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La Sonoridad del Mundo en Manila del Siglo XIX

A Synesthetic Listening to Spanish Writings in 19th-Century Manila

meLê yamomo

Oye, ¡Tú Eres Testigo!¹

In the 19th century, Manila was an important cultural capital of the emerging modern global economy in the Asia Pacific. Global historians Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, as well as Luke Clossey, argue that the establishment of Manila as the Spanish Empire's capital in the Asia-Pacific was the beginning of globalization (see Flynn and Giráldez 1995, 201–21; 2002, 391–427; 2004, 81–108; Clossey 2006, 41). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the arrival of new transportation and communication technology, Manila was interconnected to the rest of the world by steamships, telegraphs, and newspapers.² Nineteenth-century Manila newspapers not only provide us with a glimpse of the Philippine capital's vibrant cultural scene. An important function of newspapers of that time also places Manila within the larger public sphere of the Spanish Empire as it was entangled in inter-imperial and nascent “internationalizing” globality. The readers of these papers would have been acutely aware of their cosmopolitan position in the globalizing world.

Historian Mark Smith invites us to open our ears to history, which has conventionally been ocularcentric (2004). Sound historiography methodologically allows us to open our ears to historical understandings that transpire in the ontological and metaphorical processes of sounding, speaking, musicking, noise making, and silencing. Engaging the sonic register in historiography allows us to observe how colonial urban planning or social relationships transpired in how sound and music in Manila were organized and

governed. Who was allowed to speak, and who was not? Who was listened to, or who was even allowed to listen? How was globalization heard, and how was Manila entangled in this polyphony and counterpoints of global soundings and imaginations? In the absence of sound recording in the 19th century, this chapter relies on synesthetic listening to Spanish literature in 19th-century Manila. I hearken us to listen with our literary ear to reverberations of Manila's soundscape from newspaper writings, biographies, documentations of theatrical performances, and José Rizal's novels—our "earwitnesses." In opening our ears to 19th-century Manila, I echo the notion of multiple modernities proposed by sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt (1999, 283–95). How do we listen to Manilans' imagination of a cosmopolitan postcolonial Philippines interwoven with tapestries of European colonial encounters?

Like everywhere in the Spanish Empire, social lives in the cities and villages in early modern Philippines were built *bajo de la campana*—under the bells. The pealing of the church bells governed the social, cultural, and political spheres of the colony. However, the 19th century would transpose how Manila would listen to itself and its entanglement with the rest of the world. The sound of new mechanized sea and land transportation technologies, the telegraph and telephone, the new architectural structures, and the arrival of international music, theater, and opera companies—all of these recomposed the sonicsphere of Manila.

By 1883, Manila was serviced by five tram lines, its first modern public transport. The horse-drawn streetcars whose hourly sounds of galloping, of wheels running on metal tracks, and of its arrival horn provided the rhythm of urban mobility in the city.³ The steam engine tram line that ran through Malabon all the way to the working-class suburb of Caloocan opened in 1888 (Legarda 2002, 329). The first telephone line was installed in Manila in 1890. In 1892, the Manila-Dagupan steam train was inaugurated, extending the mechanized transportation farther out of the capital. The U.S. Bureau of Census documents Manila's population at 176,777 by 1887—twice as many people compared to the previous decade. Philippine theater historian Cristina Laconico Buenaventura also observed that the theaters in the city doubled in the last two decades of the 19th century, identifying 26 theaters operating all over Manila by 1896 (Buenaventura 2010, 48). These theaters catered to the Manilans with different entertainments ranging from "the usual *teatro español* and *teatro tagalo* to operas, concerts and bullfights" (49). Buenaventura notes that Teatro Circo de Zorillo as "the most elegant of them all, catered to the political and social elite" (49)—which would have also hosted

the most extravagant performances of operas and zarzuelas of the visiting European opera companies. Manila's entanglement with the global economy created new polyphonies of transcontinental trading. Raw materials from the colonies were shipped to Europe, and manufactured goods, as well as the latest books, fashion, musical scores, and musical instruments, returned to colonial Southeast Asia on the opposite route. The postal ships that delivered the letters from Europe also brought concert musicians, dramatic and music theater companies, and circus troupes to Manila. In the second half of the 19th century, Manila would become a cultural nexus and an important destination of touring and peripatetic theater and music companies that found theater season ticket buyers, an organized musicians' union, and modern theater infrastructures. By the 1880s, Manila saw locally organized opera and zarzuela companies. The zarzuela would develop its own syncretic form—the *sarswela*—and would be crucial in the anti-colonial movement in the 20th century (see Fernandez 1996, 74–94; Tiongson 2010, 150–86; meLé yamomo 2018b).

These new sounds would not only resonate the soundscape of the city. They would also reconfigure how the citizens of Manila tuned their understandings of themselves within nascent globalizing modernities. However, sonic understandings of the modern and the global encountered conflicting receptions and perceptions from the sounding communities and the listening bodies. From reports, biographies, and literary texts by Europeans listening to the sounds of Manila, we hear responses ranging from appreciation and admiration to abjection and disgust. Visitors to the tropics express in different literature their distress toward the sounds of animals and insects, especially when the lights were turned out. An area of disharmony is the sense of familiarities in European music repertoire with the aesthetic difference in local sound culture in Manila. Attending a Catholic mass in suburban Manila in 1885, British Royal Navy officer Henry Ellis observed: “The music . . . is almost invariably very indifferent; the vocal part harsh and discordant” (1859, 243). Visiting Europeans found discordant perceptions in Catholic ritual practices, which they formally recognized but heard aesthetically different. The familiarity implies an uncanny colonial auditory recognition. The European musical form, conventions, and repertoire and the instruments that the native Filipinos had mastered through 300 years of Spanish and Catholic colonization would sound familiar to the European ear. However, the singing—which relies on the singer's body as its instrument—caused cognitive dissonance⁴ in the ears and minds of the earwitnesses. Historical listeners also

wrote of what to Europeans was discordant mixing of religious and profane music in Catholic rituals. Ellis observed that “the style of instruments that the natives excel in are much better adapted to a ‘*bayle*’ [public dance] than a church” (243). Jesuit priest and historian J. Mallat also noted that “the choice of the airs which they play is not always the most edifying. We have heard in the churches the waltzes of Musard, and the gayest airs of the French comic opera” (quoted in Blair and Robertson 1906, 45:272).

In this chapter, I will focus on two areas of sonic world making from two different sources. Newspaper reviews and newspaper features written in Spanish give us ears to what theatergoers and concertgoers in the 19th century were hearing. I survey how journalism and literature circulated auditory and musical discourse that were pedagogical in the forming of a listening public sphere in globalizing Manila. I also invite us to draw our ears to auditory reverberations within José Rizal’s two novels, *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, and listen to sonic expressions of how Manilans heard and auditioned their modernities in their global city.

De Todo un Poco

Colla de espectáculos
 varia y divertida
 zarzuela, opereta
 Circo y mágia *Albina*,
 ¿Y dirán que hay crisis! [. . .]
 ¡¡Y que nos consume
 la Langosta china!!
 Dígalo *Chiarini*,
 y la Compañía,
 de ópera italiana
 (no sus contratistas),
 pues, si no los DIVOS,
 al menos las *divas*
 no pueden quejarse
 de estos suaves climas,
 Pues no digo nada
 de la troupe lírica
 que guía Navarro

á la gloria altísima.

Ya han ganado tanta
nombradía y guita
que les vino estrecha,
su morada antigua
y se han ido á Tondo . . .
á espaciar la vista.

Pero la infalible,
la mejor medida,
que pueda decirnos
de manera fija,
si estamos en alza,
si estamos en ruina,
es de Chiarini
la gran *Pitonisa*,
doctora en la ciencia
burlesco-satírica,
pues á la insinuante
llamada Mayística
se van los ahorros de las alcancías,
y puede decirnos
D. Giuseppe al dia
cuántos mejicanos
ruedan por Manila.⁵

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Manila was at the height of what historical musicologist William Summers calls the “golden age” of Manila’s cultural scene (n.d.).⁶ The poem above appeared in *La Oceañia Española* on April 7, 1889. The city was reverberating with musical activities. Theater managers were raking in fame and profit—amid the sugar crisis.⁷ But, more than commenting on the economy, the poem humorously remarks on how the rise and fall of the city’s morale were in the hands of the Compañía de Ópera Italiana and circus director extraordinaire Giuseppe Chiarini.

In the absence of sound recording technology at the time, the primary sources in understanding the vibrant sounds and scenes in Manila are the numerous 19th-century newspapers. Former publisher of the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, which published *History of the Philippine Press*, Carlson Taylor traced the beginning of Philippine newspapers to 1843; many of the early

publications, however, were short-lived (1927). These newspapers, written in Spanish, initially served the Hispanic and the Spanish-speaking elites of Manila. The first pages of these newspapers were devoted to reprinting news from Europe. The cover pages echoed the “news of the wars in Europe, debates about nationalism in Paris, the construction of the tunnel in the Alps connecting Bavaria, Switzerland, and Italy, as well as the latest gossips about the European royalties” (meLê yamomo 2018b, 93). Local Manila readers could also read “editorial essays on the issues of nationalism and democracy that were being debated by the rising middle classes in Europe” (93). The “Local” section was initially dedicated to announcements of the arrival of ships, the opening of new shops, or new legislations. By the 1870s, local news expanded into “multiple subsections which included weather forecast, dedicated local religious and military events, local advertisements, as well as announcements and reviews of local music and theatre performances” (93–94). The major dailies also began weekly serializations of Spanish novels or the popular fiction in Europe and the United States, translated into Spanish. In the last quarter of the 19th century, literary figures, scientists, and politicians published poetries and opinions, as well as political, artistic, and scientific treatises in the newspapers.

As Manila became enmeshed in the global network of traveling theater and music troupes, the advertisement sections were filled with announcements of opera, zarzuela, and theater productions and ticket subscriptions. Side by side the announcements, writings that discussed the history and contexts of pieces being performed in Manila—as well as performance reviews and criticisms—became standard fixtures in the newspapers. The rise of specialized sections in the papers also shaped how the Manila audiences listened to these modern musical compositions. Articles and columns were dedicated to biographies of composers and musicians, as well as philosophy and aesthetics of theater and music—particularly by shows running in Manila. An important columnist of the newspaper *El Comercio* was Oscar Camps y Soler. Soler was the organist at the Manila Cathedral and a teacher at the Colegio de Niños Tiples, a prestigious school for boy sopranos in Manila. He trained as a pianist and composer under the masters Theodore Bohler and Guiseppe Mercadante in Italy and was a music teacher in Madrid before moving to Manila (see Fox 1976, 266; “Oscar Camps y Soler” 2008).

Onstage, in the auditorium, on the streets, and on the pages of the newspapers and emerging literary culture, ways of listening were negotiated—from around the world into Manila and from Manila into the world. The traveling

opera companies arriving in Manila would hire the local orchestras that previously serviced Manila's different churches. The rise in such demands led to the establishment of a union of musicians in 1885.⁸ The negotiations between local and global listening practices also entailed the transculturization of sound cultures. The theaters built in tropical architectures, which enabled air circulation but not soundproofing, allowed the music to be heard from outside. For the *indios*—the natives of the Philippines who are the poorest in the Spanish colonial *casta* (race and class) system⁹—who could not afford the tickets, this allowed for them to hear the latest opera plots and melodies from Europe.¹⁰

In 1887, local composer and conductor Ladislao Bonus founded a local opera company that Spanish theater historian Wenceslao Emilio Retana described as composed entirely of singers and musicians from “*tagalos de la mas pura cepa*” (Tagalogs of the purest stock) (1909, 155–56). Bonus would also compose and perform the first Tagalog opera, *Sangdugong Panaguinip*, in 1904. The revival of the Spanish zarzuela in Madrid in the second half of the 19th century also found an enthusiastic audience in Manila. The scores and play-texts of the operas and zarzuelas, advertised in the newspapers, were also available to Manila's literate audiences. By the turn of the century, zarzuela was indigenized into the local *sarswela*—performed in the different vernacular languages in the Philippine archipelago—and would eventually become instrumental in the Philippine nationalist project (Tiongson 2010, 152–53; see also Fernandez 1977; 1993, 320–43).

In the novel *El Filibusterismo*, José Rizal takes us inside a Manila theater, which is probably based on Teatro de Variedades built in 1878 (Camagay 1992, 135). Zacarias Deplace leased the theater for his French theater company in the 1870s, which Rizal himself would have attended during his studies in Manila.

The interior of the theater presented a lively aspect. It was filled from top to bottom, with people standing in the corridors and in the aisles, fighting to withdraw a head from some hole where they had inserted it, or to shove an eye between a collar and an ear. The open boxes, occupied for the most part by ladies, looked like baskets of flowers, whose petals—the fans—shook in a light breeze, wherein hummed a thousand bees. However, just as there are flowers of strong or delicate fragrance, flowers that kill and flowers that console, so from our baskets were exhaled like emanations: there were to be heard dialogues, conversations, remarks that bit and stung. Three or four

boxes, however, were still vacant, in spite of the lateness of the hour. The performance had been advertised for half-past eight and it was already a quarter to nine, but the curtain did not go up, as his Excellency had not yet arrived. . . . In the reserved seats, where the ladies seemed to be afraid to venture, as few were to be seen there, a murmur of voices prevailed amid suppressed laughter and clouds of tobacco smoke. They discussed the merits of the players and talked scandal, wondering if his Excellency had quarreled with the friars, if his presence at such a show was a defiance or mere curiosity. Others gave no heed to these matters, but were engaged in attracting the attention of the ladies, throwing themselves into attitudes more or less interesting and statuesque, flashing diamond rings, especially when they thought themselves the foci of insistent opera-glasses, while yet another would address a respectful salute to this or that señora or señorita. (Rizal 1912a, 195–96)¹¹

The restless auditorium is punctuated by the protestations of the gallery gods: “Impatient and uncomfortable in their seats, [they] started a racket, clapping their hands and pounding the floor with their canes. Boom—boom—boom! Ring up the curtain! Boom—boom—boom!” (195).¹² We hear in this auditorium a polyphony of genders, classes, and races of Manila’s listening public. The opera would not begin until the fashionably late elite box subscribers had taken their seats. In the meantime, the noise increased.

The orchestra played another waltz, the audience protested, when fortunately there arose a charitable hero to distract their attention and relieve the manager, in the person of a man who had occupied a reserved seat and refused to give it up to its owner . . . The artillerymen in the gallery began to sing out encouragement to the usurper. . . . Hisses were heard . . . the galloping of horses resounded and the stir increased. One might have said that a revolution had broken out, or at least a riot, but no, the orchestra had suspended the waltz and was playing the royal march: it was his Excellency, the Captain-General and Governor of the islands, who was entering. . . . The artillerymen then became silent and the orchestra tore into the prelude. (196–97)¹³

Here, we get aural impressions of Manila’s colonial society inside the auditorium. The chapter allows us to hear the sounds made by the audiences from different social hierarchies and places within the theater. We hear the orchestral waltz of placation, the silencing and social policing of human sounds in the theater vis-à-vis the nonverbal sounds of protestations, and the auditory imposition of state power through its anthem.

“¡Esta Noche Oirá Filipinas El Estallido, Que Convertirá En Escombros El Informe Monumento!”

The sonic experience of global modernities within Manila’s theaters and in how its citizens heard their city as a stage of this global imagination resonated in the literature of the time. José Rizal’s novels, in particular, made audible the sound of Manila’s streets, theaters, and articulations and silencings of emergent anti-colonial voices. Rizal was a member of the Filipino Propaganda movement and a proponent of political reforms for the Philippines as a colony under Spain.

In the same auditorium in the chapter of *El Filibusterismo* above, everyone was listening to the operetta in French and to cancan music from Paris: the Spanish elites, artillerymen, mestizo university students, and, taking into account their inability to buy tickets, the Filipino working class, who were catching the free concert from outside the theater. “‘Quoi v’la tous les cancans d’la s’maine!’ sang Gertrude, a proud damsel, who was looking roguishly askance at the Captain-General” (Rizal 1912a, 199). Outside the theater, Rizal opens our ears in *Noli me Tangere* to Arroceros Cigar Factory, which “resounded with the noise of the cigar-makers pounding the tobacco leaves . . . [whose] strong odor which about five o’clock in the afternoon used to float all over the Puente de Barcas” (Jose Rizal 1912b, 211).¹⁴ His aural accounts draw cosmopolitan comparisons between Manila and Madrid, where “the lively conversations and the repartee of the crowds from the cigar factories carried him back to the district of Lavapiés in Madrid, with its riots of cigar-makers, so fatal for the unfortunate policemen” (211–12).¹⁵ In *El Filibusterismo*, the reader is taken on board the steamer *Tabo*, whose “whistle shrieks at every moment, hoarse and commanding like a tyrant who would rule by shouting, so that no one on board can hear his own thoughts” (Rizal 1912a, 6).¹⁶ Or is brought to the Chinese *panciteria* (noodle restaurant), where the boisterous voices of the university students are punctuated by the “sizzling of the grease in the frying-pan” (233). As sounds of urbanity envelope 19th-century Manila, so do its citizens begin to hear and engage their understanding of noise. British physicist G. W. C. Kaye stated in 1931 that “noise is sound that is ‘out of place’” (quoted in Bijsterveld 2008, 240). Such engagement, however, entails both its acoustic manifestation and how society understood it metaphorically. Sound historian Hillel Schwartz argues that the understanding of how “noise itself has been transformed this century from the acoustic to the metaphorical” helps us understand how societies organize sounds (2004, 53). In synesthetically listening further to sonic reverberations in Philippine

Spanish literature, John Cage makes an observation that attunes us to what the writers were listening to and how they were listening: “Wherever we are what we hear is mostly noise. . . . When we ignore it, it disturbs us. When we listen to it, we find it fascinating” (1991).

In *Noli me Tangere*, Crisóstomo Ibarra, the novel’s protagonist, has just returned to Manila upon learning about his father’s death after seven years of studying in Europe. In chapter 5, Ibarra sits in melancholic thought of his father’s tragic death. Across the river from his hotel room, “gay strains of music, largely from stringed instruments, were borne across the river even to his room” (Rizal 1912b, 72). Through Ibarra, Rizal echoes scenes from his impressions of European opera productions: seeing “with his opera glasses what was going on in that atmosphere of light, he would have been charmed with one of those magical and fantastic spectacles, the like of which is sometimes seen in the great theaters of Europe” (72).¹⁷ The spectacular musicscape and dramaturgy of an orientalist European opera are counterpointed with the specters of the empire in the abject scenario of the Spanish colonial capital: “To the subdued strains of the orchestra there seems to appear in the midst of a shower of light, a cascade of gold and diamonds in an Oriental setting, a deity wrapped in misty gauze, a sylph enveloped in a luminous halo, who moves forward apparently without touching the floor” (72).¹⁸

I drew from *Noli me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, Rizal’s two novels, aural descriptions of Manila’s entanglements with the globalizing circulation of music, opera, and zarzuela. Within the melodramatic convention of his time, Rizal crafts in *Noli me Tangere* a deftly written tragedy where the novel’s personae follow their irreversible tragic fates within an inescapable colonial machinery in rural San Diego. In its sequel, Ibarra vengefully returns disguised as the wealthy jeweler Simoun. *El Filibusterismo* follows through the lives of *Noli*’s surviving characters. *El Filibusterismo* is published 14 years after *Noli* in Gent. *El Filibusterismo* pulsates with an urban tempo and a cosmopolitan outlook as its scenes unfold primarily in Manila and introduce new characters of young, vibrant university students. *El Filibusterismo*’s plot is a multi-gear engine of frustrated and disgruntled Manilans injured by the colonial system winding up toward an armed revolution financed by the vindictive Simoun.

In *El Filibusterismo*, we hear the polemics of reform and revolution. The idealist Isagani envisions: “Tomorrow we shall be citizens of the Philippines, whose destiny will be a glorious one” (Rizal 1912a, 225).¹⁹ Effusing to his beloved Paulita Gomez, we hear from Isagani a sensuous dream of a modern

Philippines: “I hear the steam hiss, the trains roar, the engines rattle! I see the smoke rise—their heavy breathing; I smell the oil—the sweat of monsters busy at incessant toil” (225).²⁰ Influenced by Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and the abolitionist movement, Rizal’s reformist ideology advocates for the voice of the Philippines through its representation in the Spanish parliament. Through such reform, he envisions the abolition of the slave system of *polo y servicios* and the enactment of the legal treatment of Filipinos and Spaniards as equals, which would give Filipinos rights to participate in the government. Isagani elaborates this worldly vision:

Free from the system of exploitation, without hatred or distrust, the people will labor because then labor will cease to be a despicable thing, it will no longer be servile, imposed upon a slave. Then the Spaniard will not embitter his character with ridiculous pretensions of despotism, but with a frank look and a stout heart we shall extend our hands to one another, and commerce, industry, agriculture, the sciences, will develop under the mantle of liberty, with wise and just laws, as in prosperous England. (225)²¹

Simoun’s revolution, however, is brutal—accomplished with the modern warfare technology of the time, inaugurated by the deafening explosion of nitroglycerin. To Simoun, the dynamite disguised as a lamp symbolizes the “concentrated tears, repressed hatred, wrongs, injustice, outrage. It’s the last resort of the weak, force against force, violence against violence” (290).²² In his plan, “the most dangerous tyrants will be blown to pieces, the irresponsible rulers that hide themselves behind God and the State, whose abuses remain unpunished because no one can bring them to justice” (290).²³ He declares that the rebellion was to be announced by an “explosion that will convert into rubbish the formless monument whose decay I have fostered” (290).²⁴ The thunderous sound will resound through the city, and its report “will have been heard in the country round, in the mountains, in the caves” (290).²⁵ It would herald Simoun’s war:

Upon hearing the explosion, the wretched and the oppressed, those who wander about pursued by force, will sally forth armed to join Cablesang Tales in Santa Mesa, whence they will fall upon the city, while the soldiers, whom I have made to believe that the General is shamming an insurrection in order to remain, will issue from their barracks ready to fire upon whomsoever I may designate. Meanwhile, the crowded populace, thinking that the hour of

massacre has come, will rush out prepared to kill or be killed, and as they have neither arms nor organization, you with some others will put yourself at their head and direct them to the warehouses of Quiroga, where I keep my rifles. Cablesang Tales and I will join one another in the city and take possession of it, while you in the suburbs will seize the bridges and throw up barricades, and then be ready to come to our aid to butcher not only those opposing the revolution but also every man who refuses to take up arms and join us. (291)²⁶

The mutiny, however, would be snuffed hastily, in silence. An unidentified figure swiftly seized the lamp and threw it into the river. “The whole thing happened in a second and the dining-kiosk was left in darkness. The lamp had already struck the water before the servants could cry out” (306–7).²⁷ We deduce the intruder to be Isagani trying to save the life of Paulita Gomez. “The figure, more agile than they, had already mounted the balustrade and before a light could be brought, precipitated itself into the river, striking the water with a loud splash” (307).²⁸

Thus, rather than building toward a crescendo of a deafening explosion, it was in the muting of Simoun’s bomb that the ideological dispute of diplomatic reform and armed revolution in Rizal’s novel culminated.

Coda

Manila’s 300 years of imperial relations to Spain and its long trading history in the Indian and Pacific Oceans made it an important cultural nexus by the 19th century connecting the Asia-Pacific to the rest of the world. Manila was the place to hear the European operas, zarzuelas, and concerts—in their full orchestration. Manila too was the source of musicians who played in the municipal bands in its neighboring Asian cities (meLê yamomo 2015, 2018a). The aural experience of 19th-century global modernities and Manila’s role in it were documented in Spanish newspaper writings, poems, and novels. The local dailies published not just advertisements of upcoming music and theater performances. They were also sources of detailed background, dramaturgy, and history of the opera, zarzuela, and dramatic productions playing on the local stage. From Rizal’s novels, we also hear reverberations of sonic world making by citizens of Manila in how they heard modernity and in how Manila was a stage in the performance of this early globalization. In reading Rizal’s words in print, we listen to the auditioning of Philippine modernity

inside the theaters, on the streets, and on the world stage. The competing sounds and noises were not necessarily harmonious in how anti-colonial voices were heard or silenced.

Notes

1. José Rizal, *El Filibusterismo* (Gent: Boekdrukkerij F. Meyer-van Loo, 1891), 466.
2. For a historical context of the sociopolitical and economic shift brought about by the opening of the Suez Canal, see Osterhammel 2014. Its impact on Philippine politics and economy is discussed in Chang 2016, 305–22; Legarda 2002. I discuss the Philippines' and Southeast Asia's interconnection with the 19th-century global cultural network from 1869 in meLê yamomo 2017, 2018b.
3. Dita Kinney, the superintendent of the US Army Nurse Corps, reported in 1902 her observations of the Manila public trams during a one-month visit to Manila: "Manila's rapid (!) transit facilities consist of a car drawn by ponies which, by contrast, look hardly larger than rats. The following graphically and truthfully describes this service: 'It starts nowhere, goes nowhere, and runs when and where it pleases. Nobody who is interested in reaching any particular point at any particular time ever thinks of using it.' The approach of the car is announced by a peculiar little whining whistle blown by the driver. To the uninitiated this sounds like one of those toy combination whistles and balloons which children inflate with breath." See Kinney 1902, 32–38.
4. The notion of cognitive dissonance is coined by Leon Festinger to refer to psychological discomfort felt in response to two or more conflicting cognitions, such as values, beliefs, ideas, or cultural practices. See Eysenck 1963.
5. *La Oceanía Española*, April 7, 1889.
6. I am grateful to Prof. William Summers for allowing me to use his digital archive of 19th-century newspapers in Manila housed at the University of Santo Tomas Heritage Library in Manila.
7. In the last decades of the 1880s, a sugar crisis hit the Philippines, causing the biggest American firm, Peele, Hubbel & Co., in Manila to declare bankruptcy in 1887 and face lawsuits for another two years. See Legarda 2002, 320–25.
8. Unión Artístico-Musical, "Reglamento De La Sociedad De Conciertos," 1885.
9. For further discussion on the class and race in the colonial Philippine society, see Agoncillo 1977.
10. An advertisement of *Las amazonas del Tormes* at the Teatro de Tondo indicated a ticket charge being imposed on audiences who were listening from outside the theater: "Los que vayan para oír la función desde la calle pagarán solamente una peseta, pero siendo oyentes en carruaje, media entrada." (Those who go to hear the performance from the street shall pay only a peseta, but those listeners in carriages, half the entrance fee.) *La Oceanía Española*, January 10, 1885.
11. From the original Spanish: "El aspecto que ofrecía el teatro era animadísimo; estaba lleno de bote en bote, y en la entrada general, en los pasillos se veía mucha gente de pié, pugnando por sacar la cabeza ó meter un ojo entre un cuello y una oreja. Los palcos descubiertos, llenos en su mayor parte de señoras, parecían canastillas de flores, cuyos pétalos agitára una leve brisa (hablo de los abanicos), y en donde zumban insectos mil. Solo que

como hay flores de delicado y fuerte perfume, flores que matan y flores que consuelan, en las canastillas de nuestro teatro tambien se aspiran perfumes parecidos, se oyen diálogos, conversaciones, frases que pican ó corroen. Solo tres ó cuatro de los palcos estaban aun vacíos apesar de lo avanzado de la hora; para las ocho y media se había anunciado la funcion, eran ya las nueve menos cuarto, y el telon no se levantaba porque S. E. no había llegado todavía. . . . En las butacas—á donde parece que temen bajar las señoras tan no se ve á ninguna—reina un murmullo de voces, de risas reprimidas, entre nubes de humo. . . . Discuten el mérito de las artistas, hablan de escándalos, si S. E. ha reñido con los frailes, si la presencia del General en semejante espectáculo es una provocacion ó sencillamente una curiosidad; otros no piensan en estas cosas, sino en cautivar las miradas de las señoras adoptando posturas más ó menos interesantes, más ó menos estatuarias, haciendo jugar los anillos de brillantes, sobre todo cuando se creen observados por insistentes gemelos; otros dirigen respetuosos saludos á tal señora ó señorita.” Rizal 1891, 380–82.

12. From the original Spanish: “impacientes é incómodos en sus asientos, armaban un alboroto pataleando y golpeando el suelo con sus bastones. ‘—¡Bum-bum-bum! ¡que se abra el telon! ¡bum-bum-bum!’” Rizal 1891, 380–81.

13. From the original Spanish: “La orquesta toca otro vals, el público protesta; afortunadamente se presenta un héroe caritativo que distrae la atencion y redime al empresario; es un señor que ha ocupado una butaca y se niega á cederla á su dueño. . . . Los guardias, teniendo en consideracion la categoría del rebelde. . . . Resuenan silbidos . . . se oye galopar de caballos, se nota movimiento; cualquiera diría que ha estallado una revolucion ó cuando menos un motin; no, la orquesta suspende el vals y toca la marcha real; es S. E. el Capitan General y Gobernador de las Islas el que llega. . . . Los artilleros se callan entonces y la orquesta ataca la introduccion.” Rizal 1891, 382.

14. From the original Spanish: “oir el estruendo que hacen las cigarreras golpeando las hojas . . . acordándose de aquel fuerte olor que á las cinco de la tarde saturaba el Puente de Bargas.” Rizal 1902, 132.

15. From the original Spanish: “Las animadas conversaciones, los chistes llevaron maquinalmente su imaginación al barrio de Lavapiés en Madrid con sus motines de cigarreras, tan fatales para los desgraciados guindillas, etc.” Rizal 1902, 134–35.

16. From the original Spanish: “El silbato chilla á cada momento, ronco é imponente como un tirano que quiere gobernar á gritos, de tal modo que dentro nadie se entiende.” Rizal 1891, 13.

17. From the original Spanish: “hubiese querido ver con la ayuda de unos gemelos lo que pasaba en aquella atmósfera de luz, habría admirado una de esas fantásticas visiones, una de esas apariciones mágicas que á veces se ven en los grandes teatros de Europa.” Rizal 1902, 85.

18. From the original Spanish: “en que á las apagadas melodías de una orquesta se veía aparecer en medio de una lluvia de luz, de una cascada de diamantes y oro, en una decoración oriental, envuelta en vaporosa gasa, una deidad, una sílfide que avanza sin tocar casi el suelo.” Rizal 1902, 85.

19. From the original Spanish: “Mañana seremos ciudadanos de Filipinas, cuyo destino será hermoso porque estará en amantes manos.” Rizal 1891, 435.

20. From the original Spanish: “Oigo el vapor silbar, el traqueteo de los trenes, el

estruendo de las máquinas miro subir el humo, su potente respiración, y aspiro el olor del aceite, el sudor de los monstruos ocupados en incesante faena.” Rizal 1891, 436.

21. From the original Spanish: “Libres del sistema de explotación, sin despechos ni desconfianzas; el pueblo trabajará porque entonces el trabajo dejará de ser infamante, dejará de ser servil, como imposición al esclavo; entonces el español no agriará su carácter con ridículas pretensiones despóticas y, franca la mirada, robusto el corazón, nos daremos la mano, y el comercio, la industria, la agricultura, las ciencias se desenvolverán al amparo de la libertad y de leyes sabias y equitativas como en la próspera Inglaterra.” Rizal 1891, 381–82.

22. From the original Spanish: “¡Son lágrimas concentradas, odios comprimidos, injusticias y agravios! Es la suprema razón del débil, fuerza contra fuerza, violencia contra violencia.” Rizal 1891, 563.

23. From the original Spanish: “¡Esta noche volarán pulverizados los tiranos más peligrosos, los tiranos irresponsables, los que se ocultan detrás de Dios y del Estado, y cuyos abusos permanecen impunes porque nadie los puede fiscalizar!” Rizal 1891, 563–64.

24. From the original Spanish: “¡Esta noche oírán Filipinas el estallido, que convertirá en escombros el informe monumento cuya podredumbre he apresurado!” Rizal 1891, 564.

25. From the original Spanish: “la detonación se habrá oído en las comarcas próximas, en los montes, en las cavernas.” Rizal 1891, 566.

26. From the original Spanish: “Al oírse el estallido, los miserables, los oprimidos, los que vagan perseguidos por la fuerza saldrán armados y se reunirán con Cabesang Tales en Santa Mesa para caer sobre la ciudad; en cambio, los militares á quienes he hecho creer que el General simula un alzamiento para tener motivos de permanecer, saldrán de sus cuarteles dispuestos á disparar sobre cualesquiera que designare. El pueblo entretanto, albrestando, y creyendo llegada la hora de su degüello, se levantará dispuesto á morir, y como no tiene armas ni está organizado, usted con algunos otros se pondrá á su cabeza y los dirigirá á los almacenes del chino Quiroga en donde guardo mis fusiles. Cabesang Tales y yo nos reuniremos en la ciudad y nos apoderaremos de ella, y usted en los arrabales ocupará los puentes, se hará fuerte, estará dispuesto á venir en nuestra ayuda y pasará á cuchillo no solo á la contrarrevolución, ¡sino á todos los varones que se nieguen á seguir con las armas!” Rizal 1891, 566.

27. From the original Spanish: “Todo pasó en un segundo: el comedor se quedó á oscuras. La lámpara ya había caído en el agua cuando los criados pudieron gritar.” Rizal 1891, 596.

28. From the original Spanish: “Pero la sombra, más ágil aun, ya había montado sobre la balastrada de ladrillo y antes que pudiesen traer una luz se precipitaba al río, dejando oír un ruido quebrado al caer en el agua.” Rizal 1891, 596–97.

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