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The *Pahiyas* in Lucban, Quezon: A Preliminary Study*

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The *pahiyas* in Lucban, Quezon is a one-day celebration held yearly on the fifteenth of May, during one of the town's two harvest seasons. As practised at present, its main feature is the ornamentation of facades of houses in the town with various materials and designs, with the *kiping* (colored leaf-shaped rice wafer) as the main material-motif. Since a time which not even the oldest among the townsfolk can remember, it has been associated with San Isidro Labrador, patron saint of farmers.

The *pahiyas* has been brought to the limelight by the Marcos administration in line with the thrust on tourism development. Quite a number of articles have been written on it since then, yet no serious study on the subject has been made. The articles share the characteristic of being mainly a description of displays, with a generalized explanation of the practice, and occasionally including the popular story of the life of San Isidro Labrador. Some even include dubious data. In *Fiesta* (Roces, 1980), for instance, the author includes an altogether wrong recipe for *kiping*.¹

Of the proffered explanations of the *pahiyas*, two strains may be discerned. The first is the religious strain which suggests that the *pahiyas* is a thanksgiving to San Isidro during the harvest season;² or that it is a recognition of San Isidro's power over the rains such that the people's harvest depends on his blessings;³ or that it is a folk-Christian ritual which replaced the indigenous practice of communication with gods, spirits, etc.⁴ The second strain which is not necessarily independent of the first, suggests that the *pahiyas* is folk art.⁵

None of these explanations seems to be based on factual studies, however; one cannot deny the impression that they are mere speculations the validity of which needs to be verified.

The present study seeks to address this need. It aims to gain a better understanding of the *pahiyas* by examining the elements which constitute the activity, as well as the changes these elements and the activity as a whole have undergone through the years. As a preliminary study, it attempts to provide an analysis of the *pahiyas* based on factual research through which one may not only test for the validity of the current popularized explanations, but also, if these should be found wanting, indicate more plausible ones. In the light of this analysis,

particular relationships between "ritual" and "folk art" are touched upon.

Because of the lack of documentations of the *pahiyas*, the present research has had to rely primarily on the author's personal interviews with the townspeople and firsthand observation of the festival. The data for this study were gathered from May to September, 1983 on six different occasions, and cover the earliest *pahiyas* which the old folks of Lucban can remember until the *pahiyas* of 1983. The paper concentrates on the development of the *pahiyas* before and during the New Society period of the Marcos government, as it is perceived that the major developments in the *pahiyas* took place during the New Society period.

PAHIYAS is a tagalog verb meaning "to adorn," derived from the noun *hiyas* which means "ornament." It has also come into use as the word referring to the May 15 festival in Lucban and other towns of Quezon province, or to the things used in adorning the houses of the towns on this day. The *pahiyas* is held in Lucban once every year. On this special day, the natural beauties of the town recede to the background of the ornamental creations of its inhabitants.

The past decade or so has witnessed considerable changes in the practice of the *pahiyas*. In olden days as far as old folks can remember and until the declaration of the New Society by former president Ferdinand Marcos, the *pahiyas* used to be a very simple activity. It consisted of nothing more than the making of the *pahiyas*, holding a mass and a procession in honor of San Isidro Labrador, and the giving away of the *pahiyas* at the end of the day.

The *pahiyas* of old consisted purely of newly harvested crops such as fruits, vegetables, root crops, as well as rice grains and stalks. Familiar sight included bananas, mangoes, pineapples, watermelons, papayas, guavas, tamarinds, jackfruits, coconuts, squash, pechay, gourds, string beans, toma-

toes, onions, potatoes, sweet potatoes (*camote*), *gabi*, *ube*, carrots, and raddish. These articles of food were not arranged in any special way. The only concern of the *pahiyas* makers was to put something in front of their house. Certain forms and arrangements, however, became common.

An early typical form of the *pahiyas* was the *siit*, a dried bush very similar to the Chinese bamboo, with foodstuffs hung on its stems. The decorated *siit*, which looked like a native Christmas tree, was stuck into the ground. This form is very rarely used now that almost all the streets and sidewalks have been paved. The trellis arrangement was also used. Here, the harvest was either hung or laid on leaf-covered criss-crossing bamboo slats. The *sunsong*, likewise an outmoded form, was an ornamental trunk, usually sugar cane or bamboo. It was positioned on the ground and sometimes fastened to the facade of the house for reinforcement.

It was only later when cooked food was incorporated into the ornaments. These later additions included the *suman* and the *kiping* which have now become the basic motifs of the *pahiyas*. Cooked foodstuffs were then usually tied together into bunches or clusters called *pugong*. Then there were all sorts of foodstuffs on barbecue sticks stuck into banana stalks which were either fixed on the ground or tied up to the wall.

In the afternoon, mass would be said and a procession subsequently held. This procession was then a purely religious activity done in honor of San Isidro Labrador. It always started from the church and ended in the church, following a designated path which was changed yearly to give all households the chance to participate in the *pahiyas*.

Before the image of San Isidro was borne around in procession, two rice-stalk *pugong* (bunches) would be dedicated and laid at its feet. These rice-stalk *pugong* were

then considered blessed by the saint, and later would be planted in the field dedicated by its owner to the saint. This practice of planting "blessed" rice stalks in the dedicated field has been carried on up to the present.⁶

The *pagkakalas* (dismantling) would follow the procession. This was when the *pahiyas* makers would remove and share their *pahiyas* with households with no *pahiyas*, especially with their relatives and friends. It is important to note that no *pahiyas* was ever sold or stored in the early years of the *pahiyas*.

Another point worth noting about the earlier *pahiyas* in Lucban is that only the *Lucbanin* (people of Lucban) participated in its activities. No visitors from other places were expected, and no special food and delicacies were prepared. In short, the *pahiyas* was never considered a fiesta.

Until about the time Marcos's New Society was proclaimed, the *pahiyas* was a mild occasion greeting the procession of the image of San Isidro. There was no obsession with creating elaborate designs and novel arrangements. Instead, the *pahiyas* were displayed in almost the same way they had been before. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that the townspeople were impervious to change. It may mean that innovations were simply not imperative, as they did not seem to offer further significance to the occasion. This is not to say that there were no changes in the practice of the *pahiyas* during that time; but whatever changes did develop occurred gradually, almost imperceptibly, for they were not conscious nor forced, but more like the expressions of the natural unfolding of a people's imagination.

The New Society *pahiyas*, that is, the practice which developed in the early 1970s onwards under the policy of tourism development, shows a marked contrast with the

previous practice as described above. Much premium is placed on originality and innovation. Under the New Society's patronage, the *pahiyas* has been infused with fresh energy, but only after or only because it has been given a new spirit.

Kiping has been adopted as the main material-motif largely because it lends itself to a great variety of innovations in shapes and colors. But its adoption is also indicative of another significant change in the *pahiyas*: whereas before the displays consisted mainly of fresh agricultural products, today there is a proliferation of agriculture-based manufactured goods. Some houses still display assorted fresh vegetables, fruits, and root crops: bananas, garlic, onions, tomatoes, pepper, string beans, squash, pineapples, etc. Most houses, however, have manufactured/processed goods: delicacies such as *longaniza* (native sausages); native rice-based preparations such as *bibingka*, *puto*, *sinukmani*, *suman*, *ispasol*, and *tinapa* or *puto seko*; and bread of various types and shapes. Others have non-edible manufactured goods like abaca and *buntal* hats, eggshell chandeliers and curtains, slippers, baskets, and the like. Other houses sport materials indicating the livelihood of their owners: detergent wrappers for a laundrywoman's house, bicycles for a hardware shop, *longaniza* skin for *longaniza* makers, bananas for banana planters.

The colors, shapes, and designs of the *pahiyas* have also become as diverse and elaborate as the materials have become varied. The *kiping* as well as the native abaca and *buntal* hats which are matched with it now come in various colors the most common of which being fuchsia, bright yellow, and vivid green. The various arrangements include the chandelier design; the floral arrangement placed on the walls, tables, and posts; the horizontal row neatly pinned along window sills or lining roof beams; the simple overlapping pattern complementing dried *anahaw* leaves; the mural arrangement

covering the entire facade of a house; and many others.

Even San Isidro Labrador's procession has not been spared by the winds of change. Still held in the afternoon, it has been transformed from a purely religious to a secular-religious activity. Now San Isidro shares with other beings the glory of the procession. He is joined by young pretty maidens in delicate fineries sporting intricately designed parasols and escorted by young gentlemen who, in trying to match the maidens's fineries, are sure to outshine San Isidro in fashion. Then there are carabaos bearing basketful of harvested crops. Each carabao is supposed to represent a fraction of the property of the municipal official or barangay head who parades alongside the noble beasts. *Anok* or stuffed human figures in farmers's suit also come to grace the procession. More bands also join the procession now, and their repertoire of secular music seems to assure the people around that they are there not only for San Isidro.

As before, only the houses along the path of the procession are expected to put up their *pahiyas*. Nowadays, however, many houses outside the path are decorated, too. Even the non-Catholic families who before did not join this festival for San Isidro, now usually decorate their houses especially if they happen to be along the procession's route.

It is not only the *Lucbanin* who have shown greater and more enthusiastic participation in the festival. Unlike before when only the *Lucbanin* joined the affair, hundreds of visitors, foreign and local tourists now come to witness it. Busloads of excursionists and private cars inch their way along the narrow streets crowded with viewers. Curious visitors, press people, and photography enthusiasts run about with their cameras, and some jolly company would now and then pose before their favorite displays for picture-souvenirs.

If a visitor happens to have a friend or even an acquaintance in Lucban, s/he can at any time drop in his/her house and can be sure of being offered a sumptuous meal painstakingly prepared by the family. Elaborate dishes such as *paella*, *relleno*, *embutido*, and *kare-kare* are among the favorites served. *Lechon*, various chicken dishes, *pochero*, spaghetti or some other kind of noodles serve as good substitutes. Added to these are delectable desserts such as *leche flan*, *haleya* or chewy *ube* cake, gelatin, *pastillas*, ice cream, etc.; appetizers like vegetable salads, pickled papaya or *achara*. Refreshing fruit juices are served as if they were inexhaustible; beer and wine are usually available. In short, although the *Lucbanin* consider only August 19 to be their town fiesta, the May 15 *pahiyas* has acquired all the aspects of a fiesta celebration.

Another feature of the New Society *pahiyas* in Lucban must be mentioned. The church plaza on this day is occupied by trains of booths with all kinds of Lucban products and delicacies — baskets, bags, slippers, hats, belts, wallets, cigarette cases, *puto seko*, *longaniza*, *tikoy*, *broas*, and a host of other *pasalubong* (gifts). These items are sold at fairly low prices so that more often than not the visitors give in to the temptation of buying as much as they can and more than they can take home.

When the procession finally returns to the church, people begin the *pagkakalas*. This marks the end of the festival and completes the delight of the passer-by, for it is at this point when most of the *pahiyas*, especially the edible ones, are given away to anyone who asks for them. But today many households prefer to keep the *pahiyas* for their own consumption and use. Others even sell some to the visitors and tourists.

It is remarkable that the *pagkakalas* is done so naturally, so easily, without any sense of regret about the transience of the displays, which had been patiently earned

for months and painstakingly prepared and arranged. For thus is the *pahiyas* significantly defined as a one-day celebration — by a long, careful preparation and an immediate, carefree *pagkakalas*.

At least two major developments in the town of Lucban may explain the observable changes in the celebration of the *pahiyas*: the graduation from a purely agricultural to an agricultural-manufacturing society, and the implementation of the plans and projects of the New Society.

The signs of economic advancement are manifested in the shift of locus of the *pahiyas* from the ground to the walls and ceilings and the corresponding shift in design from the "growing" to the hanging and mural arrangements, the inclusion of inedible manufactured products in the *pahiyas*, and the rise of professional *kiping*-makers. As already mentioned earlier, paving the streets and sidewalks favored the hanging decorations such as the chandelier forms, and the mural and trellis arrangements. That the displays now include not only freshly harvested crops but also such products as bags, baskets, hats, mats, slippers, etc., signifies the town's transformation into a manufacturing economy. This explains the rise of professional *kiping*-makers — labor specialization is essential to a manufacturing society.

Among the policies, plans, and projects of the New Society that have affected directly or indirectly the manner of celebrating the *pahiyas* are the following: native products patronization, tourism industry development, institution of the barangay system in local government administration, and the promotion of consciousness of cultural identity. The construction of the chains of booths which sell only native products, the swarm of tourists lured by the publicity of the *pahiyas* in magazines and tourist guide-

books, the revival of the traditional *sunduan* and its incorporation into the procession, the parade of carabaos carrying crops corresponding to the wealth of town leaders, and the promotion of folk art consciousness through competitive incentives and prizes all bear the stamp of the New Society.

It may thus be said that some of the changes in the *pahiyas* have been consequences of the development of the town, while others have been consciously effected in accordance with the values being propagated by the New Society. Both these factors, however, while significantly affecting the form, manner, and spirit of the *pahiyas*, are external to it. It may be worthwhile to ask whether there are factors inherent in the *pahiyas* which, if not exactly responsible for (some of) its changes, at least have been conducive to their occurrence or adoption. To address this question, it is necessary to identify the main characteristics of the *pahiyas*, and to examine them through the history of the *pahiyas*.

No one knows when and how the *pahiyas* originated. As has been said earlier in this paper, though some of late speculated on the origins of the *pahiyas*, there seems to be no existing documentation on this,⁷ even in church records. Until now no one can say with any glint of factual evidence whether the *pahiyas* was an indigenous practice which was adapted by the Spanish friar-missionaries to their teachings by placing San Isidro on its throne of patronage, or whether it was instituted by the friar-missionaries themselves with San Isidro on its original throne. All one can say on the basis of the interviews with the *Lucbanin*, the only source on this question in the absence of documents, is that according to the accounts of the great-grandparents of even the oldest among them, the *pahiyas* has been regularly held on a fixed date during the May harvest season as a thanksgiving activity. That it is not held during the December harvest season within which Christmas is

held may, however, serve as a clue into ascertaining the hypotheses on the origin of the *pahiyas* vis-a-vis the religious activities instituted by the Spanish friars.

Meanwhile, given these constraints with regard to the sources, the starting point of the analysis must be set only as far back as the historical facts warrant. Then it might be said that the "original" *pahiyas* was practised primarily as an agricultural-religious ritual, a communal thanksgiving to San Isidro Labrador for a bountiful harvest. ("Ritual" is understood in its common usage, in Webster's sense of "an act done and regularly repeated in a specific manner, usually felt to have a symbolic significance.") The main feature of this ritual was the procession of San Isidro, with the *pahiyas* of farm produce greeting its image, much in the same way that the Jews greeted with palms Christ's entry to Jerusalem. This explains why the *pahiyas* were removed immediately after the procession.

The essential duality of a ritual tends to the ambivalence of its practice: there is always a tendency of the practice to becloud that which it symbolizes. This is what has happened to the *pahiyas*. Starting with San Isidro on its only throne, it has since then added other thrones and honored other things. This was first indicated by the reason later generations gave for doing the practice. Townsfolk of later generations did the *pahiyas* because it was "kinagisnana"—it was a practice that was already there when they were born. Such a reason signifies a change, in all probability unwitting, in their attention from the blessings of San Isidro to the demands of social tradition and (perhaps), only secondarily, as an expression of religious devotion.

The eclipse of the religious by the social aspect of the *pahiyas* is shown by another development mentioned in the above descriptive accounts. It was noted that only the Roman Catholics in Lucban participated in the festival as earlier practised. This was expected because the

non-Catholics did not believe in San Isidro nor in his power to bless. That the non-Catholics later participated in the *pahiyas* cannot simply be explained as a change of heart regarding religious matters. It can be better understood as a recognition on their part of some reasons other than religious. One of these must be the Filipino value of *pakikisama* or camaraderie. Community of feeling had won over religious differences as defined by the *pahiyas*. This was made possible by a sufficient, though not total, dissociation of the *pahiyas* proper (and the *pagkakalas*) from the mass and the procession—sufficient to participate in the festivities without really being bothered by San Isidro.

Regarding the *pahiyas* proper and the *pagkakalas* as parts of the *pahiyas* celebration distinct from the mass and the procession also conduced to the other aspects in its transformation. Concomitant with this distinction was the growing attention to the *pahiyas* proper, which later gave rise to aesthetic considerations regarding the form, the design, the overall beauty or attractiveness of the displays. These considerations have been developed to their heights under the New Society. In line with the avowed purpose of discovering, reviving, and strengthening Filipino cultural heritage, the municipal government of Lucban has showered its people with incentives in the form of competition prizes. These incentives and prizes provide more reasons for even the non-Catholics, and even those whose houses are not along San Isidro's path, to put up their *pahiyas*. They may not believe in San Isidro's blessing, but they certainly desire the government's prizes.

The aesthetic considerations which enhanced and elaborated the *pahiyas* proper also transformed San Isidro's procession. If the procession was an integral part of the *pahiyas* celebration, and if this celebration was to be made attractive and exciting, then the procession was not to be allowed to remain as drab as the farmers's patron saint. Thus to his drabness were added the beauties and the beasts—the former lending the procession their charms; the latter, the glitter of their

owners's wealth.

Having thus "beautified" the *pahiyas*, people from near and far had to be summoned to appreciate it. This summons has led to other transformations in the New Society *pahiyas*. The first is the change noted earlier of the *pahiyas* from a simple thanksgiving exclusive to the *Lucbanin* into a festival as elaborate as, though not considered, a fiesta. A second change is the presentation of the *pahiyas* as "folk art" — if people were to be invited to see the *pahiyas*, it must be advertised as an artistic expression of a people's culture. This has obscured the fact that the *pahiyas* had been practised primarily as a ritual, and that the emphasis on its aesthetic feature is a very recent development which must be understood as a part of a larger and more complex phenomenon honoring San Isidro Labrador.

Another major change in the New Society *pahiyas* is its having become a commercial activity: what could be a more opportune time for commerce than the *pahiyas* day when local and foreign tourists flock in? To say that this is a major change is not to deny that the old *pahiyas* was also an economic activity — that it was an agricultural-religious activity argues against this denial. But whereas in the old days the *pahiyas* only reflected the town's economy, today it actively promotes it. The passively economic nature of the old *pahiyas* is exemplified by an agricultural economy being signified by a root-crop *pahiyas*. The active economic-commercial nature of the New Society *pahiyas* is signified by the trains of booths selling *Lucbanin* products to local and foreign tourists. In other words, whereas the old *pahiyas* was a display of economic produce, today's *pahiyas* has become a form of cultural advertisement of the tourist industry.

This preliminary study has sought to

understand the nature of the *pahiyas* in Lucban, Quezon by examining its development in history with reference to the opinions made current by a number of articles in popular magazines.

The *pahiyas* has fundamentally been a ritual for the following reasons: 1) it has been the material expression of a people's gratitude and celebration for the blessings received each year; 2) it has been done every May 15 by fulfilling a more or less constant and essential set of activities, and always in the same order: a) the *pagpapahiyas*, referred to in the above discussions as the "*pahiyas* proper," in which people decorate at the start of the day that part of their houses facing the street; b) the Roman Catholic mass held in mid-afternoon; c) the procession after the mass of Señor San Isidro Labrador's image through a designated route, with the houses along said route already bearing their respective *pahiyas*; and d) the *pagkakalas*, or removal of the *pahiyas* right after the procession.

The above set of activities has been more or less constant because they have always been present in the *pahiyas* celebrations, and essential because it has been the dominance of one or other element among the rest which determines the character, the spirit, of the celebrations. This spirit of the *pahiyas* has undergone transformations through the years according to which element in the constant set gains the upperhand owing to various factors external and internal to the set. Starting with the dominance of the mass and the procession which makes it a primarily religious ritual in honor of San Isidro, it has currently focused on the *pagpapahiyas*, making it a dominantly aesthetic-commercial activity/ritual all but stripping San Isidro of his simple glory.

That the *pahiyas* is a recognition of San Isidro's power over the rains such that the people's harvest depends on his blessings is, however, a fallacious interpretation of

the *pahiyas*. The people never experienced drought and do not find the need to ask for rain.⁸ Being located at the foot of Mount Banahaw or the "Rain Mountain," Lucban enjoys a relatively even rainfall distribution throughout the year and experiences no distinct dry season.⁹

Finally, the claim that the *pahiyas* is "folk art" is based largely on an induced phenomenon which is consistent with the prevailing system of institutionalizing art¹⁰ and a relatively recent system of appropriating cultural practices and artifacts. On one hand, the artworld¹¹ has extended the domain of art to absorbing what used to be generally regarded as ethnographic materials and classifying them under "folk art," at times even "elevating" them to "fine art." On the other hand, ethnologists, folklorists, and cultural anthropologists have seriously pursued interest in the aesthetic values/significance of cultural artifacts and practices. The wealth of literature concerning the convergence or divergence of art and anthropology written since the turn of the century up to the present¹² attests to the surge of interest in the relation between aesthetic objects and anthropological objects. The problem of classifying things into aesthetic object and anthropological object has also caused movements of objects from ethnographic museums to art museums and vice versa¹³ and has been the root of many a controversial exhibition, notably the 1984 Museum of Modern Art exhibition which showcased the "affinity of the tribal and the modern."¹⁴ Not a few social scientists would view such promotion of "folk art" to the status of "fine art" as a sign of cultural hegemony¹⁵ as it presupposes a higher status for "fine art." Such hierarchical system of categorizing art and the "modern art-culture system" of which James Clifford speaks¹⁶ have more or less been adopted in the Philippines.

As mentioned earlier, the *pahiyas* has been promoted as "folk art." In *Fiesta*, not only does art critic Alejandro Roces de-

scribe *pahiyas* as "a unique folk art,"¹⁷ he also christens it as modern art and environmental art: "These exterior decorations [*kiping*, fauna and cuisine of Lucban, and straw dummies] are traditional folk art but they have the trappings of modern art. For the fact is that the *pahiyas* is nothing else but a three-dimensional collage, or what is known in modern art as assemblage or construction... The total effect of the *pahiyas* is the folk version of environmental art."¹⁸ Here, the arthood of the *pahiyas* is justified based on the colorful decorations which are of recent origin. Being "folk" is suggested by his statement that "the soil was Filipino and the farmers Filipinos."¹⁹

Roces's *pahiyas* as "folk art" is based on the New Society *pahiyas* and may still be applicable to the present *pahiyas* as far as the manner of celebrating the occasion is concerned. Whether or not the same can be said of the pre-New Society *pahiyas* is, however, another question which needs further consideration. At least two reasons are pertinent to this consideration: one, the elaborate decorations have proliferated only from the New Society period onwards, hence the simple *pahiyas* of the pre-New Society period may not count as art in this respect. This, of course, does not disregard the fact that the very notion of the "pahiyas" at its earliest stage was potentially aesthetic, no matter how undeveloped it was; two, it may be legitimate to consider the pre-New Society *pahiyas* as "folk art" on the basis of its being a ritual alone, i.e., regardless of the presence or absence of aesthetic features. Here, Ernst Fischer's theory of art comes to mind: "Art in the dawn of humanity had little to do with 'beauty' and nothing at all to do with any aesthetic desire: it was a magic tool or weapon of the human collective in its struggle to survival."²⁰ The *pahiyas* as a ritual may be considered a magic ceremony in Fischer's sense, as it fulfills its requirement of "increasing the power to strengthen social relationships." The tenability of Fischer's theory is, however, an-

other subject that is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the arthood of the pre-New Society *pahiyas* is justified insofar as Fischer's theory of art is tenable.

In addition, aesthetic quality as a criterion of art has long been a subject of debate in aesthetics, especially contemporary aesthetics.²¹ The artistic basis of Conceptual Art, for instance, argues against aesthetic quality as a necessary and sufficient condition of art. As this aesthetic issue is for the most part left unresolved, what is important in the case of the *pahiyas* is to be able to point out the basis of the claim to its arthood and assess it against social and historical facts, and define what the *pahiyas* in fact is or has been. If the present study has achieved these ends, then it has not been entirely useless.

Notes

1. Alejandro Roces, *Fiesta* (Vera-Reyes Inc., Philippines, 1980), p.146. The description of *kiping* on p. 153 seems to be correct, however. According to Aling Maria (Abuel), a professional *kiping*-maker, *kiping* is a colored leaf-shaped wafer made from a mixture of ground rice, water, food color, and sugar. The mixture is made to flow ("pinapaanod") along the surfaces of a leaf called *kabal*, which serves as a mold, and then steamed. After steaming, the coated leaf is allowed to dry. When the mixture is dry enough to hold its form but still sticky so as not to break apart, it is peeled off ("pinupuknat") from the leaf. Sometimes, *cacao* leaves and banana leaves cut into squares are used instead of *kabal*.
2. Teresa Tunay, "Pahiyas," Mabuhay: the Inflight Magazine of the Philippine Air Lines, May 1983, pp.49-53.
3. Nick V. Quijano, Jr., "Lucban by Saintlight," WHO, 6 June 1981, pp.26f.
4. Winston C. Arzaga, "Fiesta: An Occasion for Critical Thought," WHO, 13 May 1978, pp. 12-14; G. Reyes, "A Curious Blend of the Sacred and the Profane," Parade, 3 May 1981, pp.4-5.
5. Roces, *op. cit.*, p.153.
6. Interview with Mr. Antonio Padua, owner of the field and the image of San Isidro Labrador, 6 September 1983, Lucban, Quezon. The harvest from this tract of land is sold and the proceeds are used exclusively for the maintenance of the image, such as changing its robe.
Mr. Padua, who is 75 years old as of the date of interview, inherited the image from his grandaunt. When he was a child he wished to become a priest but, was dissuaded by his family as he was the only boy. His father died when he was still an infant, making him the sole name-bearer of the clan. His grandaunt later passed on the ownership of the *poon* or image to him and made him promise to hand it down only to another Padua. The preservation of the image, thus, in a sense signifies the perpetuation of the Padua lineage. Every May 15 this particular image is borne in a procession around the town of Lucban. On other

days, it is kept and taken care of by him who is now a fulfilled grandfather.

7. The account of Sir John Bowring on Lucban and its inhabitants and that of Alvarez Guerra which Roces included in Fiesta do not mention *pahiyas* in particular. The May Flower Festival of 1878 which the latter describes is different from the *pahiyas*; it resembles the Flores de Mayo of the present which is celebrated in many parts of the country every May.
8. Based on interviews with the people of Lucban.
9. Comprehensive Development Plan, Lucban, Quezon, n.d.
10. Central to this system is the conferment of status of art by an artworld. An artworld is a socially recognized group of people involved in the production and consumption of artworks and the propagation of ideas about art. Among its agents are art critics, aestheticians, art historians, curators, art collectors, art dealers, and artists who move within this circle.
11. For a more thorough discussion of the meaning of "artworld" and the aesthetic theory that is associated with it viz. the Institutional Theory of Art, see Arthur Danto, "The Artworld," The Journal of Philosophy 61(January-December 1964): 574-584; George Dickie, "Defining Art," American Philosophical Quarterly 6(January 1969): 253-256; Howard Becker, "Art Worlds and Social Types," American Behavioral Scientist 19(July-August 1976) :703-718.
12. For a brief but informed historical background of folk art writing and activity, see Eugene W. Metcalf, Jr., "The Politics of the Past in American Folk Art History," in Folk Art and Art Worlds, ed. by John Michael Vlach and Simon J. Bronner (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), pp.27-50.
13. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 224-225.
14. Ibid., pp.189-214.

15. See for instance the essays in Art, Ideology, and Politics, ed. by Judith H. Balfe and Margaret Jane Wyszomirski (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1985).
16. Clifford, op. cit., pp.222-226.
17. Roces, loc. cit.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ernst Fischer, The Necessity of Art, trans. by Anna Bostock (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963), p.36.
21. See for instance Timothy Binkley, "Piece: Contra-Aesthetics," in Philosophy Looks at the Arts, ed. by Joseph Margolis (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978), pp.25-44.

List of Respondents

	Age (as of 1983)
1. Abuel, (Aling) Maria - kiping-maker	51
2. Abuel, Pablito - tailor; kiping-maker	28
3. Abulencia, (Fr.) Jose - retired parish priest	66
4. Abulencia, Justiniano - retired farmer	80
5. Babista, Mar	
6. Cabungcal, Evangeline - owner of Sta. Maria image	
7. Cada, Dan - municipal secretary	
8. Cada, Felicidad - sister of farmers	55
9. Cada, Perpetua	78
10. Engracia, (Ka) Pila	
11. Mia, (Lola) Fidela	
12. Nantes, Fidencio - councilor	71
13. Orenca, Resurreccion - hat-weaver;housewife	24
14. Padua, Antonio - owner of San Isidro image	73
15. Palines, Felisa - housewife	
16. Pineda, Francisco - director of Lucban Academy	73
17. Raduban, Aquilina - hat-weaver;housewife	51
18. Raduban, Rosanna	
19. Saludares, Candida - hat-weaver;housewife	41
20. Salvatierra, Lope	
21. Salvatus, Ramon - former municipal secretary (1973-1978)	70

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