As the name of the cemetery itself suggests, all the individuals interred here were considered patriots.³⁹ However, it would be impractical to collate their biographies as there were more than 43,000 individuals buried in this cemetery as of 2003. It would be expedient, therefore to modify the approach slightly by looking at the internal organization of the cemetery itself.

From an aerial view, the cemetery is circular in shape, with a main avenue that stretches from the entrance to the center of the circle. The cemetery is divided into rings by lanes that run concentrically. Other lanes also extend radially from the center to the borders of the cemetery forming defined quadrants (Figure 3.30).

In archaeological parlance, this type of cemetery can be classified as concentric, in that it “grow[s] out from and respect[s] a central burial” (Parker Pearson 1999) in a circular fashion. In this case, the central burial in question would be the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Figure 3.31). This particular tomb is made of marble and set on top of a marble and tile stage. Behind it are three marble pillars each with a star at the very top, to represent the three island groups of the Philippines. There was originally an inscription on the surface of the foot of the tomb (facing the observer) but during our visit, the plaque was no longer there, rendering the soldier unknown twice over (Figure 3.32). Finally, in front of the tomb is an eternal flame device which was not working during our visit.



Figure 3.30: Aerial view of the Libingan ng mga Bayani (from Google satellite map. <https://www.google.com.ph/maps/@14.5195086,121.0406382,726m/data=!3m1!1e3>)



Figure 3.31: The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.32: Missing plaque on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Photo by Roel Flores)

Each quadrant of the cemetery is divided into different sections according to the accomplishment of the deceased. Beginning from the center spreading outward, Section A is reserved for former presidents. Currently, only Carlos

Garcia and Diosdado Macapagal are buried here (Figure 3.33). Section B is for government dignitaries and statesmen which includes former vice presidents, congressmen, justices, cabinet members, and high-ranking officials. Section C is reserved for Medal of Valor recipients and Section D is reserved for generals and flag officers. The rest of the cemetery is henceforth divided into sections distinguished by Roman numerals. For example, Section VI is reserved for veterans of World War II and the defenders of Bataan and Corregidor, and Section XVIII is for the deceased AFP personnel active in service as well as retired and other World War II veterans. Section XIII is reserved for National Scientists and Artists (Figure 3.34).



Figure 3.33: Section A of the LNMB (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.34: Clockwise from top left: Section B, Section C, Section XIII and Section VI of the LNMB (Photo by Roel Flores)

Going outward from the center of the cemetery, trends as to the differential treatment of the cemetery's residents are made apparent through the biographies of the buried individuals, as well as the material culture of the funerary monuments.

VARIATION AND UNIFORMITY

Variation in the funerary monuments and structures are obvious only in Sections A and B. Here, no two graves are remotely alike. The structures range from simple raised marble platforms, to sculptures, both modern and realist, to monoliths inscribed full of text. The different markers make use of the space in different ways. For example, the markers of former Chief Justice Claudio Teehankee and former president Diosdado Macapagal are low-lying marble slabs whose size is expressed on the horizontal plane. Former Vice President Arturo Tolentino, Father of the Scout Rangers Rafael Ileto, and journalist Maximo Soliven opted for a combination of the low-lying markers and standing marble monoliths. Ramon Magsaysay Awardee Haydee Yorac and UN General Assembly President Carlos P. Romulo have sculptural elements as part of their funerary monuments. Variation occurs not only in the form, but also in the material used. Marble is common, as are tiles. Metal is used for Romulo's sculpture and in some attached plaques, but for others, inscription text is directly etched on to stone (Figure 3.35).



Figure 3.35: Variation in Section B; Clockwise from top left: Claudio Teehankee, Rafael Ileto, Arturo Tolentino, Haydee Yorac, Maximo Soliven, Carlos P. Romulo. (Photo by Roel Flores)

A limited amount of variation occurs in Section D – where the family can opt for a raised platform of different materials (Figure 3.36) – and in Section XIII, where paving stones, tiles, or pebbles are used to delineate each grave. However, in these two latter examples, a sense of uniformity still persists with the use of the ubiquitous white marble cross, all implanted in a line and at the same height.



Figure 3.36: Section D Burials (Photo by Roel Flores)

The height of uniformity is reached in the rest of the sections of the LNMB (including Section C), which are the sections reserved for lower-ranking servicemen. The white cross (cement appears to be the most common material), is the only marker for these graves (Figure 3:37), quite like US military cemeteries (the neighboring Manila American Cemetery is a good comparative example). Like US military cemeteries, the text on these crosses are limited; only the name, rank, service number, date of birth, and death are commonly placed (Figure 3:38). However, unlike the Manila American Cemetery, some crosses do not have any text at all. I am not currently sure if these crosses mark actual burials or if they belong to unknown persons.⁴⁰

Uniformity is visually reinforced by the arrangement of these crosses across plots that also largely follow the example of US cemeteries of crosses lined up following the contour of the landscape. However, unlike the Manila American Cemetery, the arrangement of crosses in some sections leaves much to be desired, as entire rows are misaligned, and some crosses have even fallen over. The objective of achieving a visual effect of harmony and serenity is therefore not as successful (Figure 3.39).



Figure 3.37: Arrangement of white crosses for servicemen (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.38: Text on cross (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.39: Poor condition of some crosses in the LNMB (Photo by Roel Flores)

Individuality

If we continue to consider the LNMB as a concentric cemetery that grows out in a circular fashion relative to a central burial, then the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, with its deliberate centrality, and the values it expresses must be paramount. Tombs of unknown soldiers can be found in military cemeteries all over the world. They generally honor a nameless individual who, through his or her anonymity, can symbolize the sacrifices of all who served. This is echoed by the words on the prominent Black Stone Walls standing on either side of the Main Avenue just beyond the entrance to the LNMB. The walls bear the statement: "I do not know the dignity of his birth, but I do know the glory of his death." Attributed to General Douglas MacArthur, these words honor the sacrifice but not the particularities of a single person's biography (Figure 3.40).

However, its emphasis on anonymity and the greater good rather than the individual's identity contrasts with the graves immediately surrounding it.

The tombs of the former presidents and statesmen are extremely individualistic. Aside from their names, other stamps of their individual identities are prominently displayed. The photographs of Soliven and Ileta



Figure 3.40: Black stone gates on the Main Avenue with quote attributed to General MacArthur (Photos by Roel Flores)

are mounted on marble slabs. These slabs also feature their embossed signatures, as do those of Tolentino and Yorac. Text of various lengths are also present, from the personal mottoes of Teehankee (Figure 3.41) and Yorac (Figure 3.42), to poetry for General Arturo Enrile, and quotations from Arturo Tolentino (Figure 3.43), lists of achievements, honorifics, even brief biographies. Romulo stands out in that his marker is a sculptural depiction of himself, seated and clasping the UN Charter. These are logically the sections where, as discussed above, the most variation occurs. The simple fact that no two tombs are alike further enhances their individuality and their individual achievements. In short, they are here for different reasons, but all of those reasons warrant being called hero.

Between this set of graves and the white crosses for rank and file soldiers are the sections mentioned above as having a bit more variation and therefore room for individual expression. Sections D and XIII all come with the requisite white cross, and a plot of land with uniform dimensions, but there is room for flexibility.



Figure 3.41: Personal motto of Teehankee (Photos by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.42: Personal motto and signature of Yorac (Photos by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.43: Left: Poetry on General Arturo Enrile's plot; Right: Quotation from and signature of Arturo Tolentino (Photos by Roel Flores)

In Section D, since the individuals buried here are also members of the military, their white crosses contain the same information as the other soldiers in other sections. However, to differentiate them, some crosses have an engraving of a pennant with star/stars, the number of which perhaps corresponds to the ranks they achieved in life. Some also have raised plots of different materials, such as granite tiles or marble tiles. These tombs manifest both the rigidity of their profession, as well as some concessions to individuality, as they belong to the “elites” of this profession.

Like the flag officers, the graves of National Artists and Scientists in Section XIII express both individuality and conformity (Figure 3.44). Their sizes and their arrangement on a grid give the visual effect of uniformity. However, each plot is rectangularly delineated by a variety of devices: granite tiles, marble tiles, cut stone (either rectangular or circular or a combination of both), black river pebbles, white river pebbles. Some plots are also bordered or covered with vegetation different from the surrounding carabao grass. There does not seem to be any pattern in the selection of border style and material, and vegetation (connected to whether they are artists or scientists, or connected to dates of death or other criteria), so at this point, it may be safe to say this depends upon the individual's preference or that of the bereaved families.



Figure 3.44: Variation in Section XIII (National Scientists and National Artists) (Photo by Roel Flores)

Each plot is supplied with the requisite white cross, but this time, it is made of white marble. The etched text is also different: aside from the name of the individual and the dates of birth and death, their designation as either National Artist or Scientist is also indicated. On some, there are qualifiers attached to this title. For example, Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero is National Artist for Theater (Figure 3.45), Ang Kiukok is National Artist for Visual Arts (Figure 3.46), Alfredo V. Lagmay is National Scientist for Experimental Psychology (Figure 3.47). Aside from the pertinent names, dates, and titles, a couple of crosses took this further by etching text on the main trunk of the cross (all those previously mentioned were confined to the arms of the cross). For National Scientist Encarnacion Alzona (Figure 3.48) it is written:

Historian
Educator
Patriot

and for Journalist and National Artist Teodoro M. Locsin Sr. (Figure 3.49) it is:

Patriot
Journalist
Poet



Figure 3.45: Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero's plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.46: Ang Kiukok's plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.47: Alfredo Lagmay’s plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.48: Encarnacion Alzona’s plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.49: Teodoro M. Locsin’s plot (Photo by Roel Flores)

However, this initial “textual” freedom is still hampered by the small space afforded by the cross. Certainly, there is no room for achievements and biographies, epitaphs, and poetry. “It is quite ironic,” notes heritage advocate and blogger Ivan Henares, that there is simply “no room for creativity” for the final resting places of National Artists.

Finally, the rest of the sections of the LNMB is populated by the lower ranking and foot soldiers of the Philippine military. The extreme uniformity of these graves have already been discussed above, but there are exceptions. Most of the exceptions are confined in Section C-1, reserved for recipients of the Medal of Valor, where, like those in Section XIII, the white crosses

are of marble. One cross belonging to a major has a Philippine Flag etched at the head of his cross, and “PMA Class ‘87” etched at its trunk (Figure 3.50). A captain's plot has “A GREAT SOLDIER OF GOD AND OF THE COUNTRY” etched on the reverse side of his cross (Figure 3.51). Another plot in the same section belongs to a brigadier general upon which stands and lies a marble cross and a small marble slab, respectively. (Figure 3.52). The cross contains the same information as the others, but the text etched on the slab is a combination of both professional (military) and personal commemoration. The complete text reads:

I have fought the good fight
I have finished the race
I have kept the faith
In you O Lord, I put my
trust. For you are my
rock and my fortress
World War II Veteran
6th Pursuit Squadron
Philippine Army Air Corps
Papa Godo
Your memories will always
remain in our hearts
We Love You
Lina, Children and
Grandchildren.



Figure 3.50: A major's plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.51: A captain's plot (Photo by Roel Flores)



Figure 3.52: A brigadier general's plot (Photo by Roel Flores)

Lastly, in one instance among the generically labeled section for “Deceased Active and Retired AFP Personnel,” a single cross stood out because of its striking coloration of blue, red, and yellow. A white star on each arm and on the head of the cross makes this design evoke the Philippine flag. Down the trunk of the cross were the letters LALO in white (Figure 3.53). The back of the cross was likewise painted in such a manner. There were no other indications as to the identity of the interred on the cross or on the plot. Fresh wax drippings from a melted candle are on the cross, indicating that it was recently visited. This singular deviation in its area was, interestingly, the most striking.



Figure 3.53: LALO (Photo by Roel Flores)

Hierarchy

There are clear delineations among the burials in the LNMB based on the material culture present and on the utilization of space. In the center of the cemetery, there is a high degree of variation of funerary monuments, tomb designs, and style. Individual plots are comparatively bigger and structures are more visible. There is more room for individual expression not just in the form of the structures, but, more explicitly, in the epitaphs and written text pertaining to the deceased. The epitaphs and biographies written on these monuments reveal that the “worth” and “influence” of these individuals were

confined not only to their bereaved families and friends. As former presidents, vice presidents, politicians, and dignitaries, their actions during their lifetime went far beyond their personal circles to affect many they were not personally acquainted with, on a national (and even international) level(s). Also, many came from the upper classes of Filipino society and those who did not eventually attained this status during their lifetimes through their political, or military careers. They are, therefore, social, political, and economic elites. Archaeologically, the material culture of their tombs and the central place they occupy in the cemetery reflect this.

At the other end of the spectrum are the ordinary soldiers buried in other sections of the LNMB. There is little variation and individual expression and they are placed farther from the center reaching up to the very borders of the cemetery. These portions of the cemetery are also poorly maintained. The uniformity is perhaps understandable in that they are all members of the military profession, one which institutionalizes conformity. Considering the significance of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as the central figure of the LNMB, this uniformity can also be interpreted as extolling their collective sacrifice, that all served equally well. But, as mentioned above, the elite sections contradict this message. Unlike the VIPs buried in these sections, those that are accorded with the simple, identical crosses, members of the rank-and-file do not belong to the upper crust, and probably had no influence except with their immediate circle of family and friends. In terms of material culture, nobody stands out; the visible impact of the crosses is as a group and some individuals are rendered literally nameless, as the crosses with no identifications demonstrate.

The LNMB is currently the Philippines' only military cemetery and it does fulfill its mandate as a place of commemoration. However, there are unresolved contrasts as to the nature of this commemoration. In a way, this cemetery is a physical manifestation of the different definitions of hero/heroism, from more orthodox perspectives that are focused on the role of individual men to latter perspectives tending towards the decisiveness of large-scale social forces/movements.

This debate is far from over, of course, and in the meantime it is interesting to use one's "archaeological imagination" (Gamble 2007) in speculating about the LNMB a hundred, if not a thousand years from now. How would archaeologists then interpret the materiality of this cemetery?

What can they infer from the use of space, variation of and forms of funerary monuments? It may not be such a huge leap for them to infer that our society was one that was hierarchical, wherein there was differential treatment according to class, and which prized personal achievements are centered on the individual.

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A historian is always confronted by the question: what should we remember? —Ambeth Ocampo

This chapter is a very broad exploration of the expression of a particular category of identity in Philippine society. This category—of patriots—is typically not part of the usual roster of categories explored through anthropological or archaeological means, though preliminary approaches have been done on contemporary monuments and mobile artifacts from the recent past, particularly for battles and other conflict events (see Gilchrist 2003a). The main focus of such studies has been the memorial aspect of this type of material culture—how they memorialize the said events as well as the individual players. Often, they reveal that an archaeological reading of these objects offers a more nuanced story than what these objects, taken as is, aim to portray (Hope 2003; Lahiri 2003; Rainbird 2003; Saunders 2003; Chadha 2006).

The tombs and burial structures discussed in this chapter revealed several, sometimes opposing, facets to how patriots are memorialized in the Philippines. They range from the opulent and monumental, to the simple and functional. Sometimes, this may have to do with the “nature” of the patriotism the individual espoused (Asedillo’s ideology), and sometimes with only a certain chapter of a person’s life (Cailles’s Katipuneros). They also revealed the dynamic role between the genders, which almost certainly extended to activities considered “patriotic” and the milieu in which they were carried out. Tombs themselves and even the subsequent memorials can be blatant manifestations of the circumstances of the individual’s life and death (Jacinto’s tomb); at the same time, they can mask and even deny certain facets of the individual’s identity in favor of others, sanitizing

accomplishments or activities that may be considered “unpatriotic.” We have also seen how, both as individuals and as a collective, these actors are still ensconced in the society and the circumstances in which they lived, and as such, some are still more privileged than others (*Libingan ng mga Bayani*). In this sense, patriots’ burial structures can be considered in the same league as other forms of memorialization that are not necessarily mortuary. As monuments are erected by dominant sectors, to present a certain version of the past, or to fill a perceived emotional need of the public, patriots’ burial structures can also function as such.

The reasons for this are myriad; for deeper discussions of each case separate articles would be more apt. However, we can be guided by the fact that the dead do not bury themselves, and while there are ways for the individual to make known how she or he is to be buried by and large it is the living who has the final say. In this aspect, there is no uniformity among the individuals discussed. As national icons, there may be some expectations that the state may have a role in the disposition of their bodies or manner of memorialization, though this is apparent only in three cases, namely in the LNMB and the Mausoleo de los Veteranos (as national shrines) and in the later memorial to Emilio Jacinto (as a national landmark). For the others, the state seems to have played a minimal (if at all, any) role in their burial. These are questions that may be explored further.

Other steps can be taken to build upon this preliminary work. It was able to touch upon many themes that are now coming to the fore with interpretive and contextual archaeology, particularly those concerning memory, emotion, military conflict and commemorative monuments, and their conflicting meanings (Gilchrist 2003b). Discussing each theme extensively is currently outside of this chapter’s scope, though by no means should these not be pursued. This can be accomplished by focusing on a particular tomb, or set of tombs linked by a certain event or motif. Following this interpretive line, other questions regarding identity could be investigated. An identity category such as “patriot” clearly cannot stand alone; as we have seen above, the reckoning of this category relied upon the interplay of various other identities, like a woman as patriot, as a member of a social class, among others. As Diaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005, 9) state, in archaeology “there is an increasing inclination to move away from attempting to look at

specific types of identity in isolation ... all aspects of ... social relationships have to be taken into account.”

Further, other lines of evidence can still very much affect the points of this chapter. Because of its archaeological approach, the focus has been on the material culture itself and only secondarily on other sources. Though falling outside traditional archaeology, interviews with the heirs and families of subjects, and the individuals involved in conceptualizing or creating these burial structures can still be accomplished, especially for those who are only recently deceased. Avenues to be explored could include how these memorializations were agreed upon, who were the individuals and organizations involved in these processes, and what role the state (as mentioned above), in recognizing their significance to the public and other functions, plays. Thus, the biographical approach will be focused not just on the biographies of the individuals themselves which ended when they died, but to the “biography” of the burial structures themselves.

I have already mentioned the difficulties in finding relevant examples for this chapter, which led to a very broad consideration of the identity at hand, but it is not unfeasible in the future to focus on a particular set of individuals or a particular event to create a more detailed look at a specific context or historical experience. Of course, this weakness would be quickly remedied if there was a stronger effort to locate and record the burial places of important Filipino personages. This highlights the final recommendation, which is to systematically document these burial places towards the objective of preserving them for the public. As historical and old cemeteries in the Philippines are often in a sorry state (one of the reasons why this initiative was formed in the first place) and with little, if at all, preservation efforts in place, we are quickly losing an important cultural and historical resource. This is also a disservice to the men and women, who would say: *Aming ligaya na 'pag may mang-aapi, ang mamatay ng dahil sa'yo.*⁴¹

In memory of Cpl. Ramon Flores, World War II guerrilla, defender of Bataan, and Don Felix Ferrer, drafter of the Biak-na-Bato Constitution, signatory of the Declaration of Philippine Independence.

Endnotes

- 1 "A nation is measured according to the heroes they exalt." Jovito Salonga is a Filipino nationalist and politician. During the Marcos dictatorship, he was a staunch leader of the opposition and he served as the President of the Philippine Senate from 1987 to 1992. [Note: All translations from Filipino to English are the author's own, except where otherwise indicated.]
- 2 For revolutionaries who fought under the Philippine flag but were foreigners, George M. Hizon, "A 'Black' Hero for the Philippines," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, February 05, 2009. See also Ambeth Ocampo, *Looking Back* (Pasay City: Anvil Publishing, 1990).
- 3 A somewhat different, though not necessarily contradictory, take on defining patriots and patriotism (specifically, kabayanihan and heroismo) is that of Zeus A. Salazar in *Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino* that is further discussed elsewhere in this chapter. See Zeus A. Salazar, "Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino," Bagong Kasaysayan, Vol. No. 2 (Mandaluyong: Palimbagang Kalawakan, 1997).
- 4 Recognized as the national hero of the Philippines, Rizal was a medical doctor, propagandist, novelist, and reformist executed by Spanish authorities in Manila in 1896.
- 5 Dubbed the "Brains of the Revolution against Spain," Mabini was a writer and philosopher, who advised revolutionary leaders and helped draft the constitution of the First Philippine Republic.
- 6 Bonifacio was a revolutionary and one of the founders of the secret Philippine society *Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* which in English is known as Highest and Most Respected Association of the Sons of the People whose objective was to gain Philippine independence from Spain through armed revolution. See Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892–1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 2013).
- 7 "Gomburza" is an acronym that combines the surnames of three Filipino priests—Mariano Gómez, José Apolonio Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora—who were executed by Spanish

authorities for alleged complicity in the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. Active participants or not, their deaths affected and inspired many future Filipino patriots, including Dr. Jose Rizal.

- 8 Aguinaldo was a Filipino revolutionary who declared Philippine independence from Spain on June 12, 1898 and became the first president of the First Philippine Republic.
- 9 Ledesma was reinterred in Himamaylan, Negros Occidental and Geronimo in Montalban, Rizal. These were done through the collaboration of local and national non-government organizations, the local government, and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. There is not enough data to confirm if their descendants had direct or indirect participation in the events. (See <http://www.nhi.gov.ph/downloads/mp0088.pdf> and “Balik-bayan of the Unsung Hero on <http://pinoyhistory.proboards.com/index.cgi?board=othereras&action=display&thread=599>).
- 10 The brief biographies of these individuals were collated from Galang (1935), Sonza (1962), Zaide (1970), Manuel and Manuel (1995), Quirino (1995), Calairo (1999), and volumes published by the National Historical Institute and the Philippine Centennial Commission.
- 11 The term ilustrado referred to the middle class in the late nineteenth century Philippines composed of educated intellectuals, commonly from wealthy families, and many were of mixed ancestry.
- 12 The secret revolutionary society of the Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan was called the Katipunan for short.
- 13 The Pact of Biak-na-Bato was a truce agreement made between the Spanish government and the leadership of the Philippine revolution headed by Aguinaldo in 1897 which stipulated that monetary indemnity and amnesty be given to the revolutionary leaders in exchange for their voluntary exile in Hongkong. Riego de Dios, Military Governor of Cavite had wanted to continue the revolution instead of going into exile.
- 14 Bonifacio's death is an infamous incident in Philippine history where he was killed not by the enemy, but by fellow Filipinos belonging to a rival faction within the Katipunan. After Aguinaldo's Magdalo chapter took control of the revolution, Bonifacio and his brother

Procopio were brought to military court on trumped-up charges of sedition, treason, and conspiracy to assassinate Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo allowed the court's sentence of death to be meted out, despite Riego de Dios's appeal for it to be lessened.

- 15 Though they share the same name, this party is different from the Partido Nacionalista that was outlawed by the Sedition Law of 1901.
- 16 Kindly refer to "What the Tagalogs Should Know" written by Andres Bonifacio.
- 17 For a comparison of héroe and bayani attributes, see Table 1.2 in Salazar, "Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino."
- 18 This is from Jacinto's poem *A La Patria* [translator unknown].
- 19 This refers to the guiding rules and principles of the Katipunan.
- 20 However, this may also be interpreted in light of the old Filipino belief that the dead be buried barefoot lest they be heard as they step through the house during their hauntings. A fair interpretation, and no less exciting, as this would make him (and his kin), so to speak, very Filipino, and it would be interesting to speculate whom he would have haunted.
- 21 After his death and burial in Laguna, his remains were reburied in the Mausoleo de los Veteranos de la Revolución at an unspecified date. At the request of his descendants, Jacinto's remains were then removed from the Mausoleo to be reinterred in the Himlayang Pilipino Memorial Park in 1978, where a larger memorial now stands. See "Emilio D. Jacinto's 134th Birth Anniversary," *Manila Bulletin*, December 14, 2009, accessed December 1, 2010, <http://www.mb.com.ph/artedes/23/067/emilio-d-jacinto-birth-anniversary>.
- 22 Cailles's desertion was narrated by his subordinate Major Baro to their superiors in the Katipunan as recounted by Santiago Alvarez (1992) in his memoirs.
- 23 There are unverified reports that his body had been transferred to the Libingan ng mga Bayani according to the family's wishes. See <http://pinoyhistory.proboards.com/index.cgi?board=othereras&action=display&thread=262>.

- 24 The rayadillo uniform of the Philippine revolutionary forces show much variation depending on the year of usage, unit, rank, etc. of the individual. A cursory survey of uniforms reveal that the depicted uniforms on the figures bear the most resemblance to the uniform worn by Aguinaldo in an 1899 photograph and to uniforms worn by Cailles's men, which would make sense.
- 25 The label on Cailles's epitaph read as follows:
- Gen. Juan Cailles
November 10, 1871–June 28, 1951
Teacher, Soldier, and Politician
Great Filipino Hero
Governor of Laguna
- 26 "We are the trees of this forest. Like all things, we too will die. But the forest, like our mission, Will remain." This is from an untitled poem cited in Marte (1998).
- 27 This refers to the Society of the Filipino Working Class.
- 28 The original Philippine communist party, founded in 1930, is called PKP (Partido Komunista Pilipinas) to distinguish it from the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) founded in 1968.
- 29 This is an excerpt from Amado V. Hernandez's *Lupa*.
- I can stand vigil
from the ground all things begin
from it will also spring
the seeds of new hope and new life.
- 30 The other government organization is the Cultural Center of the Philippines, with final authority lying with the President of the Philippines.
- 31 See the NCCA website: <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-ncca/org-awards/org-awards-national-artist-guidelines.php>.

- 32 For a brief history of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines and Lacara's role, see Ina Alleco R. Silverio, *Ka Bel: The Life and Struggles of Crispin Beltran* (Quezon City: Southern Voices Printing Press, 2010).
- 33 The names "Ka Amado" and "Ka Atang" over the entrance were last seen in 2008. During a subsequent visit in 2010, the names were no longer there.
- 34 This narration of Gregoria de Jesus's life is mostly based upon her autobiography.
- 35 The taking of a symbolic name was part of Katipunan initiation rites.
- 36 While it is safe to assume that Calle Anyahan (or Anyahan Street) is somewhere in Manila, it is mostly only described to be in front of the San Ignacio Chapel.
- 37 This is the English translation of a Filipino Nursery Song.
- I am a soldier
Five (cents) a day.
Cold coffee, and
A piece of bread is
My breakfast.
My hat falls apart,
My shoe has a hole,
And my gun, and my gun,
Has one shot.
Bang!
- 38 According to the Grave Service Unit, persons allowed burial at the Libingan ng mga Bayani are military personnel who died in the line of duty or were honorably discharged, veterans, former Philippine presidents, government dignitaries, and statesmen, and National Artists. With this limitation, we can assume that this is how this particular government agency defines "patriot."
- 39 In the Manila American Cemetery, the text inscribed if the cross marks an unknown body is, "Here rests in honored glory a comrade in arms known but to God."

- ⁴⁰ This is an excerpt of the Philippine National Anthem, *Lupang Hinirang*. Camilo Osias and Mary A. Lane translated the Philippine National Anthem into English.

But it is glory ever, when though art wronged

For us, the sons, to suffer and die.

For the rest of the translation, see <http://web.archive.org/web/20120323163846/> and <http://www.eserbisyo.gov.ph/Default.aspx?ssid=84&aid=1760>.

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Chapter 4

DEATH, GRIEF, AND MEMORIAL:

A Review of the Boy Scouts Tragedy of 1963

Kathleen D. C. Tantuico and Omar K. Choa

Twenty-four streets located at the heart of a mixed-use residential and commercial section in the Kamuning district of Quezon City surround a rotunda with intricately sculpted, life-size statues of twenty young boys and four adult males dressed in the shirt, shorts, neckerchief, that represent the official uniform of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines (BSP). Now regarded as an everyday sight and often taken for granted in the busy everyday hustle of Metro Manila traffic, this monument and its surrounding streets still fight to commemorate the tragedy that claimed the lives of the BSP's 24-member contingent on its way to the 11th World Jamboree in Marathon, Greece on July 28, 1963. This paper reviews how Filipinos joined the victims' families and friends in grieving through establishing monuments as memorials to those whose bodies were either never found or were mangled beyond recognition due to the tragedy.

CALAMITIES AND DISASTERS: COPING WITH UNTIMELY LOSS

According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (2002), a calamity is defined as "an extraordinarily grave event marked by great loss and lasting distress and affliction," while a disaster is "a sudden calamitous event producing great material damage, loss, and

distress." Whichever particular term is used (and Webster in fact links them as synonyms), one of the common consequences of such events is death. While death is a given element of human existence, its untimely arrival is the cause of much suffering across generations and cultures (Oxenham 2008), and this suffering is further aggravated in the case of young victims. Thus, losing young children in a calamity is a very painful experience for parents, and losing young citizens in a disaster, a very painful experience for a nation.

What happens after the course of such events? Most families, while carrying out private burials, also allow their deceased to be part of collective burials with those whom their deceased perished with (Post et al. 2003). In the absence of physical remains, a symbol substitutes for the body. Actual funerals may not occur, but could instead be replaced by other symbolic actions (Post et al. 2003). Webb (2009) says these might include informal memorials as well as formal ones such as death anniversaries.

This paper will focus on how a society responds to the tragic death of young individuals. In this paper, *burials* refer to more symbolic or representative entombments that rely minimally on physical remains. This paper is focused more on the metaphysical remains such as memories and symbolic images of the victims. Burials that qualify for this definition are characterized by unrecognizable bodily remains and recognizable, non-bodily physical remains (like material objects and personal effects). This is similar to the definition of group burials by Holt (2010). Introduced during World War II, the term refers to burials that result from a common disaster. While the names of the deceased are known from a prior list, the remains are unidentifiable, and they are placed together to share a special group marker (Holt 2010).

Several great tragedies, both locally and around the world, share similar characteristics. The victims of the famous sinking of the luxury cruise ship *Titanic* were given simple black granite headstones in three cemeteries in Halifax, Nova Scotia, unless family or friends paid extra for additional elaborations. The headstones only had their name (or number, if they were unidentified) and April 15, 1912, which was the date of their death (Barczewski 2004). In 1968, the Ruby Tower in Sta Cruz, Manila collapsed during an earthquake, leaving 342 out of 600 tenants dead. A number of the dead were never positively identified. To commemorate the event, survivors who established the Ruby Tower Memorial Foundation built the Ruby Tower temple on top of the two-story building which currently stands on the site. On August

2 of every year, the anniversary of the event, some of the survivors visit Manila to hold Chinese memorial rites for their departed relatives (Esplanada 2006). In 2009, seventy people who were left dead by tropical cyclone Ondoy were buried in Bagbag Public Cemetery in Quezon City. Four of these were unidentified and had to be buried quickly, as they were already decomposing. All seventy victims were entombed in a single apartment of niches in the public cemetery (ABS-CBN News 2009).

REMEMBERING THE BOY SCOUTS TRAGEDY OF 1963

Following the success of the 10th World Jamboree at Mt. Makiling in Los Baños, Laguna in 1959, the BSP decided to send a delegation to the 11th World Jamboree in Marathon, Greece four years later (Rojo 1999). The 24-member delegation composed of four BSP officials and twenty deserving Boy Scouts who represented Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao, were bound for Greece after weeks of fund-raising, physical training, and mental conditioning.

The road to Marathon began on July 23, 1963. After being acknowledged by the Greek Consulate, the whole contingent trooped to Malacañang Palace to pay a courtesy call to then President Diosdado Macapagal, who presented the Philippine flag to Scoutmaster and physician Dr. Bonifacio V. Lazcano after he introduced the delegation. The BSP officials were Scoutmaster Bonifacio V. Lazcano, Assistant Scoutmasters Florante L. Ojeda Jr. and Librando L. S. Fernandez, and chaplain Fr. Jose Ma. Martinez, SJ. The Boy Scouts were Ramon V. Albano, Patricio D. Bayoran Jr., Gabriel N. Borromeo, Roberto C. Castor, Henry C. Chuatoco, Jose Antonio C. Delgado, Felix P. Fuentebella Jr., Pedro H. Gandia, Victor O. de Guia Jr., Antonio M. Limbaga, Roberto D. P. Lozano, Paulo C. Madriñan, Jose Fermin G. Magbanua, Romeo R. Rallos, Filamer S. Reyes, Wilfredo M. Santiago, Benecio S. Tobias, Antonio R. Torillo, Ascario A. Tuason Jr., and Rogelio C. Ybardolaza (Marcelo 2010).

Four days later, on July 27, the twenty-four Boy Scouts and BSP officials boarded a KLM Airlines flight bound for Hong Kong, where they transferred to their connecting flight via United Arab Airlines (now Egypt Air) for the next leg of the trip with a stopover in Bangkok (Reyes 2007). Fifty-two passengers and eight crew members were aboard the Comet jet. Prior to departure, the pilots

had been informed that there was a low 800-foot cloud base over Juhu beach in India, where it had been raining. A Number 3 cautionary signal had been hoisted over the area, and visibility was down to just three kilometers (Rojo 1999).

At around 1:30 in the morning of July 28, the “Fasten Seatbelt” sign awoke the sleeping passengers of the airplane, as the Santa Cruz Airport Control Tower in Bombay gave instructions for an emergency landing. Still nine nautical miles off the coast, the plane was lining up to land when fishermen off the town of Madh and residents of Versova in India said that they heard a loud explosion at around two in the morning, Bombay Time (Rojo 1999). Eyewitnesses claimed to have seen the plane plummet down to the sea in one piece. By around 10:00 in the morning in Manila, radio reports declared the plane missing, and eventually reported no survivors on the ill-fated plane. Table 4.1 shows a profile of the tragedy victims. Following these reports, President Macapagal immediately ordered for a special chartered flight to Bombay to transport the parents of the Boy Scouts so the bodies of the dead members of the delegation could be identified. Only five from the remains and body parts of the twenty-four dead were positively identified, namely: Roberto Castor, Henry Chuatoco, Jose Delgado, Librando Fernandez, and Ascario Tuason Jr., (Reyes 2007). To this day, authorities have not yet concluded the cause of the crash but it was assumed to be an accident due to severe turbulence and heavy rains.

Table 4.1. The 24 Scouts and Scouters who perished en route to Marathon, Greece (after Reyes 2007 and Marcelo 2010)

Name	Birthdate	Age	Position	Boy Scouts Council	Birthplace
Ramon Valdez Albano	September 3, 1947	15	Air Scout Observer	Manila	Tondo, Manila
Patricio Dulay Bayoran Jr.	November 17, 1944	18	Patrol Leader; Senior Scout Pathfinder	Pasay City-Negros Occidental	Manapla, Negros Occidental
Gabriel Nicolas Borromeo	March 24, 1949	14	Air Scout Observer	Pasay City	Makati, Metro Manila
Roberto Corpus Castor	April 28, 1949	14	First Class Scout	Quezon City	Quezon City, Metro Manila

Table 4.1. *continued*

Henry Cabrera Chuatoco	September 16, 1945	18	Senior Scout Pathfinder	Manila	Binondo, Manila
Jose Antonio Chuidian Delgado	August 11, 1949	14	Life Scout	Manila	Manila
Librando L. S. Fernandez	July 20, 1919	44	Assistant Scoutmaster	Manila	Davao City
Felix Palma Fuentebella Jr.	July 19, 1948	14	First Class Scout	Camarines Sur-Manila	Daet, Camarines Norte
Pedro Hermano Gandia Jr.	February 6, 1948	15	First Class Scout	Manila	Sampaloc, Manila
Victor Oteyza de Guia Jr.	March 22, 1948	15	Assistant Patrol Leader; First Class Scout	Baguio-Benguet	Baguio City
Dr. Bonifacio Vitan Lazcano	June 5, 1919	44	Contingent Scoutmaster and Physician	National Council	Manila
Antonio Mariano Limbaga	June 14, 1948	15	First Class Scout	Zamboanga City	Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental
Roberto del Prado Lozano	February 7, 1944	19	Rover Scout	Dagupan City	Urdaneta, Pangasinan
Paulo Cabrera Madriñan	January 26, 1943	20	Junior Assistant Scoutmaster; Senior Scout Pathfinder	Pasay City-Laguna	Paete, Laguna
Jose Fermin Gonzales Magbanua	January 1, 1949	14	First Class Scout	Negros Oriental-Siquijor	Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental
Fr. Jose A. Martinez, SJ	September 11, 1921	41	Assistant Scout Master and Chaplain	Misamis Oriental	Laoag, Ilocos Norte
Florante L. Ojeda	February 27, 1916	47	Assistant Scout Master	Agusan	Placer, Surigao del Norte
Romeo Rafael Rallos	April 22, 1946	17	Star Scout	Quezon City	Makati, Metro Manila

Table 4.1. *continued*

Filamer Santos Reyes	June 16, 1942	21	Junior Assistant Scoutmaster; Senior Scout Pathfinder	Pasay City-Cavite	Cavite City
Wilfredo Mendoza Santiago	May 28, 1949	14	Star Scout	Manila	Tondo, Manila
Benecio Suarez Tobias	August 23, 1946	16	Patrol Leader; First Class Scout	Tarlac	Tarlac
Antonio Rios Torrillo	July 10, 1946	17	Assistant Patrol Leader; Eagle Scout	Cavite	Rosario, Cavite
Ascario Ampil Tuason Jr.	November 28, 1947	15	Star Scout	Manila	Manila
Rogelio Celis Ybardolaza	September 9, 1946	16	First Class Scout	Quezon City	Pakil, Laguna

In an interview, Tomas Castor, father of First Class Scout Roberto “Bontsie” Castor, said he was one of the parents who flew to Bombay to identify the remains (personal communication, November 30, 2010). He recounted that none of the bodies were intact; faces were either too burned to be recognizable, or the heads had been completely severed from the body. His son's body was so dismembered and burned that the only distinguishing clue which helped him to positively identify his son was a secret pocket sewn in his shorts that somehow did not catch flames.

Notably, four BSP officials who were also part of the delegation left days earlier and were spared from the ordeal. BSP President and Chief Scout Gabriel Daza, BSP Vice President and Deputy National Scout Commissioner HB Reyes, BSP Vice President J. Plaridel Silvestre, and BSP Executive Godofredo Neri, came to be called the “Lucky Four” (Reyes 2007). In the same way, Manila Boy Scouts Nick Fernandez, Guillermo Flores, and Louis Santiago, also fortuitously escaped the tragic fate that befell their comrades. They were also originally included in the list of delegates to Greece; however, because their travel documents were not completed in time for the July 27 departure, they were not able to join. They later attended the Greek Jamboree on August 3 as a token delegation (*Manila Bulletin*, 2 August 2010).

On August 1, 1963, the 11th World Jamboree attended by some 14,000 Boy Scouts from 85 countries was formally opened by the Chief Scout of

Greece, Crown Prince Constantine. Flags stood at half-mast in mourning for the twenty-four participants lost (*Manila Bulletin*, 2 August 2010). Three days later, on August 4, the Indian Consul General to the Philippines KM Modi flew with Indian Navy Commander J.D. Cooper to the crash site in Bombay to offer a wreath on the waters in commemoration of the dead (Rojo 1999). Approximately ten days after the tragedy, the remains of the fallen Scouts and Scouters were finally brought home in twenty-four closed caskets that contained unidentifiable bones, burnt pieces of clothing, and other paraphernalia picked up from the wreckage. Countless necrological services and masses were offered for them where they were described as heroes who died in the line of duty. At the Rizal Memorial Stadium, BSP President FEV Sison spoke to the parents and families of the twenty-four (Rojo 1999). Virginia Castor, mother of First Class Scout Roberto Castor whose remains had been positively identified, remembers her co-parent whose son did not have identifiable remains asking if she could spare a piece of Roberto's flesh to put in the empty coffin. Virginia declined but gave a piece of clothing instead. The coffins were brought to the Manila Cathedral, where they were displayed and given necrological services for a month.

According to the Castors (personal communication, November 30, 2010), government officials, BSP officials, and parents debated whether to bury the Scouts and Scouters at the Libingan ng mga Bayani or at the Manila North Cemetery. The parents had the final say, so the remains were laid to rest at the Manila North Cemetery. The five bodies positively identified were given separate caskets, while the nineteen others whose remains were not identified were all put together in one large casket. The identified remains were brought to their respective hometowns, where they were buried.

Upon the initiative of the National Council of the BSP, an open-air memorial in the form of a large sculpture depicting the Scout Sign was erected at the left side entrance of the Manila North Cemetery. Reflective of the 1960s architecture, the burial structure was made of marble and pebble wash out (Noche 2010), with the names of the fallen inscribed on separate gravestones. Each of the fifty-two member countries of the Boy Scouts Councils sent dedication stones representing their respective countries to symbolize their oneness in mourning for their unfortunate comrades to the Greek Jamboree (Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: The Boy Scouts Memorial at the Manila North Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)

On April 24, 1964, roughly a year after this tragic event in BSP history, then Quezon City Mayor Norberto Amoranto approved a city ordinance that renamed twenty-four streets in the Kamuning district that intersect Sampaloc St. (now Tomas Morato Avenue after first Quezon City Mayor Tomas Morato) in honor of the twenty-four Scouts (Reyes 2007) (Figure 4.2). The community was also renamed Barangay Laging Handa (Always Be Prepared, the Boy Scout motto).

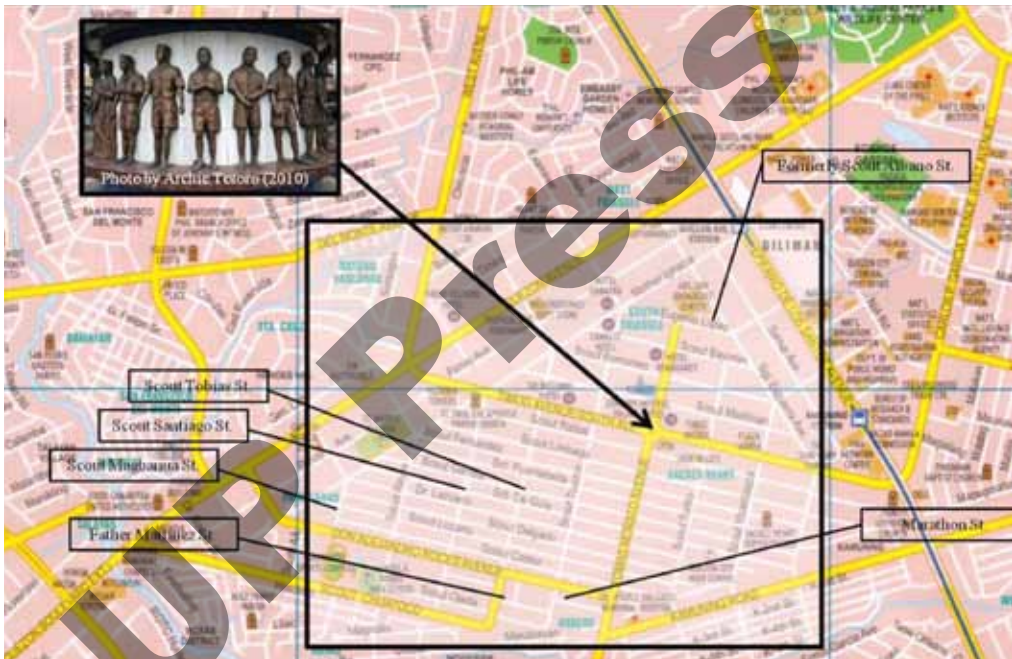


Figure 4.2: A map of the Scouts area (Map modified from Asiatype Inc. 2007). Inset shows the sculptures depicting each of the boy scout who died in the plane crash (Layout by Kathleen Tantuico)

In July 1965, the Maharashtra State Association of the Bharat Scouts and Guides unveiled a memorial tablet in honor of the twenty-four. It reads:

In memory of the twenty-four Boy Scouts & Scouters of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines who perished in an airplane crash over the turbulent waters of the Arabian Scouts World Jamboree in Marathon, Greece (*Manila Bulletin*, 2 August 2010).

In 1998, Pres. Corazon Aquino signed Proclamation No. 293 which declared July 28 of every year as Scouts Memorial Day to commemorate the twenty-four Boy Scouts who perished while representing Philippines en route to Greece (Rojo 1999). On the 31st death anniversary of the Scouts and Scouters, then Quezon City Mayor Ismael Mathay approved an ordinance in February 1995 for the construction of a monument with twenty-four sculptures of the Boy Scouts to serve as a memorial at the Timog Rotonda (Marcelo 2010) at the intersection of Tomas Morato and Timog Avenues. The late Florante Caedo, a student of National Artist Guillermo Tolentino designed each sculpture. Some of these Boy Scouts were not from Manila so they have their own memorials in their respective provinces.

In 2010 in Dumaguete, Scout Jose Fermin “Jojo” Magbanua’s hometown, 200 Boy Scouts from both public and private schools held a memorial at the Boy Scouts Headquarters (Pal 2010). Flowers were offered at the Magbanua tomb at the Dumaguete Memorial Park and at his life-size statue at the Boy Scouts Headquarters in the Capitol as part of the Negros Oriental Boy Scouts Council’s yearly efforts to celebrate Scouts Memorial Day. Magbanua was the only representative from the Visayas region.

To this day, Boy Scouts from all over Manila troop to both the memorial in the Manila North Cemetery and to the monument on Tomas Morato, Quezon City to pay their respects (*Manila Bulletin*, 2 August 2010). Young Boy Scouts usually stand guard over the North Cemetery Alaala Mausoleum in vigil on the eve of July 27 every year. On July 28, Boy Scouts from all over Metro Manila gather at the Manila North Cemetery to offer flowers and to celebrate mass. Programs and ceremonies are also held at the Tomas Morato Boy Scouts Memorial Monument. With the names of the ill-fated twenty-four Scouts and Scouters immortalized in streets and monuments, younger generations of the BSP have become familiar with the July 1963 tragedy. The mausoleum at the Manila North Cemetery, too, stands as a reminder to all of the ‘Scout’s Honor,’ and is an inspiration to young boys to fulfill their respective duties as Boy Scouts.

HOW DID THE COMMUNITY COPE?

Grief is an emotion that lingers long even after death, as people struggle with absence and loss. At the time of the interview in November 2010, almost

fifty years after the Boy Scouts tragedy of 1963, the parents of the late Scout Castor, Tomas and Virginia Castor, still get teary-eyed when remembering the event. Both already in their nineties, Mrs Castor still remembers the last time she saw her firstborn son as she sent him off to Greece. At the airport on July 27, 1963, she recalls her son feeding her some cake, kissing, and embracing her before check-in with the rest of the group. Little did she know that she would never see her son alive again. On the morning of July 28, their then three-year old daughter Josephine woke the family saying, "*Si Kuya Bontsie, patay [na]* (Kuya Bontsie is dead)," recounting that she saw her older brother waving to her in a dream. Tomas and Virginia refused to believe what their daughter said. A few hours later, the radio broadcasted that the airplane carrying their son and the twenty-three other delegates was reported missing off the Bay of Bombay. It was later confirmed that the plane had indeed crashed into the sea in one piece, and that no one on board the plane had survived. Mrs. Castor shared (personal communication, November 30, 2010), "I wanted to die also because I regretted why I allowed my young son to travel alone in a far place. I could see my son crying for help, but no one came to help him . . . For forty days and nights, I was in grief. I asked God what sin have I done for Him to punish me and take my son when I was not by his side.

Physical remains of the dead can grant closure to bereaved families. With the dramatic and abrupt shift from an atmosphere of positive farewells and sending-offs to a pall of tragedy and the death of very young boys, grief is amplified, and the human remains of the supposedly dead are depended on to provide the ultimate closure for the victims' families. This is because, in the aftermath of tragedies, bodies, bones, and other remains that imply death erase all false hopes of possible survival. In the case of the Boy Scouts whose remains were no longer identifiable, any physical emblem that signified the demise of their son somehow provides a relic to compensate for the loss, thus the desperation of Mrs. Castor's co-parent to obtain a symbolic substitute for her son's remains in the form of a piece/fragment of Scout Castor's remains.

Cemeteries are venues that provide physical presence, by housing the physical remains of the dead, and a place for commemoration and remembrance, to those who are grieving (Francis et al. 2005). In Greece, the site of the 11th World Jamboree, a mausoleum in the shape of the Scout Sign was built to remember that death comes even to those who are "always prepared." In the Philippines, the fifty-two-member country Boy Scouts

Association joined the Filipino community in grieving by sending plaques that are displayed across the Alaala Mausoleum. Thus, more than just commemorating the tragedy and remembering the names of those who died, the mausoleums are also symbols of the grief shared among Boy Scouts around the world.

The home, like the cemetery, also provides the deceased with a symbolic existence. This, however, occurs in a more domestic setting, which goes beyond the more social atmosphere that cemeteries provide (Francis et al. 2005). For the Castors who were all taken by surprise, saying their last farewells was no easy task. Mr. and Mrs. Castor could not sleep soundly for months. To alleviate their anguish, they filled their home with pictures of their son. Later on, Guillermo Tolentino, National Artist for Sculpture and a mentor of Roberto, created a bronze bust of him, which to this day is displayed in the living room of the Castor residence (Figure 4.3). Emblems such as these serve as memorials in personal spaces like the home. Like gravestones in the cemetery, pictures and sculptures in the home keep the memory of the dead alive. These also aid in the management of grief, as family members are enabled to acknowledge the passing of the deceased and to engage in their remembrance.

To share the memory of her son with others, Mrs. Castor became an active organizer of the yearly Scouts Memorial Day celebration on July 28. She is also one of the main creators of the souvenir program that narrates the history of the BSP Council and the life stories of the Boy Scouts tragedy. The local community was also grief-stricken. They showed that they were one in heart with the boys' parents in



Figure 4.3: Bronze Bust of Scout Roberto "Bontsie" Castor by National Artist for Sculpture Guillermo Tolentino at the Castor residence (Photo by Archie Tesoro)

their mourning. Thousands gathered at the Manila Cathedral where memorial services for the Scouts and Scouters took place. As Mrs. Castor mentioned, "I calmed down only when the people that I've met said to me that if they die with honor like my son Roberto, they wouldn't mind to die." According to Mrs. Castor, this aided her greatly in accepting the sudden death of her son and the other young boys.

Two years before the tragedy, in 1961, the National Executive Board of the BSP approved and adopted the Revitalized Scouting Program, which promoted the Filipinization of the scouting movement in the country (Boy Scouts of the Philippines 1996). By implementing changes in the badges, insignia, program materials, and other aspects of scouting, it reflected a growing consciousness within the organization of the need to adapt itself to Filipino culture for a more harmonious existence within its context. With positive events such as the Philippines hosting the successful 10th World Jamboree ushering in the new decade, it was a time of great excitement and hope for Philippine Scouting. The eyes of World Scouting were on the country, and the eyes of the country were focused on itself. It was an exciting time not only for these Boy Scouts, but also for their parents, their mentors, and the country. But amidst the euphoria felt when the Philippines hosted the successful 10th World Jamboree, it seemed that ominous clouds lay ahead and warning everyone of a dark year for the 11th World Jamboree. This amplified the pain of loss through disappointment, which is the overturning of expectations, and brought doubt and shook the seemingly firm ground where the Philippine Scouting stood.

Scouting ingrained in boys a collective consciousness of life as a Boy Scout. The World Jamboree was the ultimate gathering of all Boy Scouts from around the world, and being a participant in this event was deemed to be every boy's dream. This collective memory of being a Boy Scout could even have been shared by adults: fathers who were once Boy Scouts in their youth, and mothers who also raised Boy Scouts and participated in their activities. Mr. Castor, who was himself a Boy Scout in his youth, fully supported his son as he was preparing to head to Greece. Hence, the grief felt by the country was not only immense but also widespread that the government took action to ensure the remembrance of those who died by renaming streets in Quezon City after them, and later on commissioning life-size statues in their honor. The institutionalization of memorials imposes the remembrance of those who

died (Francis et al. 2005), even upon succeeding generations, and this helps in relieving the grief of loss.

Today, after the institution of Scouts Memorial Day on July 28, Boy Scouts all over the country still troop to the Manila North Cemetery and to the Tomas Morato monument on the said date to stand guard while doing a midnight vigil for the late Boy Scouts, offer flowers, and facilitate memorial services. Even after fifty-three years, the new generation of Boy Scouts are able to look back and remember their predecessors. Hence, the institutionalization does not only immortalize the memory of the tragic event, but also serves to bridge older and newer generations to be one in feeling grief for the victims of the Boy Scouts tragedy.

CONCLUSION

Memorials are physical emblems that acknowledge the memory of the deceased and aid the community in managing their grief. In response to the Boy Scouts tragedy of 1963, a mausoleum at the Manila North Cemetery and a monument at Tomas Morato were created to remember the victims of the tragedy. The renaming of the streets in Kamuning and the institutionalization of Scouts Memorial Day on July 28 are rituals that permit succeeding generations to be aware of this event. The commemoration of the Boy Scouts tragedy aided the whole Filipino community and Boy Scouts around the world to manage the intensity of the grief experienced after the tragedy.

Chapter 5

COLONIAL PERIOD CEMETERIES AS FILIPINO HERITAGE

Michelle S. Eusebio

INTRODUCTION

The Philippines has several of Spanish and American colonial period cemeteries. I propose that these transformed landscapes should also be considered as cultural heritage sites. Cemeteries are another architectural genre that confirm our rich cultural heritage (Rosal-Sumagaysay n.d.). They are a collection of interesting historical data (Ontario Ministry of Culture n.d.) and reveal the story of the people buried there (Allison n.d.). Historical cemeteries are composed layouts of high quality and of special historical interest as designed landscapes that form an integral environment of landscape, flora, monuments, and graves (Jordan 2003).

Although Filipinos faithfully visit their dead loved ones during All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day in these cemeteries, they are not fully recognized as heritage sites, in contrast to Spanish colonial churches, monuments, archaeological sites, and other historic places. These sites are threatened with neglect, vandalism, and other detrimental human acts.

Starting with five colonial period cemeteries in Metro Manila, the goal of this paper is to advocate the heritage values of our cemeteries in the Philippines. Through walking surveys, photo documentation, student survey,

and interviews with cemetery administrators and caretakers, the following are addressed: (a) the cemetery's historic and cultural importance, (b) awareness of their heritage values, (c) their maintenance, and (d) efforts to promote them as heritage sites. This paper begins with a review of the concept of cultural heritage, various cemetery related research and works, functions of cemeteries, and research done on Philippine colonial period cemeteries. Then, findings from walking surveys, written survey, and interviews are tackled. The assessment of these five cemeteries follows. A few recommendations are given at the end.

Cultural Heritage

Pantig (2003) defined cultural heritage as the landmark of human creativity and excellence. It plays an increasingly important role in providing people with a sense of who they are, what their lives mean, and where they came from. It comprises the positive expression of the historical tradition and characteristics of a nation. Heritage objects, places, practices, and skills that are invaluable property are recognized as essential means of articulating identity and meaning for local communities, regions, nations, and humankind as a whole. Matsuura (2002, 3) also defined the cultural heritage of a people as "the memory of its living culture." Pantig (2003, as cited in Throsby 2001, 28–29) mentioned the six values of cultural heritage, which are aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, and authenticity values. They have benefits for the individual and community where people can appreciate. "Aesthetic value" deals with beauty, harmony, form, and other characteristics of the work as an acknowledged component of the cultural value of a work. There could be additional elements that are influenced by style, fashion, and good or bad taste. "Spiritual value" may be interpreted in a formal religious context such as a particular work that has particular significance to members of religious faith, tribe, or any cultural group. This may also be secularly based, referring to inner qualities shared by all human beings. Benefits included are understanding, enlightenment, and insight. "Social value" conveys a sense of connections with others. It may contribute to a comprehension of the nature of the society. "Historical value" is an important component where an artwork reflects the conditions of life at the time it was created and illuminates the present by providing a sense of continuity with the past. "Symbolic value" is reflected in artworks and objects that exist as repositories and conveyors of

meaning. "Authenticity value" refers to the fact that the work is real, original, and unique. We can also add "economic value," since Aplin (2002) mentioned that heritage tourism can sometimes become a growth industry in declining industries and bolstering local economies. It can also give additional impetus to already thriving economies. Thus, it can provide a strong regional or community image and encourage investment from both internal and external sources.

Cemeteries as Heritage Sites

Francis et al. (2005, 197) defined the cemetery as "a place where space and nature have been appropriated and transformed by management and by the memorial practices of the bereaved into a legally sanctioned physical setting appropriate for the disposal of the once-living body." Cemeteries are important to their communities and can contain a wealth of information that documents the history of a community, region, or nation. Some cemeteries are resting places for famous people and draw visitors for that reason (Aplin 2002; Mytum 2007) such as the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. The association between cemeteries and garden is due to the spiritual and regenerative aspect of the garden and imagery of "Garden of Eden" in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions suggesting a beautiful, secluded park, ornamented with water, trees, and flowers (Francis et al. 2005). Francaviglia (2005) described cemeteries as deliberately created and highly organized cultural landscapes. The landscape of cemeteries is always open to reinterpretation, where the society sees them as valuable sites of ecological biodiversity and urban green space. There is also growing awareness to preserve the heritage value of these unique cultural landscapes. Specifically, older burial grounds are reinterpreted as sites of community history and collective significance. Historical cemeteries are landmarks of cultural distinctiveness and have relevance for local, urban, and national history. They are also sites of personal consciousness and repositories of group identity and collective memory (Francis et al. 2005). Thus, these definitions demonstrate that cemeteries can have all of the seven values of cultural heritage previously mentioned and can be considered as heritage sites.

The present generation as heritage custodians must maintain, protect, and pass these cemeteries to future generations (Francis et al. 2005). As stated in *A Declaration of the Responsibilities of Present Generations toward*

Past Generations (De Baets 2004), identifying and safeguarding the heritage of the dead is a general responsibility of the living to the dead. This is seen to be demonstrated in several countries. In Hong Kong, cemeteries are explored as places of tribute, as a material part of social history and of contemporary social fabric, “memory places,” and as expressions of the geomantic relationship between humans and their physical world (Teather 1999). Along with changing attitudes toward death in the Netherlands, there is an increase in the number of exhibitions on death, processes of dying, and processes of mourning. A funeral museum located at a cemetery in Amsterdam opened in 2007 (Van Steen and Pellenbarg 2006). In Apache, Oklahoma, where Mithlo (1995) visited to study the history of Chiricahua Apaches, the Fort Sill Museum sees the management of the graveyard as the base where many Chiricahua people are buried and where any direct descendants of the original prisoners of war can still be interred. Heritage management plans are being made, applied, and implemented in several historical cemeteries, e.g., Eaglehawk Cemetery and White Hills Cemetery in Australia (Greater Bendigo City Council 2008a; 2008b). Some cemeteries have “heritage trails” that guide visitors and emphasize the features of the cemeteries, e.g., Warriors Walk at Karori Cemetery in New Zealand and Cathays Cemetery Heritage Trail in United Kingdom (Cardiff Council 2008).

In the United States, historical cemeteries are considered as cultural treasures and are major resources for historical archaeology (Mytum 2007; Rainville 2009). Similar to archaeological sites, they are also facing threats such as overeager real estate developers, uninformed property owners, petty vandalism, and grave robbing. The potential solutions to these problems that archaeologists in the United States face while undertaking the task of documenting and preserving cemeteries are encouraging awareness, documentation, law enforcement, and education. Data from dozens of historical African-American cemeteries are available on an online database (see <http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/aacaac>), and gravestone of the week is featured in an educational blog (see <http://www.locohistory.org>) (Rainville 2009). Across the United States, documenting and preserving cemeteries is included as archaeological endeavors. In Pensacola, Florida, for example, the University of West Florida collaborated with the University of Mississippi for “The Search for the Hidden People of St. Michael’s Cemetery

Project” (see Stringfield et al. 2008). In Sarasota, Florida, the New College of Florida is involved in the survey, clean up, and documentation of Galilee Cemetery (with State College of Florida, see <http://www.galileecemetery.ncpalsurveys.org>) and Rosemary Cemetery (with Sarasota Historical Society’s Rosemary Cemetery Committee, see <http://www.faculty.ncf.edu/baram/archaeology/Rosemaryproject.htm>).

Aside from being a source of historical data, several things can be learned from cemeteries: nature and quality of materials used for coffins, gravestones, and other burial structures, skill of the monument makers, richness of symbolism, present and past environments, reasons for its selection, and how the cemetery has influenced its surrounding neighborhood (Ontario Ministry of Culture n.d.). Designs of monuments or tombstones even reflect beliefs, say, in afterlife (Clarke 2006). New funerary rites can be deduced, as they can possibly contribute to changes in design through time (Sivan 1986). Looking at cemeteries or graveyards, their layout, and the practices and conflicts associated with them is a way of understanding not only how people deal with death and violence but also how they construe social order, political legitimacy, and historical continuity (Scheele 2006). Segregation due to religion or social classes could likewise be deduced (Freed 1977).

Functions of Cemeteries

Cemeteries have other functions aside from the obvious one of providing a resting place for the dead. They connect the world of the living with the world of life after death (Francis et al. 2005). Cemeteries for the mourners are special and sacred spaces of personal, emotional, and spiritual reclamation. Behaviors associated with mourning are culturally learned. Mourners are often taught how to enact the bonds that continue to attach them to the deceased in the cemeteries (Francis et al. 2005).

They may also be reservoirs of history (Firth 2005; Mytum 2007) and offer endless possibilities for continuing education involving both natural and historical resources (Ontario Ministry of Culture n.d.). People visit cemeteries to be reminded of a significant past, to show their interest in or respect for the heroic, famous, or notorious dead, and to demonstrate their allegiance to an idea or value with which the dead was associated (Firth 2005). In a

particular note, the burial grounds of underrepresented groups may be the most valuable because their history is largely forgotten or silenced. These groups are less likely to be represented in the documentary collections of historical societies, and their homes often have not been saved or preserved. Their cemeteries were possibly desecrated, ignored, and even destroyed by development (Rainville 2009).

Capelle and Smith (1998) demonstrated that cemeteries can be used as training grounds for research and paper writing, where student activities can focus on the collection and analysis of biological data, or on research into the social and medical history of the community, and the development of skills in oral and written communications.

A cemetery can play a role in preserving a sense of cultural identity and creating a sense of community for minority and immigrant ethnic groups. This enables those separated through migratory dislocation to forge new connections with their places of origin and thus to bridge time and place. This is where the younger generations are exposed to their cultural tradition. In contrast, larger cultural groups use both the hidden and the explicit meanings of the cemetery to transform their self-perceptions and the views of others. Any new group of users may change the character of an older cemetery. Burials of the same ethnic group could be grouped together in a specific location (Francis et al. 2005).

Finkler (1972) mentioned that cemeteries have multiple potential uses as open space and recreation areas for activities such as bicycling, fishing and swimming (in cemeteries within/with lakes/rivers), picnicking, and sports. Arboretums, tree nurseries, nature trails, botanical gardens, and wildlife could be established within cemeteries. Obviously, cemeteries serve as historic and tourist attractions, where tours and exhibits could be organized. Aside from burials, plays, pageants, and other religious ceremonies including weddings and baptisms could be possibly performed in cemeteries. An old abandoned cemetery can be restored and upgraded into a passive memorial park. Lussenhop (1977) noted also that a cemetery can serve as a free, open-air museum with exhibits of handmade and standardized carvings.

On Colonial Period Cemeteries in the Philippines

As we will see later in this paper, our historical cemeteries are also part of the cultural heritage of the Philippines and have functions similar to other

cemeteries in other countries. As shown by other works in this volume, our historical cemeteries are useful resources for research as well. Those who study cemeteries here in the Philippines are usually art historians, historians, architects, and urban planners. Archaeologists also study cemeteries, which are commonly known as “burials” usually in caves, rockshelters, church ruins, and open archaeological sites. The following are some of the written works about historical cemeteries in the Philippines.

Perhaps, the earliest article on Philippines cemeteries is by Miller (1906). In his *Interesting Manila* book, there is a chapter discussing the cemeteries and the associated burial practices—infant mortality and burial, rich man’s funeral, soldier’s cemetery, funerals in the provinces, pigeon hole cemeteries, evicted tenants, deposits, cemetery tours, and the celebration of All Saints’ Day.

Mahoney (1987) wrote about the British (Protestant) cemetery in present-day Makati City. It was established in 1862 for Protestant foreigners. They were mostly British, but there were other Europeans, Hebrews, and Japanese. Unfortunately, it was closed and the site was developed into a housing estate. The remains of the dead were transferred to the Manila Memorial Park in Parañaque. One piece of a concrete evidence of British contact in the Philippines during the colonial period was thus lost.

Rosal-Sumagaysay (1995) lamented that the Roman Catholic cemeteries, in particular, in the province of Iloilo, have not received adequate attention unlike their church counterparts. In her graduate thesis, she studied the art history of eight historical cemeteries in Iloilo that still exhibit artistically significant elements. Aside from her art historical analysis, she also provided historical backgrounds of the Augustinian friars in Iloilo, towns involved, and cemetery construction in the Philippines, and good recommendations for cemetery research, raising awareness on the heritage values of cemeteries, and their preservation. She later published her thesis as a conference paper in 2005.

Thirteen years after Rosal-Sumagaysay (1995) did her graduate thesis, Santiago-Pineda (2008) studied the art of two historical cemeteries in Manila, namely, Cementerio General de Dilao (now Paco Cemetery/Park) and Cementerio del Norte ng Maynila (Manila North Cemetery). She noted that cemeteries are good sources of artifacts related to our culture and beliefs to help us understand ourselves. She provided backgrounds on burial traditions

of different ethnic groups before the Spanish conquest, events in the districts where those cemeteries are located during their establishments, guidelines in building cemeteries during the Spanish and American occupation, and histories of the two cemeteries aside from her analysis.

Both Rosal-Sumagaysay (1995) and Santiago-Pineda (2008) advocated in their theses the heritage values of the cemeteries that they studied. Cemeteries are worthy of artistic appreciation. Those who built them deserved to be remembered with admiration and pride (Rosal-Sumagaysay 1995, 2005). Cemeteries are not only part of history but also of the culture and beliefs of Filipinos (Santiago-Pineda 2008).

Dakudao (1998) made a comprehensive discussion on the development of cemeteries in Manila during the long period from the Spanish (1565–1898) to the American (1898–1941) colonization. He also took account the precolonial burial practices of the Philippines. This article attempted to provide the necessary background for understanding these cemeteries as they have emerged into the modern era. He summarized the processes of disposing of the dead in the Philippines through time into five categories: boat coffins, simple inhumations, jars or urns, cremation, and beneath family houses.

There are four theses that deal with Philippine cemeteries in the College of Architecture, University of the Philippines. Three of them are related to memorial parks (Borra et al. 1980; Duenas 1975; Punongbayan 2002). The other one by Cabatbat et al. (2002) is about the underground cemetery in Nagcarlan, Laguna. Their work defined the historical significance of the cemetery, developed programs that will promote the cemetery as a heritage site, as well as established the role of underground development as an alternative solution to scarcity of open lands for burial.

Over the past years, archaeologists have studied historical cemeteries which are still functional. Those involved in the Philippine Cemeteries Project are interested in religious symbols, personal and group identities, representation of age and sex, patriotism, cemetery art, cemetery sculpture and architecture, cemeteries as heritage sites, and even cemetery hauntings (Barretto-Tesoro 2009; Himlayan, Pantiyon, Kampo Santo: A Colloquium on Philippine Cemeteries; Medrana 2010). With historical, ethnographic, and archaeological method, this project demonstrates that cemeteries have the potential to contribute to archaeological, cultural, and historical studies. In

fact, as part of this project, Barretto-Tesoro and Reyes (2008; 2013) already presented their paper in the 12th International Conference of European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologist in 2008 at the International Institute for Asian Studies in Leiden, Netherlands. They focused on the burial structures of notable personalities who are buried in the Manila North Cemetery and Manila South Cemetery. They also proposed that motifs on burial structures such as headstones are extensions of the identity of the deceased. An earlier version of this current paper was already presented during the 30th Annual UGAT Conference 2008 in San Fernando, Pampanga (Eusebio 2008). Ragragio (2009) presented her preliminary comparison of the modern and prehistoric Filipino warriors, the former based on patriot graves and memorials in Manila cemeteries at the 2009 Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Conference in Hanoi, Vietnam.

Gaerlan (2010), during the 19th Annual Manila Studies Conference in Intramuros, Manila, presented the story of the lost cemetery in Balicbalic, Sampaloc, Manila, wherein he also provided other background literature on cemetery studies that are not covered here.

METHOD

Data and observations for this paper were gathered through walking surveys, student surveys, interviews with administrators and caretakers, and photo documentation. In January 2008, walking surveys were done as part of Archaeology 241: Mortuary Analysis class under Dr. Grace Barretto-Tesoro at the University of the Philippines-Archaeological Studies Program. The cemeteries visited were Manila North Cemetery, Paco Cemetery/Park, Rizal Park, and Quezon Memorial Circle. These were followed with surveys in the Manila South Cemetery in the same year and La Loma Catholic Cemetery the following year by the Philippine Cemeteries Project members. My first visit to the Chinese Cemetery was in October 2008. Another visit to the Chinese Cemetery was made by the other project members in 2010.

Interviews with caretakers and administrators were done in La Loma Catholic Cemetery, Manila North Cemetery, and Paco Cemetery/Park. The caretakers of the mausoleums in the La Loma Catholic Cemetery and Manila

North Cemetery were asked if the cemetery where they stay became special to them. The priest administrator¹ Father Ric Torrefiel of La Loma Catholic Cemetery, officer-in-charge Peter Tamondong of Manila North Cemetery, and officer-in-charge Peter Emlano of Paco Cemetery/Park were asked about the backgrounds, maintenance, and future plans for the cemeteries.

In relation to the assessment of the heritage values of Philippine cemeteries, a written survey was conducted among the students of three class sections of Archaeology 1 (The Philippines: Archaeology and History) students at the University of the Philippines, Diliman in October 2008. They were asked about their familiarity of selected historical cemeteries and the importance of those cemeteries for them as Filipinos.

THE CEMETERIES

Presented below are some basic information, observations, and data gathered on five colonial period cemeteries in Metro Manila, Philippines: Manila North Cemetery, Paco Cemetery, Manila South Cemetery, La Loma Catholic Cemetery, and Manila Chinese Cemetery.

Manila North Cemetery

Cementerio del Norte or Manila North Cemetery was built in 1904 in the Santa Cruz district of Manila. It is the first modern garden cemetery of Manila, built under the “City Beautiful Movement” during the American occupation and adapted the garden cemetery concept (Dakudao 1998). Some burials that we visited are the group mausoleum of the Filipino Boy Scouts who died in a plane crash in 1963 (Reyes 2007), the mausoleum of Quintin Paredes who was a National Assembly member during the American colonial period in the 1930s, the mausoleum of Tomas Cloma who established the Philippine Maritime Institute, the mausoleum of the Tuason family who are Chinese immigrants with businesses in the country (Figure 5.1) (Barretto and Reyes 2013), the Paterno family mausoleum (Figure 5.2), and a section dedicated to the Hebrews (Figure 5.3). This cemetery so far is the richest in terms of data for studying identity, status, cemetery art, and architecture. However, beneath “fame and fortune,” there are problems of people living inside the cemetery, overgrown vegetation, and weathered structures (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.1: Tuason family mausoleum (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)



Figure 5.2: Paterno family mausoleum (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)



Figure 5.3: Signage for the Jewish section of Manila North Cemetery (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)



Figure 5.4: Group of graves transformed into living quarters at the Manila North Cemetery (Photo by Michelle S. Eusebio)

Paco Park

Cementerio General de Paco, which is currently known as the Paco Park, is the first extramural cemetery built in Manila. It was built in the 1820s in the village of San Fernando de Dilao. The cemetery has outer and inner circular structures. It has an area of 6000 m². Although the cemetery was already in use for two years, its construction was constructed on April 22, 1822 and under the supervision of Don Jose Coll. Due to a cholera epidemic, there was no more distinction between the rich and poor during burials and the cemetery was extended. This was initially the burial ground of the prominent residents of Manila, then the victims of a strong typhoon, followed by those who died from cholera epidemic. Similar to other cemeteries built during the Spanish occupation, it has a chapel at the center (Dakudao 1998). The national hero Dr. Jose Rizal was first buried in this cemetery after he was executed in Bagumbayan (now Luneta). Also, the three martyred priests, known as the Gomburza, were buried here. Another notable burial is Gov. Gen. Ramon Solano y Lladeral whose mausoleum is inside the mortuary chapel.

It was used until 1913 as an active cemetery. In 1966, it was placed under the jurisdiction of the National Parks Development Committee and was converted into a park, thus its current name: Paco Park. The remains were exhumed and transferred to the Manila South Cemetery. It became a venue for special occasions and cultural activities (Goyena 2002). Every Friday afternoon, *Paco Park Presents* features the finest musical artists and

chorales, local and guest performers for an evening of classical and traditional Filipino music (National Parks Development Committee 2003).

This cemetery is well maintained compared to Manila North Cemetery, Manila South Cemetery, La Loma Catholic Cemetery, and Chinese Cemetery, since it is a park and has a smaller area. It serves as a venue for weddings and other occasions. Many niches are already empty (Figure 5.5) although some still have markers for children.



Figure 5.5: Empty niches at Paco Park (Photo by Michelle S. Eusebio)

Manila South Cemetery

In 1928, a twenty-five-hectare parcel of land in Makati City (then known as San Pedro de Makati) was converted to Cementerio del Sur or Manila South Cemetery. It was part of the City Beautiful Movement during the American occupation, adapting a garden cemetery concept with an office at its front (Dakudao 1998). The only Philippine president buried here was Elpidio Quirino whose remains were transferred to the Libingan ng mga Bayani in March 2016. An unusual practice here is the stacking of crypts that appears unstable,

looking as though the structure could collapse anytime (Figure 5.6). During our visit, cogon grass had grown tall. The employees claimed that even if they clean the cemetery regularly, the cogon grass grow fast to control. Niches for children near the entrance have been newly constructed. There is a problem of overgrown vegetation all over the area. Some graves are now hidden beneath the vegetation (Figure 5.7). According to the people working in the South Cemetery during our visit, the various plants grow so fast that they have a hard time controlling them. What is more disturbing than the weathered structures is the presence of garbage, since it seems that some graves were ignored for years (Figure 5.8). Some tombs are unmaintained. Note that there are also people living in the Manila South Cemetery, but much fewer than in Manila North Cemetery and these are concentrated in the central part of the former.

La Loma Catholic Cemetery

Campo Santo de La Loma opened in 1884. It was formerly known as the Binondo Cemetery (Dakudao 1998). The administration of the cemetery was under the Diocese of Manila headed by Cardinal Sin. In 2003, this was



Figure 5.6: Tombs stacked on top of each other in the Manila South Cemetery (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)



Figure 5.7: Tombstone hidden beneath tall grass in the Manila South Cemetery (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)



Figure 5.8: Garbage scattered on a grave in the Manila South Cemetery (Photo by Joan Tara Reyes)

turned over to the newly established Diocese of Caloocan. The land area of the cemetery is forty-two hectares, where 75% is within the jurisdiction of Caloocan City and 25% is within the jurisdiction of Manila City. Hence, the Diocese of Caloocan manages the La Loma Catholic Cemetery. The cemetery is privately owned by the church, but there is a close coordination between the church and the government. The administration follows the civil law for cemeteries, including a few guidelines on the certificates, permits, and clearance.

The La Loma Catholic Cemetery is the oldest among the three cemeteries in the complex, others being the Chinese Cemetery and the Manila North Cemetery. All of these three cemeteries once belonged to the

La Loma district of the present Quezon City. The cemetery was established by the Dominicans, headed by Fray Juan Camposanes, OP., who was the first parish priest of Binondo. Only those baptized under the Roman Catholic Church were permitted burial here. The Chinese complained because they were not allowed to bury their dead, despite the fact that they donated resources for the construction of churches. To appease them, a portion of the cemetery was given to them and was established as the Chinese Cemetery. Another portion was turned over to the Manila North Cemetery. The old fence, which is significant in the Battle of Caloocan, was maintained. The area of the cemetery became smaller during the establishment of two other cemeteries.

The main attraction of this cemetery is its *capilla* (Figure 5.9). The capilla formerly housed the St. Peter Cursillo Center, which explains the double decked beds that can be seen from the window. Similar to the Manila North Cemetery, the La Loma Catholic Cemetery also has notable mausoleums and niches (Figure 5.10). A columbarium was being built during our first visit in February 2009. Scattered garbage remains a problem, even in the creek running inside the cemetery. The bones in sacks were already overflowing out of the ossuary. The remnants of the original Spanish colonial period gate still stand (Figure 5.11), marking the original entrance of the cemetery. People are



Figure 5.9: The *capilla* of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)



Figure 5.10: One of the grandiose mausoleums at La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Archie Tesoro)



Figure 5.11: The remains of the old gate of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (Photo by Michelle S. Eusebio)

seen living at the borders and within the cemetery. Some of them who are staying inside the cemetery use the interior of the mausoleum to dry their clothes.

The Chinese Cemetery

The Chinese Cemetery is part of the three-cemetery complex with Manila North and La Loma Catholic Cemeteries. The exact date of its establishment is not clear, but its existence was noted as early as in the 1840s. Its establishment was a result of the exclusion of the Chinese in the Catholic cemeteries or in church premises. Its major function was to provide a burial place for the poor Filipino Chinese, who, due to their family's financial restraints could not transport the bodies back in China (Wickberg 2000). This cemetery is popular for the notable Filipino-Chinese businessmen, heroes, and other personalities who were buried there and the mausoleums of the rich Filipino-Chinese families. One of the Filipino heroes, Apolinario Mabini, was buried here. Considering the grandiose appearance of the mausoleums, one would not think that the Chinese buried here were poor. Perhaps, refurbishments were made through the years. Maybe, the poor were those buried in some apartment niches (Figure 5.12). One can observe the practices for honoring the dead, which are different from those of the Filipinos in this cemetery. Similar to the four cemeteries discussed above, it also has problems of neglect (Figures 5.13-5.14) and maintenance (such as overgrown grass).



Figure 5.12: Apartment niches at the border of the Chinese cemetery (Photo by Michelle S. Eusebio)



Figure 5.13: A neglected tomb in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Kathryn Manalo)



Figure 5.14: A derelict headstone marker in the Manila Chinese Cemetery (Photo by Kathryn Manalo)

Interviews with caretakers and administrators La Loma Catholic Cemetery

When the caretakers were asked if the La Loma Catholic Cemetery became special to them, all of them answered yes and added that it had become part of their lives. One of the caretakers said that a curfew was implemented in the cemetery in 2008. The purpose of this curfew is to prohibit the caretakers from spending the night in the cemetery. They are allowed to stay in the mausoleums to take care of them and do their daily chores, such as cooking food only, until 5:00 in the afternoon. Another caretaker said that many tourists visit the cemetery. However, there have been incidents of grave robbery, holdups, and murdered victims left inside the cemetery. The administration has become strict and now prohibits people from visiting the cemetery if they have no dead loved ones to visit. As a result, the La Loma Catholic cemetery is limited only for those visiting dead loved ones. The administration of the cemetery cannot be blamed for its strict policy to ensure public safety.

The administration directly supervises the management of apartment/multilevel niches, floating niches, underground niches, and usufruct lots (singles lot or mausoleums). All of them except the usufruct lots have a five-year lease which is renewed and paid for in order to allow the dead to continue occupying the site. Before, the usufruct lots could be leased for forty to ninety-nine years but with this new policy, the lease is only for forty to fifty years. Exhumed bones are placed in a common grave.

Those who were buried in “fosa” (grave) areas (near the old capilla) have perpetual rights to remain buried in their respective graves. Some of the mausoleums and graves in fosa areas are of those who were originally buried in the La Loma Catholic Cemetery during the Spanish Colonial period. These rights are not transferable even to close relatives. Due to a contract that gives perpetual rights for the dead to be buried in the fosa areas, the management cannot touch and develop the fosa areas and the capilla (except the apartment niches).

Since 2003, the caretakers are only allowed to stay inside the cemetery and tend to their respective mausoleums and/or graves from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Curfew is strictly implemented at 5:00 p.m. The reason behind this is that the cemetery is for burial and a sacred place for the dead, not for the living. In-

house contractors (those who make tombstones and flower holders, and those who construct mausoleums and graves) are also allowed to stay inside within office hours. Outside contractors are not allowed to stay inside. In addition, the number of security guards doubled from nine to eighteen since 2003 due to problems of illegal transactions done inside (such as drug dealing), robbery, and the cemetery being used as a dumping site for murdered victims.

Regarding the capilla, it was formerly used by the St. Peter Cursillo. Fr. Ric Torrefiel ordered the closing of the capilla because the members of the cursillo had turned it into their sleeping quarters, which is improper since the capilla is a small church used for prayer or small religious services and should not be converted into sleeping quarters. There are plans of future restoration; however, Fr. Torrefiel is not so optimistic that restoration will proceed.

Although the security seems to be very strict, the administration allows those who wish to jog or stroll around, as well as those on educational trips to enter the premises of the cemetery. This is in contrast to what the caretaker said. However, public intimate display of affection are not allowed, since the place is treated to be sacred.

There is a plan in the future to have a 7000 m² *Communion of Saints Shrine* constructed once the underground and floating niches near Road 13 expire. After its construction, there are plans to promote the La Loma Catholic Cemetery as a place to visit not only for remembering the dead but also for strolling around to appreciate its beauty.

Manila North Cemetery

According to officer-in-charge Peter Tamondong, some caretakers are allowed to live in the mausoleum by the owners, while others go home. It is really prohibited to live inside the Manila North Cemetery. He assumed office in 2007 when there were 11,700 residents. Most of their homes were demolished as ordered by Mayor Alfredo Lim. At the time of this study, there are 2500 people living inside including the maintenance staff. Some of them are allowed to maintain stores in the mausoleums (Figure 5.15) which sell food only Sundays. There is no program for the marketing and promotion of the Manila North Cemetery since this cemetery is already very popular among Filipinos and foreigners. The management has placed importance on cleanliness and security. The most common complaint was about the

maintenance of the comfort room. Garbage collection is everyday. The administration has no disaster preparedness plan. It has complete records of burials from only 1993 onwards. Details on previous burials have to be researched in the archival records. Similar to the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, the caretakers who were interviewed also feel that the cemetery is special for them and they have become attached to it, regardless of their length of stay.



Figure 5.15: Store inside the Manila North Cemetery (Photo by Grace Barretto-Tesoro)

Paco Park

In Paco Park/Cemetery, officer-in-charge (since 2004) Peter Emlano said that the mission and vision of the administration is to make the park/cemetery 'alluring' to the people through the restoration, rehabilitation, and preservation of the remaining colonial period structures and construct pavements. He noted that most of the grave tablets have Spanish writings that provide details about the dead. On maintenance, there are personnel who work in repairing damaged wall and facilities, gardening, sweeping, and construction of comfort rooms. The maintenance is under the National Government while the budget is from the Department of Budget and Management. The preservation and conservation is done in coordination with the National Historical Institute.² He also noted that they had a seminar on how to eradicate the unwanted plants in the cemetery. At least for this cemetery, the government has already recognized its heritage significance.

The weekly concert *Paco Park Presents*, has been going on for thirty-two years since 1978. Emlano noted that this is already the promotional program of the park/cemetery. *Paco Park Presents* is managed by the Arts and Culture (or Cultural and Public) division.

To protect government property and for the safety of its visitors, there are two shifts of security guards.

I observed during the construction of comfort rooms that the workers had collected human bones (Figure 5.16). These were human bones found in one of the walls of the trench. The workers collected and placed the bones in one of the empty niches.



Figure 5.16: Human bones collected from the trench opened during the construction of comfort rooms in Paco Park (Photo by Michelle S. Eusebio)

Student survey

The answers of the undergraduate Archaeology 1 students are based on their actual marks that measured whether they are familiar or not with a particular cemetery (Table 5.1).³ They were also asked if they are familiar with other historical cemeteries aside from those mentioned in Table 5.1. Note that the total number of students who are familiar (51) and not familiar (30) with the Manila South Cemetery represent the actual number of students (81) who answered the survey. Most of them are familiar with Manila North Cemetery (67), Manila South Cemetery (51), and Manila Chinese Cemetery (42). Majority of them are not familiar with Paco Park as a cemetery (52). The

reason for this is that Paco Park is more famous as a “park,” due to the cultural show *Paco Park Presents*. Majority of them are also not familiar with the La Loma Catholic Cemetery (46), which is beside the Manila North Cemetery, and Nagcarlan Cemetery (64), which is an underground cemetery outside Metro Manila. Aside from the six cemeteries mentioned in the table, twelve students are also familiar with other cemeteries, such as the burial niches and entombments inside the San Agustin Church, Intramuros and other archaeological sites such as Plaza Independencia, Cebu City, and Sta. Ana, Manila. The knowledge of these archaeological sites is perhaps due to what they learned in class. Twelve students claimed that they are not familiar with other historical cemeteries.

Table 5.1: Familiarity of UP-ASP Archaeology 1 students with historical cemeteries

Historical cemetery	Number of students that are familiar	Number of students that are not familiar	Total number of students who answered
La Loma Catholic Cemetery	29	46	75
Manila Chinese Cemetery	42	33	75
Manila North Cemetery	67	9	76
Manila South Cemetery	51	30	81
Nagcarlan Cemetery	9	64	73
Paco Park	22	52	74
Others	12	12	24

Five general reasons were noted as to why these cemeteries are important to them as Filipinos: family and loved ones, cultural, historical, archaeological, and heritage. Visiting cemeteries is a chance for family gatherings, to relive memories of the past, especially during All Souls’ Day, and to be acquainted with dead relatives. Cemeteries represent past and present cultures, reflection of beliefs about death and afterlife, and show dominant religion and social status. They also see these places as doors to the past and a source of data for inferring former lifestyles and status in society. Of course, they see them as heritage sites left to be taken care of. Through these

cemeteries, we would be able to tell or show future generations our lifestyle and riches.

DISCUSSION

Similar to the cemeteries studied by Francis et al. (2005), these five historical cemeteries in Metro Manila, especially the Manila North Cemetery, display ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic diversity as well as varying age range. For their maintenance, these burial structures are also threatened by neglect, vandalism, and other detrimental human acts similar to other heritage structures in our country. They need regular maintenance. Although there are efforts on improving maintenance and security, these must be increased. The caretakers should make certain that their assigned mausoleums and graves are clean and maintain a pleasant appearance not only for the family of the deceased but also to the visitors.

There are efforts to promote these cemeteries as heritage sites. They are included as places to visit for educational trips and tours. The main attractions of the Manila North Cemetery are the number of notable burials and group plots. Cultural activities enhance the heritage value of the Paco Park. The Manila South Cemetery has a website maintained by the city government of Manila, which states that “(it is) most important of all—to promote ecological and cultural awareness and appreciation of beauty and nature in order to enhance the aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual development of Manila Citizens” (<http://www.manila.gov.ph/manilasouthcem.htm>). The La Loma Catholic Cemetery is of the same period as the Paco Park, as shown in its capilla and the remnants of the original entrance gate. It has a web page maintained by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Manila. Its mission emphasizes the sacredness of the burial grounds and treats the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit. One of their visions is to transform the gloomy atmosphere into an inspiring one (Archdiocese of Manila 2003), which parallels the subtitle of the Philippine Cemetery Project that is “alive and dynamic spaces.” The Manila Chinese Cemetery is included in the destinations of the tours organized by Old Manila Walks (2006, see <http://www.oldmanilawalks.com/chinesecemeterytour.htm>).

These cemeteries that were already surveyed in Metro Manila confirm our rich cultural heritage. They all have the seven values that were previously mentioned: aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, authenticity, and economic value. Starting with aesthetic value, we can see from these cemeteries the transition of art and architecture from the Spanish colonial period up to the present. This transition could have reflected the general trends in style and fashion in art and architecture coinciding with the construction of the cemeteries. The Baroque style dominated the Spanish colonial period while the Classical was revived during the American conquest. Filipinos also customized their graves and mausoleums according to other foreign influences, such as Egyptian motifs of the Tuason family mausoleum at the Manila North Cemetery. Transitions in planning can also be observed. The Spaniards designed the Paco Cemetery and La Loma Catholic Cemetery with a capilla located at the center. The Americans also applied the *City Beautiful Movement* as a basis for planning the cemeteries, which served as a garden for recreation (Eusebio 2009). In addition, these cemeteries in Metro Manila have symbolic value because they also exhibit a rich vocabulary of visual symbols, especially the floral art, representing the relations of the living with the deceased relatives (Ceron and Sales 2011). Indeed, our cemeteries have authenticity value as a part of the showcase of Philippine art and architectural history, where the blending of local and foreign influences is original and unique.

These cemeteries have spiritual value, as shown by the designs of graves, mausoleums, and chapels that were probably chosen due to their significance to people from various ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic groups. They also have social value because they function to connect the world of the living with the world of the dead. Cemeteries also play a role in preserving a sense of cultural identity and creating a sense of community for minority and immigrant ethnic groups, as demonstrated by the Manila Chinese Cemetery and the Jewish section at the Manila North Cemetery. As shown by historically significant people buried in these five cemeteries, they have historical value as they serve as reservoirs of history. As seen in the Paco Park Cemetery that also functions as a venue to hold events, such as concerts and weddings, cemeteries can have economic value. The multifunctionality of cemeteries as resting places for the dead as well as being a venue or place

of gathering for the living during events can promote heritage tourism and economic growth. In addition, the diverse topics studied by the members of the Cemetery Project show that cemeteries can also be valuable avenues for research.

The responses of the students from the written survey are generally positive as it showed their awareness of these historical cemeteries and their importance. Being students of Archaeology 1 under Dr. Medrana was a big factor because he had instilled the heritage values of anything archaeological, cultural, and historical. Their responses support the view that the cemeteries are not dead and forgotten spaces but alive and dynamic.

Under the newly approved Republic Act No. 10066, the National Cultural Heritage Act of 2009, these colonial period cemeteries can be considered as built heritage, heritage zone and historical landmarks, monuments and shrines. Section 5 noted that all structures that are at least fifty years old are considered cultural properties. Thus, the colonial period structures including historical cemeteries can already be considered as cultural properties. Even the cemeteries built after World War II can also be considered as cultural properties. In relation to that, it is important that our cemeteries across the country be recognized as heritage sites. As stated in Section 7, these cemeteries can avail of privileges, such as priority government funding for protection, conservation, and restoration, incentive for private support of conservation and restoration, an official heritage marker, and priority for protection in times of armed conflict. On a positive note, the cemeteries covered in this paper have markers from National Historical Commission of the Philippines. The online database of Heritage Conservation Society (see [http:// heritageconservation.wordpress.com/category/cemeteries](http://heritageconservation.wordpress.com/category/cemeteries)) features a number of cemeteries across the country. From the interviews, it is apparent that the administrations of the cemeteries exert efforts at maintenance and preservation.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The five cemeteries that are covered in this paper are just a starting point to advocate that historical cemeteries are heritage sites too. Advocacy

is extended to other cemeteries with historical and cultural significance, not necessary of colonial period, and those in the provinces. At least, the students surveyed for this work are aware of their heritage value. How about the others who are not students or those who are not involved in cultural endeavors? Are they aware of the heritage value of these historical cemeteries? I agree with what Francis et al. (2005, 177) said that “cemeteries must be appreciated as an important site for the creation of culture and memory.” Personally, I think that they are the least recognized among our built heritage constructions as they are overshadowed by historical buildings, monuments, churches, and other landmarks. However, once the awareness of their heritage value is increased, the people will see cemeteries not only just a place to inter and visit their deceased loved ones but also as places worthy of appreciation and preservation. Such awareness can then help in protecting and preserving these cemeteries. As archaeologists here in the Philippines, we can achieve these by starting to treat these cemeteries the same way we treat our archaeological sites.

The literature shows that archaeologists, in particular, in the United States, are very active in research, documentation, and preserving cemeteries. It makes sense that if archaeologists study prehistoric burials, why not dovetail this endeavor to historical and modern cemeteries as well? In prehistoric burials, sex and age are determined through skeletal remains; while in cemeteries, sex and age can be easily determined through the markers. The literature also illustrates that a lot of archaeological questions and approaches can be addressed and utilized, respectively, in studying cemeteries. In the case of the Philippines, it would be very nice to see the diachronic change in the ways we Filipinos relate to the dead from the past to the present. Lastly, archaeological studies can further demonstrate that our cemeteries are not dead and forgotten spaces but alive and dynamic. Mytum (2007) suggested a partnership of archaeologists with cemetery managers for the interpretation, utilization, and management of cemeteries as historic resources. This would aid in the preservation of the cemeteries and earn them appreciation from both local communities and visitors.

More research and interviews must be done for these five historical cemeteries. Archival research is recommended to confirm the backgrounds given by the cemetery administrators of Paco Park Cemetery and La Loma Catholic Cemetery. The history of the area where the La Loma Catholic

Cemetery, Manila North Cemetery, and Manila Chinese Cemetery are located must be explored, especially the events accompanying their construction and how territories and boundaries were decided among these three cemeteries. Interviews must be pursued with the administrators of Manila South Cemetery and Manila Chinese Cemetery. More interviews with the people living near the cemeteries to get their views on the importance of these places and if they aware of their heritage values must be conducted.

In the case of the La Loma Catholic Cemetery, the restoration, conservation, and preservation of the capilla and the fosa areas must be pursued and their historical significance must be promoted. It would also be nice if the capilla will be functional again as a venue for masses and other religious services. It has the greatest potential to attract local and foreign visitors to visit this cemetery.

Efforts must be pushed through to declare and highlight our colonial period cemeteries, not only in Metro Manila but also in the provinces, as cultural heritage sites. We can start by utilizing the seven values of cultural heritage (after Throsby 2001 and Aplin 2002) and the National Cultural Heritage Act of 2009 to demonstrate that these cemeteries deserve to be declared as heritage sites.

Endnotes

- ¹ They were the cemetery administrators at the time of the interviews. Some of them have either retired or their term ended.
- ² This is now known as the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

- 3 The survey questionnaire was given as bonus portion of Archaeology 1 final examination of Dr. Jack Medrana’s classes during the First Semester, Academic Year 2008–2009.

II. BONUS. Ito ay bahagi ng isang pag-aaral ng isang graduate student. Ilagay ang kasagutan dito sa papel: (5 puntos) (This is part of a study conducted by an ASP graduate student. Please answer the following questions.)

1. Pamilyar ka ba sa mga sumusunod na libingan? Pakilagyan ng tsek ang patlang ng iyong sagot. (*Are you familiar with the following cemeteries? Please put a check mark beside your answer.*)

Libingan (Cemetery)	Pamilyar ako	Di ako pamilyar
Manila North Cemetery		
Paco Park		
Manila South Cemetery		
La Loma Catholic Cemetery		
Manila Chinese Cemetery		
Nagcarlan Cemetery		

2. Ano ang kahalagahan ng mga libingang ito sa iyo bilang Pilipino? (*What is the significance of cemeteries to you as a Filipino?*)

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Grace Barretto-Tesoro

The authors of this edited volume on *Himlayan, Pantiyon, Kampo Santo, Sementeryo: Exploring Philippine Cemeteries* are united in their dedication to focus on historical cemeteries as a viable research area. The major theme of this book is identity and heritage. Aspects of identity included here are age, ethnicity, social identity, and group identity. It can be argued that the chapter on the heritage values of Philippine colonial cemeteries can be seen as the declaration of our cultural identity as a nation. It is clear from the discussion that material culture such as tombstones and mausoleums are many things but not static. These are not silent stones but active symbols which represent the deceased when he/she was still alive and the mourners' wish to commemorate the dead. Through the mourners' careful selection of designs, decisions on the final appearance of the burial structures, and performance of rituals in these 'dead' spaces, the cemeteries come alive and breathe new life into these spaces. Through the burial structures and rituals, the memory of the dead are kept alive and when these cease; the dead are then forgotten. In some cases, the memory of a person is remembered through several generations because of the identity of the deceased. Usually, this applies to historical figures whose actions, whether in life or death, created an impact in the community, nation,

or even worldwide. However, after a generation or two, many of the dead can sometimes be forgotten and become one of the ancestral spirits, stripped of their individual and personal identities. Social memory becomes important to perpetuate the life of the deceased after death.

In ending this volume, I would like to suggest other research areas that archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, architects, and heritage specialists can explore in the future. In identity studies, scholars can explore gender and sex representations in the burials. Aspects of identity that can be investigated are ethnic and social affiliations. In the Manila North Cemetery, group plots such as those of the Jews, Philippine Constabulary, Armed Forces of the Philippines, War Veterans, Masons, Thomasites (American teachers aboard the USAT Thomas transport ship that arrived in the Philippines in 1901), and Firemen can be examined in the context of Philippine history. A biography of the individuals buried in these group plots can give us a fresh perspective on the history in the Philippines. These little histories provide a different view of Philippine history.

During our surveys of the cemeteries, we encountered the tombs of lesser known politicians who were once town or city mayors, administrative heads, senators, congress officials among others. We do not recall their names but their epitaphs indicate their roles as public servants. History has forgotten them as neglect and encroachment slowly creep in their resting places. Their birth and death anniversaries are commemorated by hanging a banner signifying the event, usually sponsored by the city government. However, many of these individuals have already been consigned to oblivion. A tour of these cemeteries following a specific route highlighting these individual and group burials linked with history is a novel way to learn about the Philippines' past. People may find it peculiar but the narratives generated for the tour can also be refreshing.

A history of Western architectural styles and its application in the Philippines may be studied by observing mausoleums in historical cemeteries. How these Western styles were appropriated or modified is another topic for research. Some architectural elements observed in the Manila Chinese Cemetery were related to the belief system or personal preferences of the deceased. The transformation of cemeteries into settlements as illustrated

in Eusebio's paper (this volume) should be explored particularly in reference to the blurring of settlement and burial boundaries. Anthropological studies can focus on the interaction of the people living in the cemeteries with the dead, coping mechanisms of the cemetery inhabitants in what should be a sacred space such as the genesis of horror and/or supernatural stories, the dynamics between the cemetery residents and the administration. Forms and manifestations of bereavement is another interesting topic. Research on the creation of formal cemeteries during the Spanish colonial occupation from the 16th century until the late 19th century can contribute to regional variation studies of cemeteries. Such studies should consider the history of the town where these cemeteries are located.

Transition from primary to secondary burials to mass graves can also be studied. Due to rental policies in some cemeteries, we observed that skeletal remains may be transferred to an apartment niche. If rental payment is delayed or not received, bones may eventually be transferred to an ossuary. Once transferred to an ossuary, it would be very difficult to retrieve individual bones for reburial as many of these are not properly labelled. Exhumations without proper notice to the family have been reported in the media. We observed bones stored in straw sacks waiting for reburial. Ethics on exhumation issues, proper storage of bones waiting for transfer, and state of ossuaries can also be examined. The journey of the body from coffins to straw sacks to mass graves, as it slowly transforms from flesh to bones to fragmented and disarticulated to broken bones mixed with bones from other individuals challenge our views on the personhood of the dead.

This volume is an initial effort to view cemeteries from an archaeological perspective. No longer just repositories of our dead, cemeteries, just like archaeological burial sites, play a central role in studying human interactions and social relations and its relevance in the contemporary world.

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