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# THE FILIPINO *KOMEDYA* AND THE ITALIAN *MAGGIO* CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON RELATED GENRES OF POPULAR MUSIC THEATRE

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Linda Barwick

THIS PAPER ARGUES THAT THE FILIPINO *komedya* and the Italian *maggio*, farflung contemporary continuations of performance traditions associated with the chivalrous romance, embody the intercultural contact and conflict that have characterised their histories. The chivalrous romances are narratives of intercultural contacts of various sorts between East and West Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> Their structure typically opposes two warring courts, which nevertheless are frequently linked by amorous intrigues and the consequent birth of children of mixed ancestry.

The genre has always been polyglot and hybrid, existing in numerous forms (both verse and prose, both literary and orally transmitted), and in Medieval and Renaissance times appealed to both popular and court audiences, especially in Spain and Italy. Around the turn of the seventeenth century, new romances ceased to be written by 'respectable' authors, but reprints of the most popular literary romances and reworkings of the stories in various forms have continued to circulate in the cheap popular press until the present day, and popular tradition also has perpetuated, often in conjunction with the use of writing, performance traditions associated with the romance. While in present-day Spain itself the two principal forms in which such performance traditions survive are ballads drawn from the old romances and sword dances depicting battles between Christian and Muslim armies, full-scale dramas on these themes are performed only in Spain's former colonies and in European areas once under its influence. Later in this paper I argue that these theatrical genres bear the marks of attempts by missionising religious orders to use them as an instrument of propaganda to delight and indoctrinate the masses. These genres can thus be defined as 'cross-cultural' in a number of different senses, mediating between high art culture and popular culture, between written and performance media, between the sacred and the secular, between colonisers and colonised, as well as between different nations and language groups.

After introducing case studies drawn from the Filipino *komedya* and the Italian *maggio*, the historical background of performance traditions associated with the chivalrous romance will be surveyed, including review of contemporary survivals of these traditions in a number of performance media and the use of

writing in these and other popular traditions. More detailed information on textual, musical and dramaturgical aspects of the two case studies will follow. The probable role played by missionary orders of the Catholic church in promulgating these genres will be briefly discussed, and the paper concludes with an argument for the necessity of incorporating cross-cultural and historical perspectives in attempts to provide context for the study of these dramatic forms.

*Case study 1. The Filipino komedya at Burgos (Ilocos Sur)*

Scenario: Aragon and Turkey are at war. The hero, Floramante, lost son of the King of Babylon, has come in disguise to the court of the king of Aragon to contest a tourney for the hand of the Aragonese princess, Finarosa. Floramante fights the Aragonese general in a choreographed battle with fighting sticks, to the accompaniment of a brass band.<sup>2</sup>

The performers are an amateur troupe, mainly composed of farmers, performing on an outdoor stage at the annual town fiesta, in Burgos, Ilocos Sur (North Luzon, Philippines) on 17 February 1993 (see Figure 1). They do not memorise the text, but rather perform with the aid of a prompt, who feeds them their lines in the course of the performance. *Komedya* performances traditionally take place once a year, at the annual town fiesta, and may last up to three days and nights.

The text, in octosyllabic quatrains, was written by recently deceased local author Tomas Daproza in the local language, Ilocano (with a liberal sprinkling of archaic Hispanic-derived expressions).

*Case study 2. The Italian maggio at Piazza al Serchio (LU)*

Scenario: Armenia and Syria are at war. The hero, Eronte, king of Armenia, has come in disguise to the court of the king of Syria to contest a tourney for the hand of the Syrian princess, Leonide. Eronte fights the king's nephew, Adelmo, in a choreographed duel to the accompaniment of a small ensemble of violin, guitar and piano accordion.<sup>3</sup>

This amateur performance company is mainly composed of marble quarry workers from a number of different villages surrounding the municipal centre of Piazza al Serchio. Here they perform on an outdoor stage on 23 August 1992 at Varliano, a small town in the Garfagnana valley in province of Lucca, Tuscany (see Figure 2). *Maggio* performances, once associated with May Day, now take place on summer Sunday afternoons at a number of different local venues, and usually last about three hours. The written text is not memorised, but rather fed to the performers a line at a time, by an on-stage prompt.

The text, in octosyllabic quintinas (5-line stanzas; 4-line stanzas are also used for some texts), was written in Italian with some archaic and dialectic features by the local author Giuseppe Coltelli in 1979.

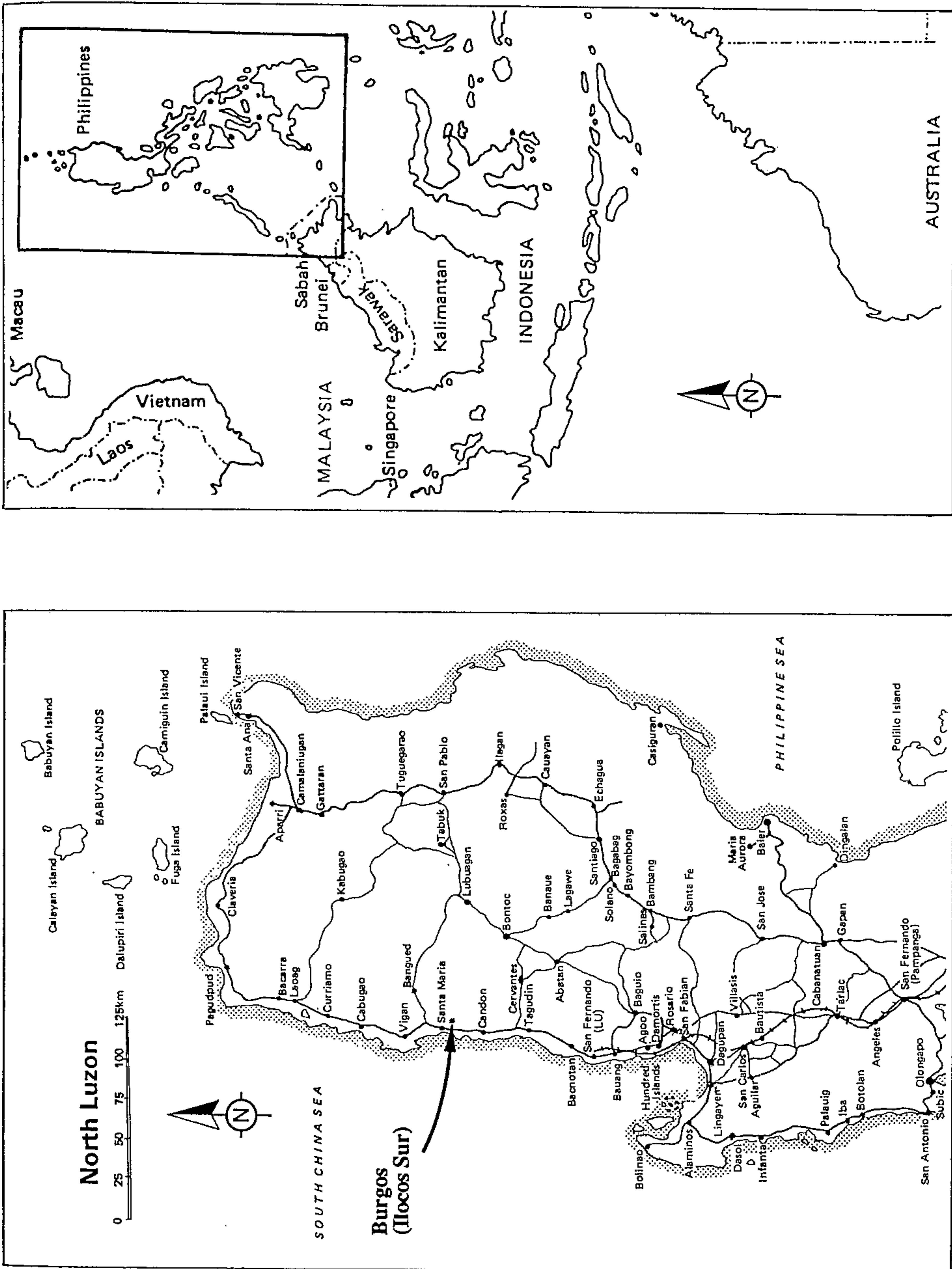
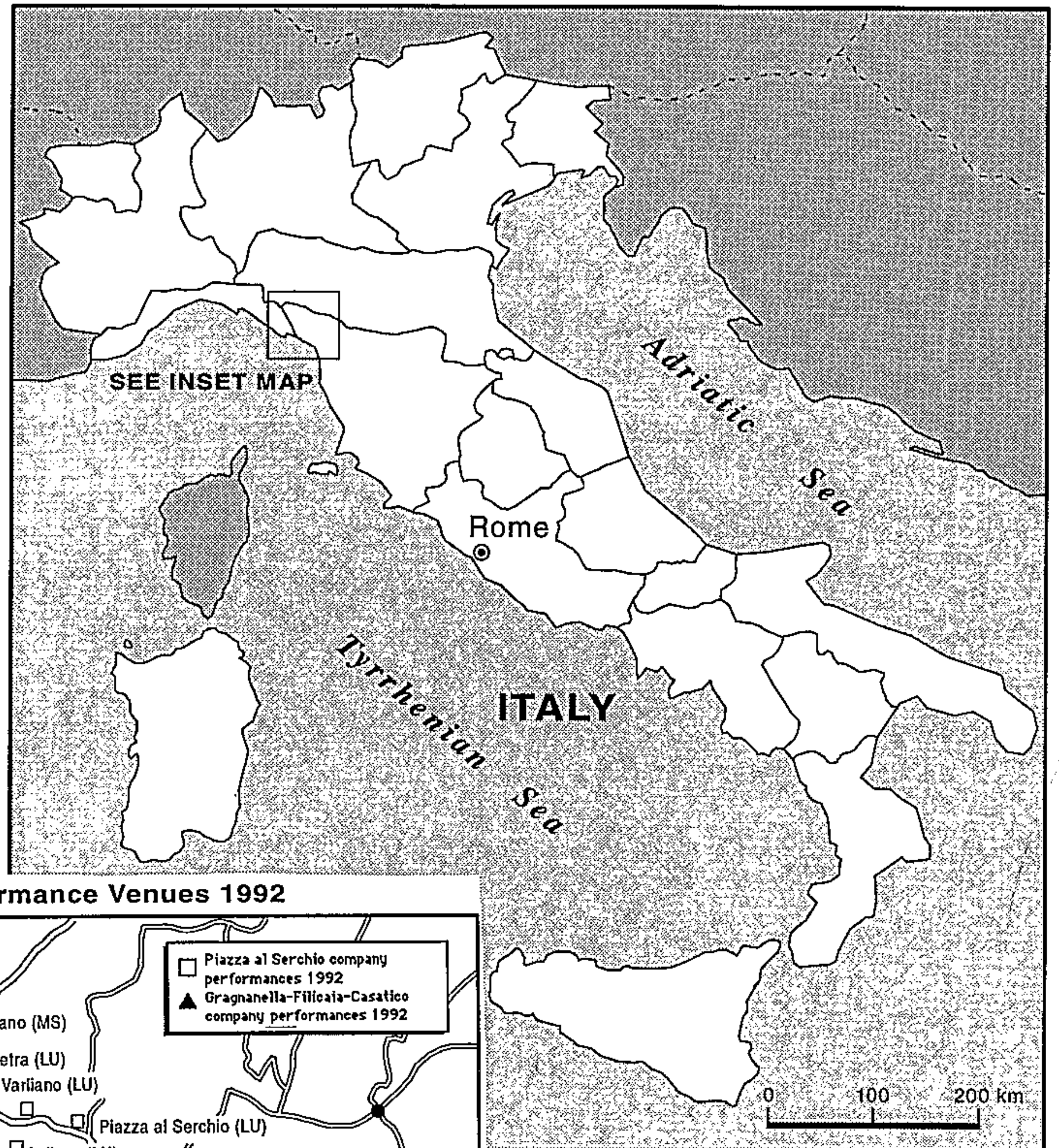
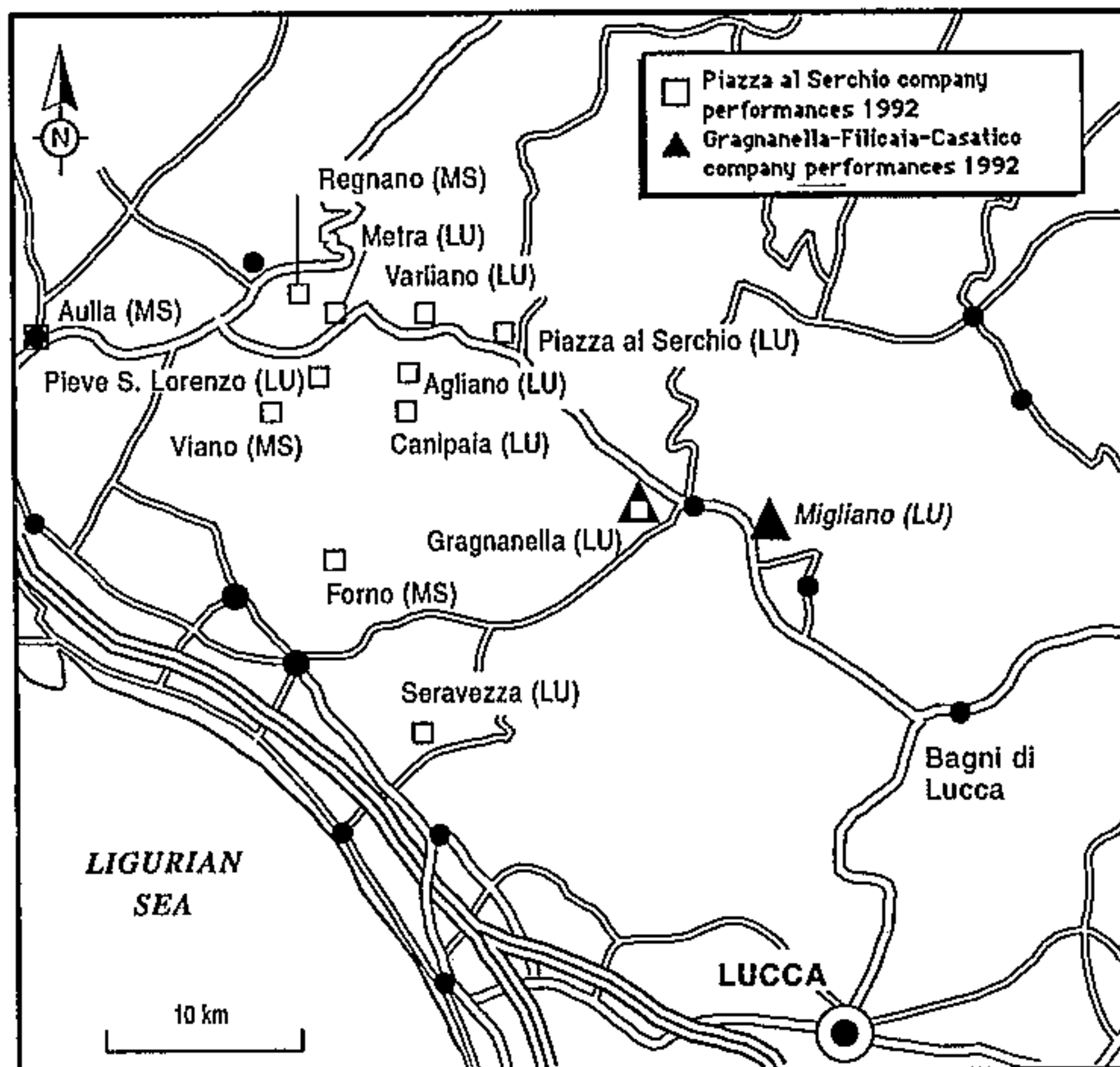


Figure 1: Map showing location of Burgos (Ilocos Sur) in North Luzon, Philippines.

### Location Map



### Performance Venues 1992



b85001b HS=1 20/5/93 B Linda Barwick (MUSC)

Figure 2: Map showing location of Tuscany's Garfagnana valley within Italy, and venues at which performances by the two Garfagnino maggio companies were scheduled for 1992 (sources of information: publicity leaflet, Centro Tradizioni Popolari della Provincia di Lucca, and personal communication, Piazza al Serchio company).

Although these two case studies display numerous features specific to their local tradition, significant parallels in subject matter, metrical form and performance style between the *komedya* and the *maggio* suggest that they are related, despite their wide geographical and cultural separation. While the available historical evidence supports this view, it shows that the nature of such a relationship is far from simple.

### **Historical documents of performance traditions associated with romances**

Although most critical work on the romance genre has treated it as a literary tradition, historical records from Mediterranean Europe testify that the ways in which the written romance texts were used have more often than not included performance practices of various sorts.<sup>4</sup> Without going into the much vexed question of whether Medieval manuscript versions of Carolingian romances derive from an original oral tradition,<sup>5</sup> it is clear from such features as their division into cantos that they were designed with associated performance in mind rather than silent reading.<sup>6</sup> Documented performance practices range from reading aloud to a group (common when there was limited literacy),<sup>7</sup> to sung declamation of various sorts,<sup>8</sup> to presentations of characters from the romances in tableaux and processions,<sup>9</sup> to full-scale re-enactments of episodes from the romances. The earliest reference to such a re-enactment regards a mimed performance of a story from the Arthurian cycle mentioned by Aelred of Rhielvaux in the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

### *Verse forms and associated melodies*

Most of the metrical forms employed by Medieval poets, and not just the romances, seem to have had orally transmitted conventional musical settings (associated, I stress, with the *metrical form* and not the particular item), melodies that were so widely known that there was no necessity to write them down.<sup>11</sup> These verse forms and their associated melodies were often known and used for both literary texts and popular 'oral' compositions. The two metrical forms most frequently used for the verse romances were the octosyllabic quatrain (which we have already encountered in the *komedya* and the *maggio*) and, especially in Italy, the ottava (eight hendecasyllabic lines rhyming ABABABCC).

### *Octosyllabic quatrain*

The first written evidence of the octosyllabic romance metre in Spanish (in 1421) appears to derive from popular tradition.<sup>12</sup> As well as serving as the standard metre for the Spanish literary verse romance and its shorter descendant the sung ballad or *corrido*, the octosyllabic quatrain was also used by seventeenth century Spanish dramatists such as Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca

for their secular *comedias* and sacred *autos sacramentales*.<sup>13</sup> In the sixteenth century, when the Spanish literary romance was at its most popular, a number of court composers, again reportedly drawing on popular models,<sup>14</sup> set melodies used for octosyllabic romance texts either for solo voice and vihuela (Narvaez, Pisador, Fuenllana) or as the cantus firmus in polyphonic vocal compositions (Milan, Encina and others).<sup>15</sup>

### *Ottava rima*

The classic ottava was and still is used widely in Italy for a number of purposes besides the romance. The most famous chivalrous romances in ottava rima are of course Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. There are numerous testimonies from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries of the common people in Venice and Rome singing the chivalrous verse epics of Ariosto and Tasso (as documented by Montaigne as early as 1581) – a practice no doubt facilitated by the existence of numerous other popular songs in the same stanzaic form.<sup>16</sup> Early musical settings, again reportedly based on popular practice, suggest that a two line melody was repeated four times to cover a complete stanza.<sup>17</sup>

Many early operas also drew on chivalrous epics for their plots (for example, Jacopo Peri's *Lo sposalizio di Medoro ed Angelica* (1619), Caccini's *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* (1625), and Monteverdi's *Combattimento di tancredi e Clorinda* (1624) and *Armida abbandonata* (1626), as well as later works by Handel, Gluck, Lully and Haydn). Use of the ottava form, too, continued into early opera, although the extensive melodic repetition documented for popular forms was avoided in operatic settings. One famous example is Don Alfonso's aria (act II, aria xiii) on the fickleness of women, the source of the title of the Da Ponte/Mozart opera, *Così fan tutte*.<sup>18</sup>

### *Dance*

Another performance tradition associated with the chivalrous romance for which we have historical records from Medieval and Renaissance periods is the *moresca* sword dance (also known as *matachins* or *buffeons*). *Morescas* seem to have been used for interludes in many Medieval and Renaissance theatrical performances, and not just romances, although the dances' reenactment of battles between Moors and Christians seems particularly apt for the romance.<sup>19</sup> Thoinot Arbeau gives illustrations of sword positions and music and explicit instructions for the movements of the dancers in his 1588 treatise, *Orchésographie*.<sup>20</sup>

### **Survivals in popular culture**

In Mediterranean Europe today, and in various other parts of the world with historical links to Spain, these performance traditions survive in a number of

different forms. There are reports of romance texts being sung, chanted and even danced to in Spain and Central and South America,<sup>21</sup> practices that are also documented for the Philippines.<sup>22</sup> Sephardic Jews, expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century, also maintain an oral tradition of sung romances.<sup>23</sup>

In Central Italy, sung ottavas drawn from Ariosto and Tasso may still be heard,<sup>24</sup> and the same verse form and melodic modules are used for the improvised *ottava a contrasto*. The ottava is also the standard verse form of the *bruscello*, sung popular theatre of southern Tuscany, which like the octosyllabic *maggio* of northern Tuscany, draws on a variety of published and unpublished sources including both prose and verse romances.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, in the Philippines some *komedya* texts are performed in dodecasyllabic metre.<sup>26</sup> In Italy octosyllabic quatrains are widely used in religious carolling songs as well as in the *maggio* and in sung religious dramas which often use similar melodies and performance techniques to the *maggio*.

Puppet theatres of northern and southern Italy also presented chivalrous themes and characters using both prose and verse, and like the *maggio* and the *komedya*, often included incidental music to accompany battle scenes.<sup>27</sup> Full performance of the epic cycles could take many weeks of nightly performances. The tradition still continues in Sicily, and has been documented in recent times in both Northern and Southern Italy.<sup>28</sup>

*Moresca* sword dances are still to be found in popular tradition in a number of areas along the Tyrrhenian coast, including Piedmont, Tuscany, Lazio, and Campania.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the rhythmic dance-like movements incorporated in the sword-fighting encounters in the *maggio*, separate *moresca* dances have until quite recently been presented after *maggio* performances in the Garfagnana area. There is a remarkable similarity between the small heart-shaped shield and short wooden sword shown in Arbeau's 1588 illustrations of *moresca* dancers with the props used by performers in the Tuscan *maggio* today.<sup>30</sup>

### Use of writing in popular traditions associated with the chivalrous romance

Justifiable interest has been focussed on the survival in Europe of 'pure' oral forms and techniques of oral composition, but until recently the ways in which popular culture has used written texts in conjunction with orally transmitted performance practices has been relatively neglected.<sup>31</sup> The *komedya*, the *maggio*, and other Italian dramatic forms such as the *bruscello* and puppet theatre all use written texts adapted from written versions of the romances, among other literary sources. Such adaptations frequently involve the recasting of the literary text into a new written form to serve as a performance script (for example, the hendecasyllabic ottava rima of Ariosto's and Tasso's chivalrous epics are recast in the octosyllabic quatrain of the *maggio*). In Italy, not only



are new narratives still being generated on the old models of the chivalrous romance, but narratives from other sources that lend themselves to similar treatment are also used. For example, *maggio* performances in recent years have been based on a variety of sources, including a fifteenth century Tuscan prose romance,<sup>32</sup> a B grade TV 'toga saga' movie,<sup>33</sup> and Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.<sup>34</sup> All these scripts, recast in octosyllabic quatrains or quintinas, are performed using the standard orally-transmitted *maggio* melody.

It is clear that *maggio* authors must have had access to a wide range of printed literature. For the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Giovanni Giannini has documented 76 prose titles and a massive 654 poetry titles (of which 31 are *maggio* scripts) published in cheap editions by various small printing companies. Many of these titles are chivalrous romances, whose popularity among the lower classes evidently persisted long after their heyday as 'art' literature.<sup>35</sup> Such works, which have also been documented for previous centuries,<sup>36</sup> found markets not only in the city but also in the countryside via the *cantastorie* and other travelling salesmen who sold these works at country markets and the like, usually advertised by their own performances of the material.

Printed works, however, probably represent only a small proportion of the written material circulating in popular milieux. Certainly for the *maggio* and *bruscello* handwritten copies seem to have been the main form in which scripts circulated.<sup>37</sup> Although some of these can be directly related to versions from the popular press,<sup>38</sup> there is no evidence of printed circulation of the vast majority of the *maggio* scripts documented for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>39</sup> Since the 1970s, printed booklets of *maggio* texts have been sold at performances and are used by some members of the audience to follow the action.<sup>40</sup>

In the Philippines, too, there was wide circulation of chivalrous romances in the form of popular chapbooks. See further below under 'Religious links' for a summary of the historical literature on circulation of these texts in the Philippines.

Some idea of the circulation and practical use of performance scripts can be gained from more detailed analysis of the two case studies presented earlier.

### *Case study 1. The Filipino komedya at Burgos (Ilocos Sur)*

The Burgos *komedya* text, 'Kabibiag ni Floramante' (Life story of Floramante), was reportedly written in 1975 especially for a performance in early 1976<sup>41</sup> and exists in several typewritten roneoed copies, one of which has been loaned to me by Dr Raul Pertierra. This text is used only by the prompt, and is not copied for audience use (see Figure 3). Several other *komedya* manuscripts reportedly written by the same author, Tomas Daproza, have been lost or

Sale Floramante

Floramante - Nabagen nga agpaspararac  
cadaguiti babakir ken taytay-ac  
Acan laeng ti innac Mamrae  
A macalloliaa itoy rigat

Nga unia daytoy maicitac  
Nga rancia nat acan pumadpada  
Gas bulan nga actinnag  
Cenno init a macapurar itoy matac

Una idegac ti ayanna  
Ta imatanga ti enasa-adna - Pazo  
Ngen oh langit azangun a daga  
Ti mayse ketdi a Pza.

Maguadua toy nakemco  
Ti tunutop nga aramidco  
Ta no ri-ingeo conanto  
Nga acananc ti sur-suro

Ngen dakes met pamayac  
No matmurog a banbantayac  
Ta mabalinto nga yatap  
Nga adda pangfuepco nga agrangas

Ket iti ket nainbag ipamapusa  
Iti innac panang lucag  
Ta no babacto ti calac-ama  
Pacacanto ti innac idacat - canto

Cleopatra - Siasinoca nga aguintured  
Nga unay caniac mangam ames  
Sasaurno ti luminged  
Itoy pangtutco a humarburec

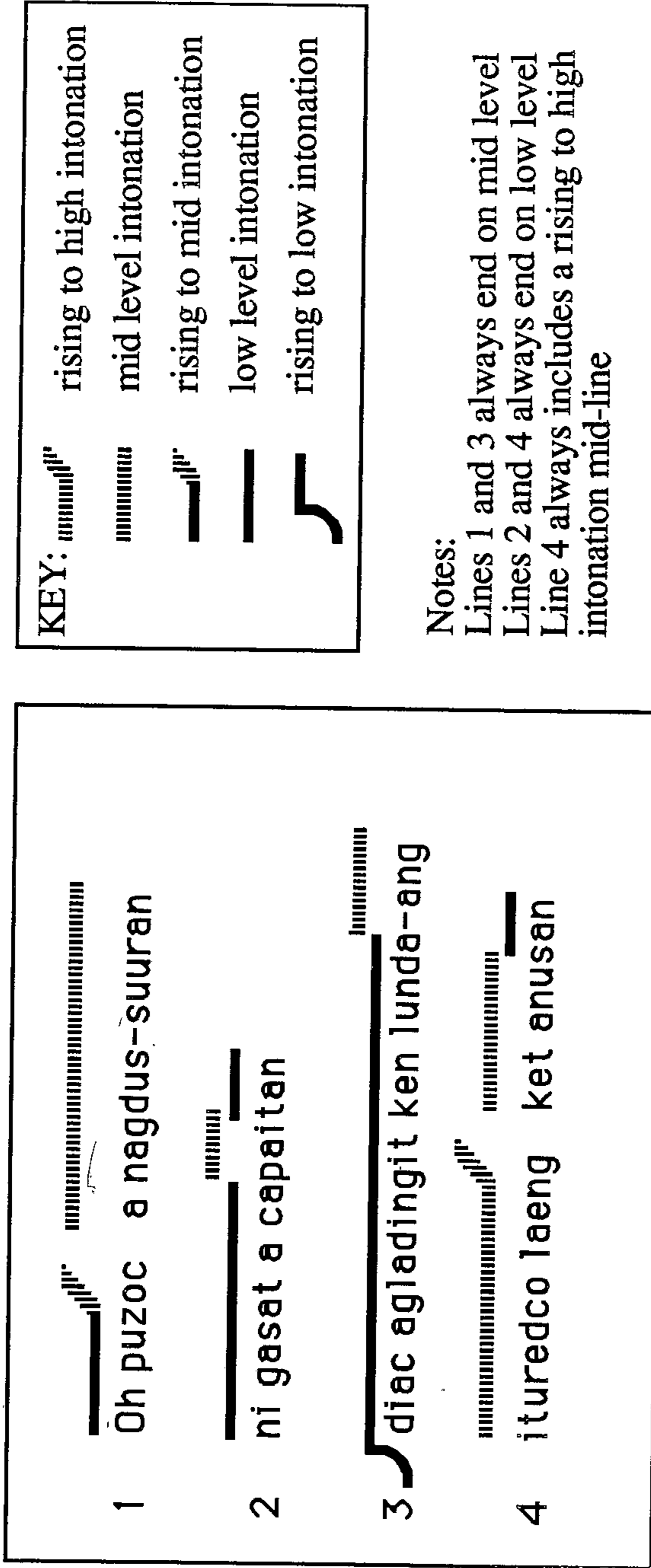
Ta iti acan nga aligalacmo  
Nga nang ri-ing itoy tuogco  
Aumbeng unay ket mainumo  
Nga icatoc dayta biagmo

Flo.-- Uh Ina ni lain ken dayag  
Nga palungo ni nuraniag a bagaac  
Dica tuloyen ta balicamo  
Ta nalacag a pangusp mo  
Ti mang su-ot ti masuacmo

Ket iti conac kenca  
Agitem dayta espada  
Ta ita nga horas di amama  
Nga biagmo ti innac isina.

Flo.-- Dica mabalin Spa. paticom  
Ti dumangadang ita sudin  
Ta dayta nagsaoy a talungading.  
Pucocna toy pisac ken amin

Figure 3: Reproduction of a page of typescript from the komedya script 'Kabibiag ni Floramante' by Tomas Daproza (circa 1976; now property of Raul Pertierra).



Translation: Oh my heart where formerly / fate was most bitter / I will not be sorrowful and sad / but have patience and perseverance.

Figure 4: Intonation pattern used for the first stanza of 'Kabibiag ni Floramante' as performed by Mr Federico Cabanang, January 1976 (recording and English translation: Raul Pertierra).

destroyed since his death (the tropical climate and termites mean that paper deteriorates quickly under normal conditions).<sup>42</sup>

According to the Philippine scholar Mario Rosal, Ilocos Sur (the province in which Burgos is located) has been a centre of production of *komedya* texts that now circulate in neighbouring provinces of Northern Luzon.<sup>43</sup> Although the earliest documentation of *komedya* performances in Ilocos is not until 1882, Rosal speculates that the practice must have spread much earlier, probably contemporaneously with the other Luzon provinces and Cebu, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>44</sup> Almost all the commonplace plot devices described by Rosal as typical of the Ilocano *komedya* are present in Daproza's 'Kabibiag ni Floramante'.<sup>45</sup>

#### *Musical organisation of the text*

Although the *komedyantes* of Burgos do not sing the *komedya* text, there is an intonation pattern to which the performers should adhere.<sup>46</sup> The lines are read two at a time by the prompt,<sup>47</sup> and then repeated by the performers (see Figure 4). At certain points in the plot, unscripted songs, usually love duets taken from popular music or *sarsuwela*,<sup>48</sup> are performed unaccompanied, often in two-part harmony. A brass band composed of semi-professional musicians plays set melodies (ten in all) to accompany different movement patterns performed by the characters (choreographed entrances, exits, and various sorts of fighting). The prompt cues these melodies via a system of whistles and the music ceases as soon as the performers have completed their movement pattern (rather than at the end of a musical section).

#### *Case study 2. The Italian maggio at Piazza al Serchio (LU)*

*Maggio* texts display a high degree of redundancy in plot and character, and make liberal use of metrical formulae. These formal features, which are also found in many of their popular literary antecedents,<sup>49</sup> have been described as characteristic of oral epics,<sup>50</sup> but it may be more appropriate to see them as characteristic of popular texts designed for performance, regardless of whether their mode of transmission involves writing.<sup>51</sup>

To give some idea of the processes of production and use of texts for performance, I'll go into some detail on the known provenance and use of the *maggio* text 'Eronte'. The story of King Eronte, who wins the Syrian princess Leonide in a tourney, has circulated widely in the Tuscan *maggio* area and exists in numerous manuscript versions.<sup>52</sup> This particular version was adapted from an anonymous typescript held in the personal archives of Giuseppe Bernardi of Barga, who had obtained it (stage 1 in Figure 5) from the nearby town of Fabbriche di Vallico.<sup>53</sup>

This manuscript formed the basis of the text written by Giuseppe Coltelli in 1979 especially for the company of Vagli di Sopra-Roggio, in which he was

an actor (stage 2 in Figure 5).<sup>54</sup> As is common in the *maggio* tradition in the Garfagnana-Lunigiana area,<sup>55</sup> the text was reportedly completely rewritten by Coltelli, respecting only the original plot.<sup>56</sup> In 1987, another *maggio* company, Regnano-Pieve San Lorenzo-Codiponte, performed a second adaptation of the original manuscript, which had been copied by Giacomo Tognoli, organiser of the *maggio* company of Gorfigliano (stage 3 in Figure 5), before being adapted to suit the Regnano-Pieve San Lorenzo-Codiponte company by members Adamo Bertolucci and Giuseppe Malaspina (stage 4 in Figure 5). This adaptation reportedly stayed close to the original, consisting principally in the addition of several introductory stanzas addressed to the audience and of a number of ottavas, which are used at moments of dramatic intensity and which provide scope for virtuosic display by singers. These days, the contraction of the population base in this area (up to 80% of the population has emigrated) frequently leads to coalescence of several companies, with the result that nearly all performers are 'stars', each of whom demands their own ottava.<sup>57</sup>

Several years later, in 1992, the company of Piazza al Serchio performed its own adaptation, this time based on Coltelli's version of the text (stage 5 in Figure 5).<sup>58</sup> This adaptation stayed very close to Coltelli's original, with the addition of some extra ottavas to accommodate the 'stars' from the Regnano-Pieve San Lorenzo company who have recently come to form part of the Piazza al Serchio group (stage 6 in Figure 5).

In the course of the 1992 season, I observed that several further amendments were made to the printed text by the Piazza al Serchio company, some of them apparently to capitalise on particularly successful moments in the drama.<sup>59</sup> In fact, all the changes I documented appeared to be responding primarily to the particularities of performance practice (including relationship to the audience) rather than to any desire to produce a coherent literary text.

### *Musical organisation of the text*

*Maggio* texts are sung to a partly improvised melodic contour, the precise details of which vary from singer to singer and from region to region. The most stable melodic elements are the line final pitches, prolonged by the singer as the prompt whispers the next line.<sup>60</sup> The melodic contour corresponding to the octosyllabic quatrain or quintina<sup>61</sup> that forms the 'recitative' is repeated for each of the one hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty stanzas that make up a complete performance, interspersed with sporadic use of the two special metrical forms, the ottava and the arietta, which occur at especially dramatic or poignant moments of the performance. Like the recitative, these melodies are semi-improvised around a fixed melodic framework (see Figure 6). The five lines of the stanza, rhyming ABBC, are divided into two sections, composed of two and three lines respectively, by instrumental interludes played by the violin and accordion. The first two lines cadence on the tonic and the supertonic respectively (the first and the second degrees of the scale),

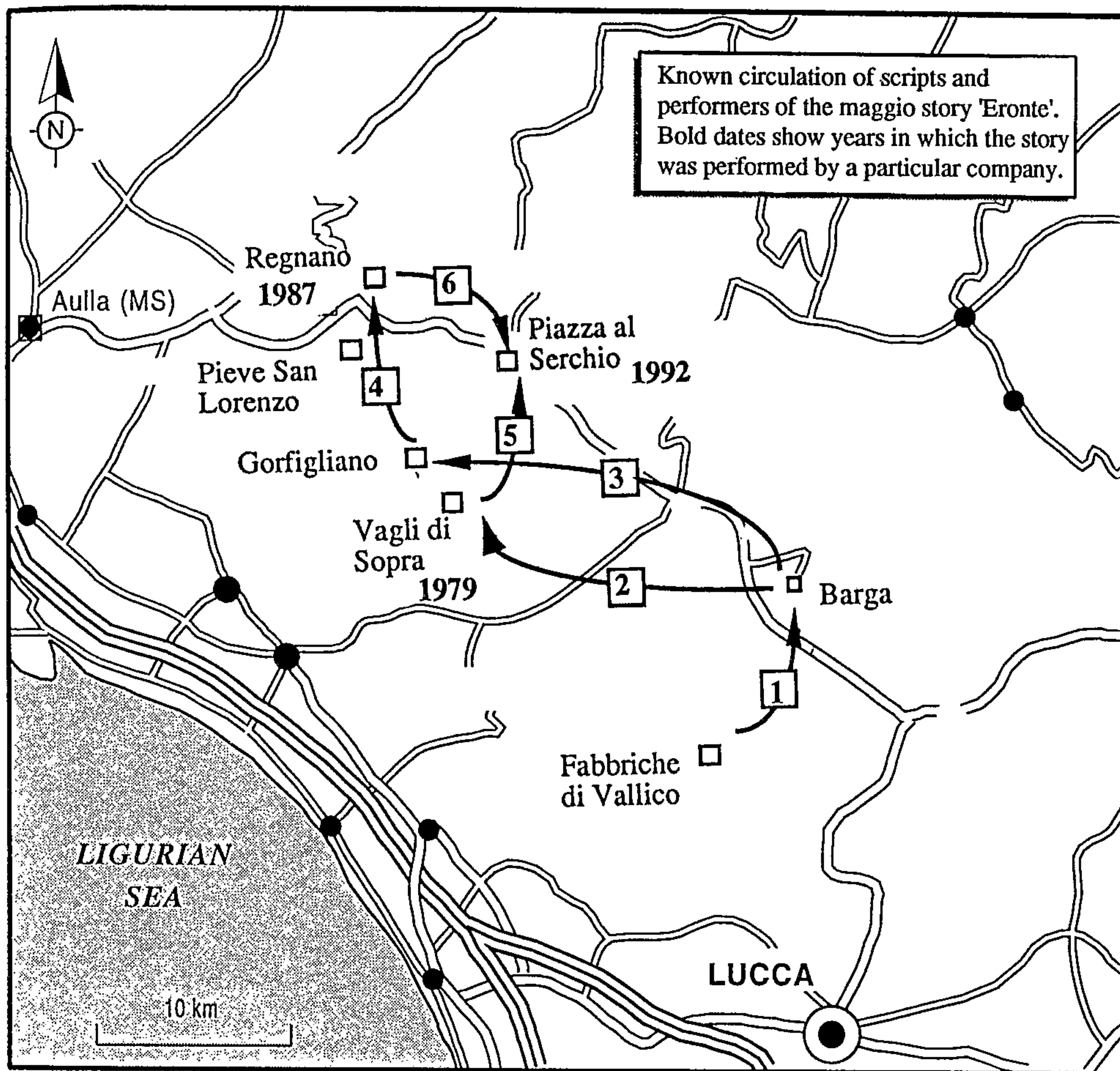


Figure 5: Map showing known circulation of the text 'Eronte' in the Garfagnana valley.

*Eronte*  
**stanza 72 (Eronte - Luciano Tramontana)**  
 Compagnia di Piazza al Serchio, Piazza al Serchio, 5/7/92  
 recording: Linda Barwick; transcription: Jim Franklin, 1993

57.41s

(10.5) Se ve- de- re vuoi la tua fi- glia

(14.7) io ti gui- do a ca- sa mi- a

(10.6) Ma se po- i per al- tra vi- a

(6.9) sen- za scor- ta an- dar ti pia- ce

(15.06) pòi par- tir vi- ver in pa- ce

*Figure 6: Maggio recitative (quintina form), Stanza 72 of 'Eronte', as performed by Luciano Tramontana in the part of Eronte, recorded at Piazza al Serchio, 5 July 1992 by Linda Barwick (transcription: Jim Franklin). Translation: 'If you want to see your daughter / I will show you the way to my house / But if instead by a different path / you wish to travel unescorted / you can leave and live in peace.'*

while the last three lines all cadence on the tonic. When the four-line *quartina stanza* is used, the singer omits the melodic material covered in the fourth line of the *quintina*.

### Staging in the *komedya* and the *maggio*

Many aspects of performance practice and staging are common to both *komedya* and *maggio*. Most obvious is the presence of an on-stage prompt in everyday dress. Performers make no attempt to learn their lines, but rather rely on the prompt; both *komedyantes* and *maggianti* frown on memorisation of the text as it is thought to distract from the performers' attention to the style of declamation. In Italy the prompt may also make suggestions on appropriate gesture and stage movements, as well as seeing to the introduction of appropriate props, which are usually minimal. In both areas, the two courts are distinguished by colour of dress: the Moors wear red or yellow, while the Christians wear blue, black, or green.<sup>62</sup> In the Philippines, the two sides are further distinguished by their style of movement: the Christians enter with a slow march step, while the Moors have a fast and relatively complicated jig.<sup>63</sup> When the Moors convert to Christianity, they adopt the Christian movement mode. The presence of clowns, who make fun of the characters and make ribald remarks in local dialect to the audience, is another common feature to both traditions, although in Italy only one Emilian *maggio* company still maintains this tradition.<sup>64</sup>

There are also a number of parallels in organisation and use of the stage space between the *komedya* and the *maggio*, most notably in the conceptual division of the stage space into two sides, each belonging to one of the warring camps. These similarities, as well as many differences, are best illustrated by reference to examples drawn from our two case studies.

#### *Case study 1. The Filipino komedya at Burgos (Ilocos Sur)*

In Burgos, the *komedyantes* used the municipal stage located in the main plaza of Burgos. Constructed of concrete, the stage is raised about a metre above the level of the audience. A series of steps enable easy passage from the stage to the audience area, and the *komedyantes* made use of a space immediately in front of the stage when necessary (as in the opening procession and for an elaborate war scene). The stage itself is covered by a curving canopy, but the audience is without any protection from the weather. In addition to two long wings extending several metres on either side, the stage also features at the back a raised podium reached by two steps, and flanked by two side entrances.

The stage space is divided up into the two rival courts. Plate 1 shows the right-hand, Christian, side of the stage, marked by the label 'Reyno iti Aregonia' (kingdom of Aragon); the chairs were the only scenic props used. Plate 2 shows the left-hand, Moorish, side of the stage, marked by the label 'Emperio iti Turkia' (Turkish empire). A third sign, placed in the middle of the stage



and visible on the extreme left of Plate 2, reads 'Lugar dagiti Engkantada' (Place of the Enchantress) and represents an intermediate space, the enchanted woods ruled over by Cleopatra, the lost princess of Babylon. The two side entrances, which can be seen immediately behind the Aragonese and Turkish stage labels, are used exclusively by characters from the relevant side, except that Cleopatra and her brother Floramante always enter and leave from the Aragonese side despite their apparently neutral status. The wings on the stage are used for the brass band (stage left), and a public address system (stage right) with some audience members on both wings. Amplification, by means of a microphone suspended over the performers' heads, was necessary to compete with a fairground (complete with sideshows and loud music) that was installed immediately adjacent to the stage area for the week of the annual fiesta. Although in Burgos the *komedyantess*' use of an existing public stage means that the stage is organised frontally, past evidence suggests that theatre spaces could also be organised more or less in the round.<sup>65</sup>

### *Case study 2. The Italian maggio at Piazza al Serchio (LU)*

*Maggio* staging must adapt to a number of different venues, as the company tours the performance to various towns. Most performance venues are located outdoors in a shaded place on the outskirts of a village; some are purpose-built low stages, sometimes also used for other community events such as dancing, others are simply flat clearings in the forest. When a scheduled performance is threatened by rain, the venue is sometimes transferred undercover, and some night performances may be given in an open space such as a piazza in the centre of the village, which during the day would be too hot for the comfort of performers and spectators.

Plates 3 and 4 show the performance space used by the Piazza al Serchio company for their performance of *La vendetta di Fidalma* on 4 July 1993. This took place in the middle of the town of Piazza al Serchio, in a small pine grove located near the elementary school and usually used as a children's playground. The playground equipment was moved to one side, and was used by spectators as seating.

Plate 3 shows a group of Christian characters (in this *maggio* identified as Syrians) in front of their court, symbolised by a small table draped with a cloth bearing a shield with a cross superimposed on two crossed swords. The prompt, in white shirt and black trousers, can be seen feeding the lines to one of the performers, and on the left, approximately in the middle of one long side of the stage area, is seated the piano accordionist (the violinist is out of the picture immediately to the accordionist's right). The chair in the foreground on the right will later be used by one of the performers to 'die' into, so as not to dirty his costume.

Plate 4 shows a group of Muslim characters (in this play identified as Egyptians) enacting a scene in their court, which is symbolised by the cloth

bearing the Muslim symbol of crescent moon above crossed scimitars. Seated behind the table can be seen one of the performers (the Muslim princess), who is not required in this scene. Seated to the right of the group is the Christian king, who has been captured by the Egyptians and is 'sleeping' in a chair representing his prison cell. Audience members are located on all four sides, and it is noticeable that the active performers cluster in inward-facing groups rather than playing outwards to the audience as would be expected in a proscenium arch theatre. It is only in the introductory and final stanzas that the audience is directly addressed.

### Religious links

Now let me return to more detailed information on the historical links between the *komedya* and the *maggio*. Numerous commentators, both in the Philippines and in Italy, have noted the often moralising messages of these dramas, and suggested involvement of the Church in its promulgation.<sup>66</sup> This involvement can be documented both in regard to the literary genre of the romance, and in regard to its performance as a drama. Intriguingly, the first documentation of the *maggio* genre in Europe is not until a full century later than the earliest secure dating of the *komedya* in the Philippines in the early seventeenth century.

In the course of the sixteenth-century Spanish craze for literary romance, priests wrote numerous religious parody romances, often allegorical in construction (King Arthur and the Knights of the round table, for example, might symbolise the apostles at the last supper, and so on).<sup>67</sup> It was these religious romances that were later prohibited by the Inquisition, while their often amoral secular counterparts were spared.<sup>68</sup>

Despite a royal decree in 1531 forbidding the importation into the American colonies of 'idle and profane' romances, and a further decree forbidding romances from being printed, sold or read in the New World, numerous shipments were documented by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>69</sup> In the Philippines, the verse romances were reportedly introduced as didactic tools by the evangelistic missionary orders who were mainly responsible for colonisation.<sup>70</sup>

One of the earliest texts in Ilocano (the Philippine language of the *komedya* I have been discussing) was a catechism translated into Ilocano in the early seventeenth century by the Augustinian priest Francisco Lopez in collaboration with Pedro Bukaneg, a blind Ilocano assistant. The work included several romances translated into Ilocano, which, significantly for my argument, maintained the original rhyme and metre.<sup>71</sup> According to the introductory note, the romances were included 'to move the Ilocanos to fervor and to introduce some seriousness of tone which was allegedly lacking in Iloco poetry in those days'.<sup>72</sup>

Evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also indicates that the evangelistic missionary orders consciously developed the use of spectacle and theatre as a conversion tool, where possible integrating elements of indigenous traditions as a way of attracting and indoctrinating converts while supplanting pagan beliefs and practices.<sup>73</sup> In 1637, the first recorded secular *comedia* on the theme of Christian/Muslim conflict, written in Spanish by Fr Jerónimo Pérez to celebrate a Spanish victory over the Muslim leader Corralat, was performed in Cavite province. But as early as 1602, there are reports of missionaries staging religious plays in the local languages.<sup>74</sup>

By the nineteenth century there was wide circulation in the Philippines of chapbook versions of verse (or 'metrical') romances in both octosyllabic and dodecasyllabic metres, which drew on and elaborated the chivalrous tales in local Philippine languages.<sup>75</sup> Although the verse romances seem to have been primarily designed for reading aloud, there are clear parallels in subject matter and metrical form with *komedya* texts.<sup>76</sup> To judge by one text reproduced by Eugenio, a very high proportion of stanzas in verse romances were in the form of dialogue,<sup>77</sup> so that, as reported also for the Tuscan *bruscello* dramas, one way of converting these written texts for performance as a drama would be simply to omit the narrative stanzas.<sup>78</sup> This suggestion is lent further weight by the similarities between a melody used for singing of twelve-syllable verse romances in 1885 reproduced by Eugenio<sup>79</sup> and that used for declamation of the twelve-syllable *komedya* in Catenduanes.<sup>80</sup>

The same metres as used in the romances and the *komedya* were also used in religious dramas, which are still performed today in various places all over the Philippines. As for the secular verse romances and *komedya*, Filipino religious *pasyon* readings and dramas display a 'partnering' of written texts used for chanted reading (in the case of the practice of *pabuson*) and the extended dramatisation of the stories in full-scale theatrical presentations (the Lenten dramas known as *sinakulo* or *pasyon*).<sup>81</sup> Such performances also share a number of dramaturgical characteristics with the *komedya*, such as the use of brass band music for entrances and exits of characters.<sup>82</sup> Religious dramatisations in verse (*sacre rappresentazioni*) are also still continued in the same areas of Central America and Italy where secular forms cognate with the *komedya* are performed, and it seems that these religious and secular genres may need to be considered together.

In summary, it seems that both verse romance and dramatic spectacle were used by missionary orders as tools of cultural indoctrination from the seventeenth century on, and that the *komedya* genre represents one survival of these practices in contemporary Filipino popular culture, now without any official support from the Church. Indeed many features of contemporary *komedya* plots (such as the use of magical powers) are contrary to religious teachings.

The Garfagnana and Emilia, the areas of Italy where the *maggio* now flourishes, were also subjected to various missionising campaigns by Jesuit priests in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in an effort to stamp out such pagan practices as May Day celebrations as well as to re-establish the authority and orthodoxy of the Church.<sup>83</sup> In doing so, many priests were inspired by news of the conversion practices of their brethren in the Far East.<sup>84</sup> Thus, the counter-Reformation in Europe drew on the practical experiences of the missionary orders in the Americas and Asia. Although it is possible that lack of documentation rather than lack of performance tradition accounts for the discrepancy of date between the earliest documentation of the *komedya* in 1637 and that of the *maggio*, which cannot be securely dated before 1724,<sup>85</sup> another possible explanation is that the particular combination of drama, sung recitation and dance seen in the *maggio* and the *komedya* crystallised first in the colonies before being introduced for similar didactic purposes into 'backward' regions of Europe.

## Conclusion

The discussion so far may give some idea of the complexity of establishing a historical context for these dramatic forms. As a research exercise, it is rendered particularly difficult because of the hybrid and international nature of the form and its multiple links with other written and performance traditions. Like its wandering chivalrous heroes, it has respected neither linguistic nor national boundaries, let alone academic categories of discipline and genre. Here we can see that, as Edward Said has argued, 'all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic'.<sup>86</sup>

While acknowledging the importance of performances in articulating deeply felt attachments to tradition and to landscape, I believe it is imperative not to lose sight of the fundamental 'entanglement'<sup>87</sup> of these seemingly remote agricultural communities in global processes of cultural contact and change.

This was as true in the seventeenth century as it is today. For example, the Spanish were not the only foreigners in early Manila. Although most took Spanish names, many of the early Jesuits in the Philippines were from other Catholic areas in Europe, including the Italian provinces.<sup>88</sup> In fact, one of the earliest Jesuit arrivals in the Philippines (in the year 1601) was the priest Angelo Armano, who came from the diocese of Lucca (in which province the *maggio* survives today).<sup>89</sup> Among other duties, Armano directed the Jesuit College of San José in Manila for some time,<sup>90</sup> where in 1611 there was held a literary competition that gives some idea of the cultural melting pot that Manila must have been at the time. Some 250 compositions were entered, in the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Basque, and Mexican languages,

as well as in the Philippine languages Tagalog and Bisayan.<sup>91</sup> Today, the export of young women as domestic labour, the principal source of foreign income in the Philippines, touches nearly every community. In Burgos, many women between 30-45 are or have been overseas for extended periods in Singapore, Hong Kong or the Middle East, where they can earn far more as domestic servants than is possible for even a well-paying job in the Philippines. In other nearby communities, the women go instead to Italy or other European countries.<sup>92</sup>

Intercultural contact has always been a fact of life, too, in the Garfagnana, the Italian area in which I recorded the *maggio*. In this area of marginal economic viability, seasonal migration of part of the population was a feature of life for many centuries, as flocks were taken to winter in the more temperate climate of the southern Tuscan coast, and labourers hired themselves out as harvest workers in the more fertile country on the Emilian side of the Appennines or as charcoal burners in Corsica.<sup>93</sup> Although there would never have been any real threat of Moorish invasion of this remote mountain valley, Garfagnini may have encountered Turkish pirates along the southern Tuscan coast, where they took their flocks to winter, and would certainly have heard of the exploits of the notorious Christian pirates, the knights of San Stefano, in nearby Pisa.<sup>94</sup> This century, most emigration has been long-term, to industrial areas of Northern Europe as well as to the Americas and to Australia. These historical processes of engagement with extra-Garfagnino communities have led within the valley to an extraordinarily diversified popular culture, including children's playground rhymes of Latin American origin and funeral laments of Corsican derivation.<sup>95</sup> Throughout their diaspora, Garfagnini continue to maintain a sense of their 'imagined community',<sup>96</sup> including a sentimental attachment to the particular village of their affiliation in the Garfagnana, and, often, to the *maggio* as a characteristic local tradition (many Australian Garfagnini, for example, own private recordings of *maggio* performances). As I have pointed out elsewhere, 'it is surely no accident that the most typically Garfagnino genre, . . . *maggio*, . . . is centrally concerned with the problematics of cross-cultural interaction'.<sup>97</sup>

Perhaps one reason for the readiness with which this form has entered into popular tradition in so many different cultural contexts is the fundamental ambiguity inherent in its dramatic structure. Even if the overt moral message of the narrative is that the Christians always win, the stage, and the action, is divided equally between the two warring courts. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that in Spain's former colonies, audiences seem to identify with the Moors, either overtly (as is reported for Mexico, where the Moros are the feted heroes of the piece)<sup>98</sup> or covertly (as seems implied by the great pleasure apparently taken by Philippine performers and audiences in the elaborate dance steps that mark the Moro characters). Coloniser and colonised

can each see represented in these dramas both cultural Self and cultural Other.

Let me end by attempting what will be perhaps neither the first nor the last interpretation of the enigmatic title of this symposium. Drama masks time, not only by substituting the time-frame of the dramatic event for that of everyday life, but also in the sense that living performance traditions actualise the past in the present, make relevant to contemporaries themes and characters originating in past contexts that were sometimes very different. This transcendent integrating quality of drama may explain why, in both Italy and the Philippines, the seemingly antiquated dramatic forms discussed are felt to have a special connection with the experiences of the performers today, and even to represent what it means to be Ilocano or Garfagnino. Perhaps paradoxically, in their contemporary contexts in both Italy and the Philippines these performance traditions have been used to assert and articulate the uniqueness of local and national identities.<sup>99</sup> From the perspective of contemporary performers, both Filipino and Italian, the issues addressed by these dramas are vitally relevant to contemporary experiences of intercultural contact and conflict.

Conversely, time masks drama, in that the paucity of past recordings of performance practice often leaves us with only indirect evidence of what those past contexts of drama may have been. In the case of the romance, critics have been able to treat it as a purely literary genre, ignoring or devaluing the strong evidence of its parallel but largely undocumented performance history. What evidence we have been able to piece together of the history of the various performance practices implicated in the genre suggests that cross-cultural processes of contact, conflict and exchange have been associated with the chivalrous romance from its very beginning, and have continued to operate at every stage of its wanderings.

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### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For example, Braudel sees them as having arisen out of intercultural contacts arising from both trade and the Crusades. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, abridged by Richard Ollard (London: Harper Collins, 1992), p. 563.
- <sup>2</sup> In the symposium presentation, video footage was shown of the *komedya* 'Kabibiag ni Floramante', by Tomas Daproza, performed by the *komedyant*es of Burgos (Ilocos Sur, Philippines), led by Benjamino Escobar, at Burgos 17.2.93. Hi-8 video recording by Linda Barwick (Barwick field tapes VT93/3-7). (Fieldwork undertaken in conjunction with Dr Raul Pertierra, University of New South Wales.)
- <sup>3</sup> In the symposium presentation, video footage was shown of the *maggio* 'Eronte,' by Giuseppe Coltelli (1979) performed by the Piazza al Serchio company, led by Andrea Bertei, at Varliano (LU), 23.8.92. Hi-8 video recording by Linda Barwick (Barwick field tapes VT92/23-25).
- <sup>4</sup> See Jack Sage and Roger Hickman, 'Romance', in S. Sadie (ed.), *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), XVI, 121-6.
- <sup>5</sup> J.J. Duggan, 'Oral Performance, Writing and the Textual Tradition of the Medieval Epic in the Romance Languages: The Example of the *Song of Roland*', *Parergon*, NS 2 (1984), 79-95; and W.A. Trindade, 'The

- Interaction of Oral and Written Traditions in Twelfth-Century Old French Verse Romances', *Parergon*, NS 2 (1984), 97–109.
- <sup>6</sup> For a discussion of this point see Paolo Merci, 'Circolazione orale e tradizione scritta delle *chansons de geste*', in G. Cerina, C. Lavinio, L. Mulas (eds), *Oralità e scrittura nel sistema letterario. Atti del Convegno (Cagliari 14–16 aprile 1980)* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1982), pp. 197–204; and Giorgio Raimondo Cardona, 'Culture dell'oralità e culture della scrittura', in Alberto Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana. Volume secondo. Produzione e consumo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1983), p. 58.
- <sup>7</sup> Marina Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria. Il 'Furioso' e il romanzo italiano del primo cinquecento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1987), p. 19. Rudolf Schenda, 'Canali e processi di circolazione della letteratura scritta e semiorale tra gli strati subalterni europei nel "700" e "800"', in *Oralità e scrittura*, p. 55, points out the so far undervalued importance of reading aloud as a domestic practice in bourgeois and peasant families. The practice in a popular milieu is mentioned by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*—see Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha. Texto y notas de Martín de Riquer. Segunda edición con anotación ampliada y un índice onomástico y de situaciones* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1950), I, ch 32, p. 328. Antonio Comin (personal communication) reports that his sister Lina read aloud from Italian romance texts to gatherings in the Veneto region in the 1920s and in Australia in the 1930s.
- <sup>8</sup> Merci, 'Circolazione orale e tradizione scritta'; Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry: The Revival of the Romance of Chivalry in the Spanish Peninsula and its Extension and Influence Abroad* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969) (original edition Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 179; Adelaide Mattaini (ed.), *Romanzi dei 'Reali di Francia'* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1957), p. 13; Cardona, 'Culture dell'oralità e culture della scrittura', p. 58; Diego Carpitella, 'I giullari e la questione della circolazione culturale nel Medio Evo', in Centro di Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, *Il contributo dei giullari alla drammaturgia italiana delle origini. Atti del IIo Convegno di Studi (Viterbo 17–19 giugno 1977)* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1978), pp. 63–7.
- <sup>9</sup> Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, p. 179, cites contemporary accounts of court performances in Flanders 1549 and Barcelona 1633.
- <sup>10</sup> Cited by Massimo Oldoni, 'Techiche di scena e comportamenti narrativi nel teatro profano mediolatino (secc. IX–XII)', in *Il contributo dei giullari*, p. 34.
- <sup>11</sup> A point made by Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'Poesia e musica', in Alberto Asor Rosa, (ed.), *Letteratura italiana. volume sesto. Teatro, musica, tradizione dei*



*classici* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986), p. 230. For example, Petrarch apparently sent copies of his poems to be performed by singers.

- <sup>12</sup> Giuseppe Di Stefano, 'La tradizione orale e scritta dei *romances*: situazioni e problemi', in *Oralità e scrittura*, pp. 206–7. He considers its subsequent use in courtly circles in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to be 'interference' from the art tradition.
- <sup>13</sup> Pointed out by Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, vol. II (Roma: Bardi, 1966 – reprint of Loescher edition, 1891), p. 260.
- <sup>14</sup> Nigel Fortune, 'Solo Song and Cantata', in Gerald Abraham, (ed.), *The Age of Humanism 1540–1630, New Oxford History of Music IV* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 130–1.
- <sup>15</sup> For an extensive catalogue of the surviving sixteenth-century romance melodies, see Miguel Querol Gavaldá, 'Importance historique et nationale du romance', in *Musique et poésie au XVIIe siècle, Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 504* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954)(seconde édition 1973), pp. 299–324. See also Charles Jacobs, 'The Spanish Frontier Ballad: Historical, Literary, and Musical Associations', *The Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972), 605–21. Performances of some of these songs can be found in the following recordings: *Senhora del mundo: Spanish and Portuguese Songs* by Sara Stowe (soprano) and Matthew Spring (vihuela) (CHANDOS CHAN 0546, 1993) – 'Passeavase el rey moro' by Diego Pisador (Salamanca 1552); *Musica Iberica 1100–1600*, Studio der Frühen Musik (TELEFUNKEN-DECCA LCo366, 1968); *Love Lyrics and Romances of Renaissance Spain, La Romanesca* (MOVE MS3034, 1980).
- <sup>16</sup> Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 848; Fortune, 'Solo Song and Cantata', p. 141.
- <sup>17</sup> Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, III, 49–51 reproduces Francesco Corteccia's 1547 setting of an ottava from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*; Einstein also cites L'Hoste da Reggio's 1554 setting for an ottava lament (*ibid*, I, pp. 285–6). The musical structure used for the ottava when it occurs as a special verse form in the Italian *maggio* today is also a fourfold repetition of a two-line melody, apparently continuing the popular traditions reported for the sixteenth century.
- <sup>18</sup> Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Così fan tutte. Drame giocoso in due atti, libretto di Lorenzo da Ponte. Prima rappresentazione: Vienna, KK. National-Hoftheater, 26 gennaio 1790. Opera completa per canto e pianoforte, a cura di Mario Parenti* (Milano: Ricordi, 1961), pp. 351–3.
- <sup>19</sup> According to Joan Amades, the earliest record of a moresca dance depicting a battle between Moors and Christians was in 1137, on the occasion of the marriage of the Count of Barcelona Ramón Berenger IV with Petronila de

Aragón – see Joan Amades, *Las danzas de moros y cristianos* (Valencia: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos y Etnología Valenciana, 1966), p. 91. D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, I, p. 296, cites one example, from I. Lancellotti's *Cronaca modenese* (1494), in which 'balli alla moresca' were integrated into a dramatic performance to celebrate the feast of San Gemignano in Modena. More explicit details are cited by Roberto Lorenzetti, *Due rituali carnevaleschi in un Comune dell'Italia Centrale: La Moresca e la Rappresentazione dei Mesi a Contigliano* (Rieti: Istituto Eugenio Cirese, 1980), p. 9, from a letter by Isabella d'Este describing the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso D'Este in Ferrara in 1502 (original source Marino Samuto, *Ordine di pompe e spettacoli per le nozze di Lucrezia Borgia a Ferrara* (Venezia 1880)). See also entries under 'Dance: Early Renaissance', 'Moresca', and 'Matachin (les bouffons)', in *New Grove*, v and xii.

<sup>20</sup> Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie* (Langres: 1588), English translation *Orchesography* by Mary Stewart Evans, Julia Sutton (ed.) (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), pp. 184–7.

<sup>21</sup> Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, *Historia de la musica española. 7. El folklore musical* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), pp. 133–9. There are many variants of these dances in Spain today, although there is no clear evidence of full-scale dramas based around them (see Amades, *Danzas de moros y cristianos*, passim). However, there are some examples cited of dancing while a romance is sung (see Crivillé i Bargalló, *Historia de la musica española*, pp. 136–7 (the Canaries); p. 229 (Asturia); p. 240 (Catalonia). For Central and South America, Amades mentions these dances for Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Mexico and Brazil (Amades, *Danzas de Moros y Cristianos*, p. 90). See the entry 'Cristiãos y Moros', in Luis D. Cascudo, *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, fifth edition 1979); Robert Ricard, 'Sur les fêtes de Moros y Cristianos au Mexique', *Journal de la Société des Américanités de Paris* 24 (1932), 51–84, 287–91; 29 (1937), 220–7; 30 (1940), 357–6; John E. Englekirk, 'Notes on the Repertoire of the New Mexican Spanish Folktheatre', *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 4.4 (1940); Arthur L. Campa, 'Spanish Religious Theater in the South-West', *University of Mexico Bulletin* (Albuquerque, New Mexico Press, June 15 1934), v.ii, 5; and E. Thomas Stanford, 'Mexico, II: Folk Music', in *New Grove* xii, 237–238. Mario G. Rosal, *The Drama in Iloco: A Critical Survey of the Ilocano Comedia and Zarzuela*, 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1980), p. 249 cites evidence of Indians in Mexico dancing *moros y cristianos* as early as 1530.

<sup>22</sup> Damiana L. Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido: Philippine Metrical Romances* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1987), p. xxiii.

- <sup>23</sup> See Di Stefano, 'La tradizione orale e scritta dei romances', p. 207; *El Romancero en la tradición oral moderna*, Primo Coloquio Internacional, (Madrid, 1973); *El Romancero judeo-español en el Archivo Menéndez Pidal* (Catálogo-índice de romances y canciones) (Madrid: 1978); Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, *Cancionero Judío del norte de Marruecos, I: Romances de Tetuán* (1952), cited by Jacobs, 'The Spanish Frontier Ballad', p. 621.
- <sup>24</sup> For a musical notation of a relatively recent Tuscan rendition of an 'ottava cavalleresca' (first stanza of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*), sung by a man from Sambuca Pistoiese (Pistoia), recorded by Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella in 1954, see Roberto Leydi, 'La canzone popolare', in Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (eds), *Storia d'Italia. Volume quinto. I documenti. 2.* (Torino: Einaudi, 1973), pp. 1213, 1244.
- <sup>25</sup> See Pietro Clemente, Mariano Fresta and Luciano Giannelli, 'Scritti di contadini senesi: note sul teatro popolare e altri usi della scrittura', in *Oralità e scrittura*, pp. 63-77.
- <sup>26</sup> Nicanor Tiongson, 'Komedyá', in *The Cultural Traditional Media of the Philippines: Essays, Bibliography, Glossary, Directory* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1991) (reprint from Cultural Traditional Media of ASEAN, 1986), p. 239.
- <sup>27</sup> See Italo Sordi, 'La materia cavalleresca nel teatro di marionette e di burattini dell'Italia settentrionale', in *Burattini, marionette, pupi [Catalogo della mostra tenuta a] Palazzo reale, 25 giugno-2 novembre 1980* (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1980), pp. 217-8. A recording of Sicilian puppet theatre based on Carolingian chivalrous epic using prose narrative and incidental music for battle scenes may be found on *Discoteca di Stato. Documenti dell'archivio etnico-linguistico-musicale della Discoteca di Stato. 2. La rappresentazione popolare* (Roma: Discoteca di Stato, DdS 2G3KY 19232-4, 1974) (with annotated booklet by A. Pagliaro and D. Carpitella, 63 pp.), side 2, item 7, 'Duello tra Rinaldo e Gattamogliere' (puppeteer Giuseppe Argento, recorded by Antonio Pasqualino at Palermo, April 1967); a text outline used by the puppeteer is reproduced in the booklet accompanying the disc, p. 37.
- <sup>28</sup> See the illustrations of chivalrous puppets from Naples, Sicily and Milan in *Burattini, marionette, pupi*, pp. 157, 235, 240, 242, 245.
- <sup>29</sup> For Piedmont, see Italo Sordi, *Teatro e rito. Saggi sulla drammatica popolare italiana* (Milano: Xenia Edizioni, 1990), pp. 18-19; for Lazio, see Lorenzetti, *Due rituali carnevaleschi*, passim; for Campania, the film Franco di Chiera, *The Joys of the Women*, musical director Kavisha Mazzella (Perth: Electric Pictures/Realworld Pictures/WA Film Council, 1993), includes a brief passage of dance from Ischia that appears to be a circle dance between Turks and Christians. For Tuscany, as well as the *moresca* by the Garfagnana

folk group, La Muffrina, contained in the film Centro di Sperimentazione e Produzione Audiovisivi Didattici, *La Muffrina* (Lucca: Provincia di Lucca Assessorato alla Cultura, 1992), an audio recording of a *moresca* performed by the *maggianti* of Vagli di Sopra-Roggio is reproduced on the recording Gastone Venturelli (ed.), *Lo spettacolo popolare. Il maggio in Toscana e in Emilia* (Milano: Vedette Albatros VPA8411, 1978). The melody is transcribed in Marcello Conati, 'Il Maggio drammatico nel parmense', in Tullia Magrini (ed.), *Il Maggio drammatico: Una tradizione di teatro in musica* (Bologna: Edizioni Analisi, 1992), p. 311. For older documentation, see Bianca Maria Galanti, *La danza delle spade in Italia* (Roma: n.p., 1942). Joan Amades, citing Galanti, mentions danced dramas representing battles in the Adriatic islands of Italy and in Corsica (Amades, *Danzas de Moros y Cristianos*, pp. 88–90). See also the comments by Paolo Toschi, *Le origini del teatro italiano* (Torino: Boringhieri, 1955; reprint 1969), pp. 53–66.

<sup>30</sup> See Arbeau, *Orchésographie*, p. 184–7.

<sup>31</sup> See Cardona, 'Culture dell'oralità e culture della scrittura', *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> *I Paladini di Francia* [the French Paladins], attributed to Giuseppe Grandini, performed by the Tuscan Gorfigliano company in 1988, based on Andrea da Barberino's *I Reali di Francia* (c.1425), itself based on an earlier anonymous Tuscan prose romance *Il libro delle storie di Fioravante* (1315–1340). See Mattaini, *Romanzi*, pp. 25–6. The *bruscello* described in Clemente-Fresta-Giannelli, 'Scritti dei contadini senesi', pp. 68–71 is based on another episode of Fioravante's adventures in *I Reali di Francia*. A recent reprint is Andrea da Barberino, *I Reali di Francia. Introduzione di Aurelio Roncaglia, note di Fabrizio Beggiato* (Milano: Casa del libro dei Fratelli Melita, 1987—reprint of Milano: Gherardo Casini Editore, 1967).

<sup>33</sup> *Licia la schiava di Roma*, by Giuliano Bertagni, performed by the Tuscan Gragnanella-Filicaia-Casatico company in 1992, based on an Italian film about Christians in Ancient Rome seen by Bertagni in 1986.

<sup>34</sup> The Emilian company of Costabona, directed by Romolo Fioroni, presented this *maggio* in 1992, a performance of which, at Varliano (LU) on 9.8.92, was filmed by the Centro Tradizioni Popolari di Lucca.

<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Giannini, *La poesia popolare a stampa nel secolo XIX. Volume secondo* (Udine: Istituto delle Edizioni Accademiche, 1938). For reproductions of the frontispieces of *maggio* texts published in the nineteenth century see Romolo Fioroni, 'Il Maggio drammatico nel reggiano e nel modenese: indagine sull'attività delle compagnie', in *Il Maggio drammatico*, p. 259.

<sup>36</sup> Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, pp. 327–69; Geneviève Bollème, 'Letteratura popolare e commercio ambulante del libro nel XVIII secolo', in Armando

Petrucci (ed.), *Libri editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna. guida storica e critica* (Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, 1989), pp. 203–49.

<sup>37</sup> Gastone Venturelli, 'Le aree del Maggio', in *Il Maggio drammatico*, pp. 48, 61; Clemente-Frusta-Giannelli, 'Scritti dei contadini senesi', p. 67. Fioroni, 'Il Maggio drammatico nel reggiano e nel modenese', p. 257, reproduces examples of handwritten copies.

<sup>38</sup> See Gian Paolo Borghi, 'Il Maggio drammatico nel bolognese: un esempio di inchiesta di base', in *Il Maggio drammatico*, pp. 272–4.

<sup>39</sup> At least 341 *maggio* texts of known authorship have been performed in Emilia in living memory; as compared to the mere thirty-one published *maggio* texts listed by Giannini for the nineteenth century. See the list of 'Maggi citati' following Giorgio Vezzani's 'Gli autori del Maggio drammatico. Dizionario bio-bibliografico', in *Il Maggio drammatico*, pp. 407–10.

<sup>40</sup> *Maggio* booklets have been published in recent years by the Comune of Villa Minozzo (for the Emilian *maggio*) and the Centro Tradizioni Popolari della Provincia di Lucca, the Comuni of Buti (PI) and Piazza al Serchio (LU), and the Provincia di Massa (for the Tuscan *maggio*).

<sup>41</sup> Raul Pertierra, 'An Example of Conflict and Authority in a Philippine Community: A Case Study', *Asian Studies* 14 (1976), p. 75.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, and personal communication by Pertierra.

<sup>43</sup> Rosal, *The Drama in Iloco*, p. 130.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293. See also information on the history of the *komedya* in Hernandez, *The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines (1898–1912)* (Honolulu: Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii, 1976), pp. 14–39; and in Lumbera, 'The Literary Relations of Tagalog Literature', pp. 315–21. A non-academic history of the *komedya* genre can be found in Felicidad M. Mendoza, *The Comedia (Moro-Moro) Re-discovered* (Manila: Society of St Paul, 1976). The standard work is Nicanor Tiongson's *Kasaysayan ng Komedya sa Pilipinas: 1766–1982* (Manila: De La Salle University integrated Research Center, 1982).

<sup>45</sup> Rosal, *The Drama in Iloco*, pp. 583–99.

<sup>46</sup> In other areas of the Philippines the text may be sung or chanted. For example, on the island of Catenduanes, the men declaim the text while the women sing their quatrains (as seen on private video of Catenduanes *komedya*).

<sup>47</sup> This perhaps supports the contention of various commentators who analyse the basic metrical structure of the Spanish romance as a sixteen-syllable, rather than eight-syllable, line (e.g. Di Stefano, 'La tradizione orale e scritta dei romances', p. 205).

- <sup>48</sup> Another Hispanic-derived form of music theatre (*zarzuela*) popular in the Philippines. For discussion of the historical relations between *komedya* and *sarsuwela* see Doreen G. Fernandez, *The Iloilo Zarzuela: 1903–1930* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1978).
- <sup>49</sup> Marina Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria*, pp. 17–18.
- <sup>50</sup> Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 33–9.
- <sup>51</sup> As argued by Paolo Merci, 'Circolazione orale e tradizione scritta'.
- <sup>52</sup> Reported by Daniela Menchelli, in her preface to *Eronte, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Vagli di Sopra-Roggio (LU)*, a cura di Daniela Menchelli, CTP Lucca Quaderno 9 (Lucca: Centro Tradizioni Popolari di Lucca, 1979).
- <sup>53</sup> See the preface by Fabio Baroni in *Re Eronte, secondo il testo adottato dalla compagnia di Regnano-Pieve San Lorenzo-Codiponte*, a cura di Fabio Baroni, CTP Lucca Quaderno 107 (Lucca: Centro Tradizioni Popolari di Lucca, 1987). In the Garfagnana the name and date of the copyist, rather than the original author, are commonly added to these manuscript versions, and extensive modifications are commonly made to adapt the text for particular performance groups (see Venturelli, 'Le aree del Maggio,' p. 61).
- <sup>54</sup> The text of this version was published for sale at performances by the Centro Tradizioni Popolari della Provincia di Lucca.
- <sup>55</sup> See extensive discussion of the varying attitudes to the written *maggio* texts by companies in the three areas of contemporary diffusion of the tradition (Pisano-Lucchese, Garfagnana-Lunigiana, Emilia) in Gastone Venturelli, 'Le aree del Maggio', pp. 48, 61–2, 84–5. Venturelli even goes so far as to say 'it is to be considered anomalous and outside the tradition when we find almost identical copies of the one text: in such cases we can be certain that what we have before us is a copy made for conservation and not a script to be performed' (my translation)(p. 61).
- <sup>56</sup> See Umberto Bertolini's preface to the reprint of Coltelli's version of 'Eronte' in *Eronte. Maggio di Giuseppe Coltelli secondo il testo adottato dalla compagnia maggianti di Piazza al Serchio (LU)*; Comune di Piazza al Serchio Quaderno 6 (Piazza al Serchio: Assessorato all'Istruzione e Cultura del Comune di Piazza al Serchio, 1992).
- <sup>57</sup> See Linda Barwick and JoAnne Page, 'Performance Spaces/Imaginary Places of the Tuscan *Maggio* in Italy and Australia', paper delivered at the World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in Berlin, June 1993, to be published in *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 26 (1994).

- <sup>58</sup> This version of the script was published by the Comune of Piazza al Serchio.
- <sup>59</sup> For example, extra stanzas were added to dwell on the baptism of one of the Syrian soldiers, who converts to Christianity for the love of the Armenian princess, Fidalma. After this scene, the couple went through the audience collecting money in a helmet. Other adaptations consisted in the development of a battle scene to allow two of the best fighters in the company to meet, and in variations to the final chorus, sung by the whole company. The final chorus, which may change according to the performance venue, is frequently not present in the printed text.
- <sup>60</sup> In other words, the prompt delivers one eight-syllable line at a time.
- <sup>61</sup> The quintina, composed of five octosyllabic lines rhyming ABBCC, is used only in the Garfagnana-Lunigiana area, where quatrains rhyming ABBA may also be employed; in Emilia and in the Pisa-Lucca areas only quatrains are used (see Venturelli, 'Le aree del Maggio').
- <sup>62</sup> This prescription is especially strictly followed by the Piazza al Serchio company; the other Garfagnino *maggio* company is less strict, especially when, as in recent years, the *maggio* story is set in ancient Rome or in some other way does not lend itself to clear division of the two camps.
- <sup>63</sup> Different areas within the Philippines vary in the precise choreography of the Christian and Moorish marches, but the distinction Christian-slow, Moor-fast appears to be maintained.
- <sup>64</sup> The 'Montecusna' company of Asta (RE). See Venturelli, 'Le aree del Maggio', pp. 56, 74-5, 95-8. The Garfagnino companies that once used the Buffone are now defunct.
- <sup>65</sup> See the illustration in Nicanor Tiongson, 'An Essay on Dulaan—Philippine Theatre', booklet to accompany video *Dulaan—Philippine Theatre* (Manila: Sentrong Pangkultura ng Pilipinas [Cultural Centre of the Philippines], 1989), pp. 8-9, which reproduces a late-nineteenth-century drawing of a *komedya* performance in Bicol. A brass ensemble is shown on the right of the stage, with audience members, including what appear to be high-ranking dignitaries on a raised platform at the rear of the stage, located on the other three sides.
- <sup>66</sup> For the Philippines, Tiongson, 'Komedya', p. 239; for Italy, Sebastiano Lo Nigro, 'Genesi e funzioni dei "Maggi" drammatici in Toscana', in *La drammatica popolare nella valle padana. Atti del Quarto Convegno di Studi sul folklore padano. Modena, maggio 1974* (Modena: ENAL, 1976), and more recently Marcello Conati, 'Il Maggio drammatico nel parmense', pp. 309-50. See also Adriano Prosperi, 'La religione della Controriforma e le feste del maggio nell'Appennino tosco-emiliano', *Critica storica* 18 (1981), 202-22.

- 67 Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, p. 166, cites several examples, including the *Cavallero del Sol* (1552) by Pedro Hernandez de Villaumbrales (translated into Italian by Pietro Lauro, 1557).
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 176. Thomas cites the banning of the *Cavalleria celestial del Pie de la Rosa Fragante* (1554) by Hieronimo San Pedro.
- 69 See Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, p. 178 (citing Franciso Rodríguez Marín, *El 'Quijote' y Don Quijote en America* (1911)). All Spanish traffic to the Philippines was via Mexico.
- 70 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, p. xxxii. For early Hispanic history of the Philippines see John L. Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish aims and Filipino Responses 1565–1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959); more specifically on conversion practices, Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). See also Horacio de la Costa S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581–1768*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967—first edition 1961); and Armando Guidetti S.J., *Le missioni popolari. I grandi gesuiti italiani* (Milano: Rusconi, 1988).
- 71 Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr. and Juan A. Foronda, 'Bukaneg and the Early Books in Ilocano', in Philippines Historical Committee, *The Beginnings of Christianity in the Philippines* (Manila: Philippines Historical Committee, 1965), p. 167.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 Piero Camporesi, 'Cultura popolare e cultura d'élite fra Medioevo ed età moderna', in Corrado Vivanti (ed.), *Storia d'Italia. Intellettuali e potere. Annali, vol. 4* (Torino: Einaudi, 1981), p. 134; see also Carlo Ginzburg, 'Folklore, magia, religione', in Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti (eds), *Storia d'Italia. Volume primo. I caratteri originali* (Torino: Einaudi, 1972), pp. 603–76; and Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari*, pp. 123–4. For discussion of the related use of secular songs as the basis for *laude spirituali* in sixteenth-century Italy, see Federico Ghisi, 'L'"aria di maggio" et le travestissement spirituel de la poésie musicale profane en Italie', in *Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle*, pp. 265–70.
- 74 See Tomas C. Hernandez, *The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines*, pp. 24–5.
- 75 Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*. Bienvenido Lumbera ('The Literary Relations of Tagalog Literature', in Antonio G. Manuud (ed.), *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition and Literature* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967), pp. 318–9) is of the opinion that prior to this date verse romances would have circulated orally due to widespread illiteracy.



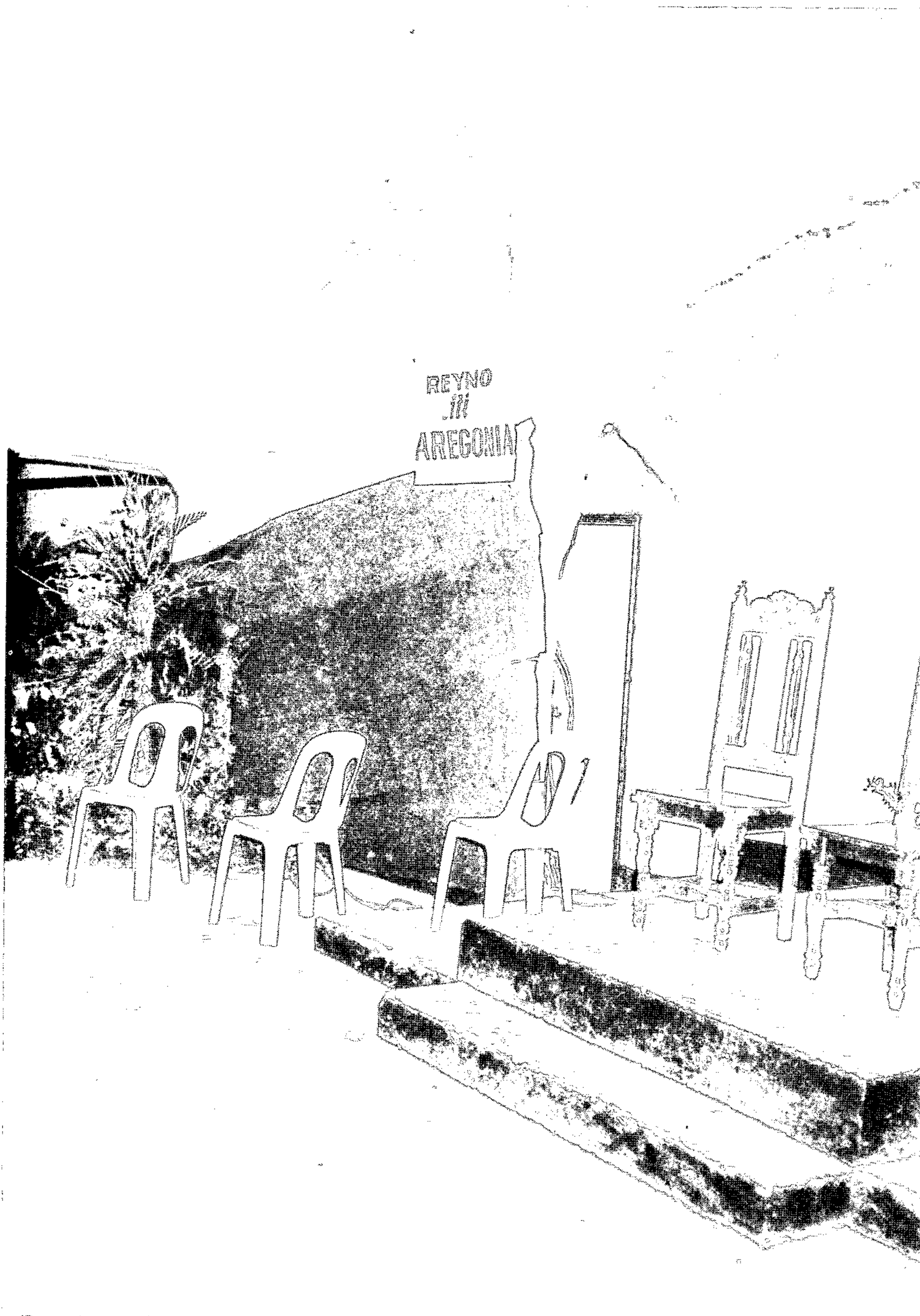
- <sup>76</sup> Tiongson, 'Komedyá', p. 232.
- <sup>77</sup> Over two-thirds of the 496 quatrains in the text of the *Seven Princes of Lara* are wholly or partly in speech. See Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, pp. 359–404.
- <sup>78</sup> As argued by Clemente-Frusta-Giannelli, 'Scritti dei contadini senesi', p. 69.
- <sup>79</sup> Eugenio, *Awit and Corrido*, p. xxii (the melody is reproduced from Epifanio de los Santos, 'Balagtas y su Florante: Literatura Tagala 1593–1886', in *Florante* (Manila, 1916), pp. 45–73).
- <sup>80</sup> Private video recording of a Catenduanes *komedyá* lent to me by music students at the University of the Philippines, 1993.
- <sup>81</sup> Ricardo Trimillos, 'The Filipino Lenten *pasyon*: Influences of Orthodox Religious, Cultural, and Political Power Structures', paper delivered at the World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, Berlin, June 1993.
- <sup>82</sup> Nicanor Tiongson, 'Sinakulo', in *The Cultural Traditional Media of the Philippines: Essays, Bibliography, Glossary, Directory* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1991) (reprint from *Cultural Traditional Media of ASEAN*, 1986), p. 246.
- <sup>83</sup> See Adriano Prospero, 'La religione della Controriforma'.
- <sup>84</sup> Prospero, 'La religione della Controriforma', p. 211. See also Adriano Prospero, "'Otras Indias": missionari della controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi', in *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura. Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 26–30 giugno 1980)* (Firenze: Olschki, 1982), pp. 205–34; Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari*, passim.; Ginzburg, 'Folklore, magia, religione', p. 657.
- <sup>85</sup> See the detailed discussion of this point in Fabio Baroni, *Maggio. Ipotesi su un fenomeno di teatro popolare. Catalogo della mostra 'Immagini del maggio'* (Lucca: Amministrazione Provinciale di Lucca, Centro Tradizioni Popolari, 1987), especially pp. 38–9.
- <sup>86</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. xxv.
- <sup>87</sup> To use James Clifford's term. (See James Clifford, 'Sites of Crossing: Borders and Diasporas in Late 20th-Century Expressive Culture', in *Cultural Currents [Journal of the East–West Center Program for Cultural Studies]* 1 (January 1993), pp. 1, 3–4.)
- <sup>88</sup> Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines*, pp. 225–6.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 609.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.

- <sup>92</sup> In the town of Piddig, for example, returned domestic helpers from Italy have built Italian style houses, grow Italian vegetables, and even speak Italian in the market (Alicia Pinggol, personal communication).
- <sup>93</sup> See Gastone Venturelli, 'Incontro con il folklore garfagnino', in *La Provincia di Lucca* 16.3 (luglio–settembre 1976), p. 48.
- <sup>94</sup> See Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, pp. 629–33.
- <sup>95</sup> See Venturelli, 'Incontro con il folklore garfagnino', pp. 48–9.
- <sup>96</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
- <sup>97</sup> Barwick and Page, 'Performance Spaces/Imaginary Places', p. 3 of typescript.
- <sup>98</sup> Stanford, 'Mexico, II: Folk Music', p. 238.
- <sup>99</sup> For Italy, see Barwick and Page, 'Performance Spaces/Imaginary Places', and di Chiera's film *The Joys of the Women*, where extra-regional origins of the *moresca* sword dance are hotly denied by Ischian emigrants in Australia. For the Philippines, see Teofilo del Castillo y Tuazon and Buenaventura S. Medina Jr, *Philippine Literature from Ancient Times to the Present* (Quezon City: Teofilo del Castillo, 1966), p. 107: 'The *comedia de capa y espada*, commonly known as the *moro-moro*, is unique in the sense that no nation has conceived and staged a similar play. It is only the Philippines that has engrossed herself in the creation of *moro-moro* to such an extent that this work eventually became identified with the Filipino way of life for nearly two centuries . . . [the *moro-moro* is] believed to have originated from the traditional armed encounters between the Christian and the Muslim Filipinos'. With discovery of the *komedya*'s international links, however, it is now regarded by most Filipino intellectuals as an instrument of Hispanic indoctrination and domination (see Tiongson, 'An Essay on Dulaan', p. 18).

## Further Sources

- Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica Lyra*, edited by Charles Jacobs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978; first edition Seville, 1554)
- Diego Pisador, *Libro de musica de vihuela* (Genève: Minkoff Reprints, 1973; facsimile of first edition, Salamanca, 1552)
- Maggio 'La vendetta di Fidalma' edited by Andrea Bertei, as performed by the Piazza al Serchio company, led by Andrea Bertei, at Piazza al Serchio (LU), 4.7.93. Hi-8 video recording by Linda Barwick and Allan Marett (Barwick field tapes VT93/10–11)





*Plate 1: The 'Christian' (in this case Aragonese) side of the Burgos komedya stage 17 February 1993. (Photograph: Linda Barwick)*

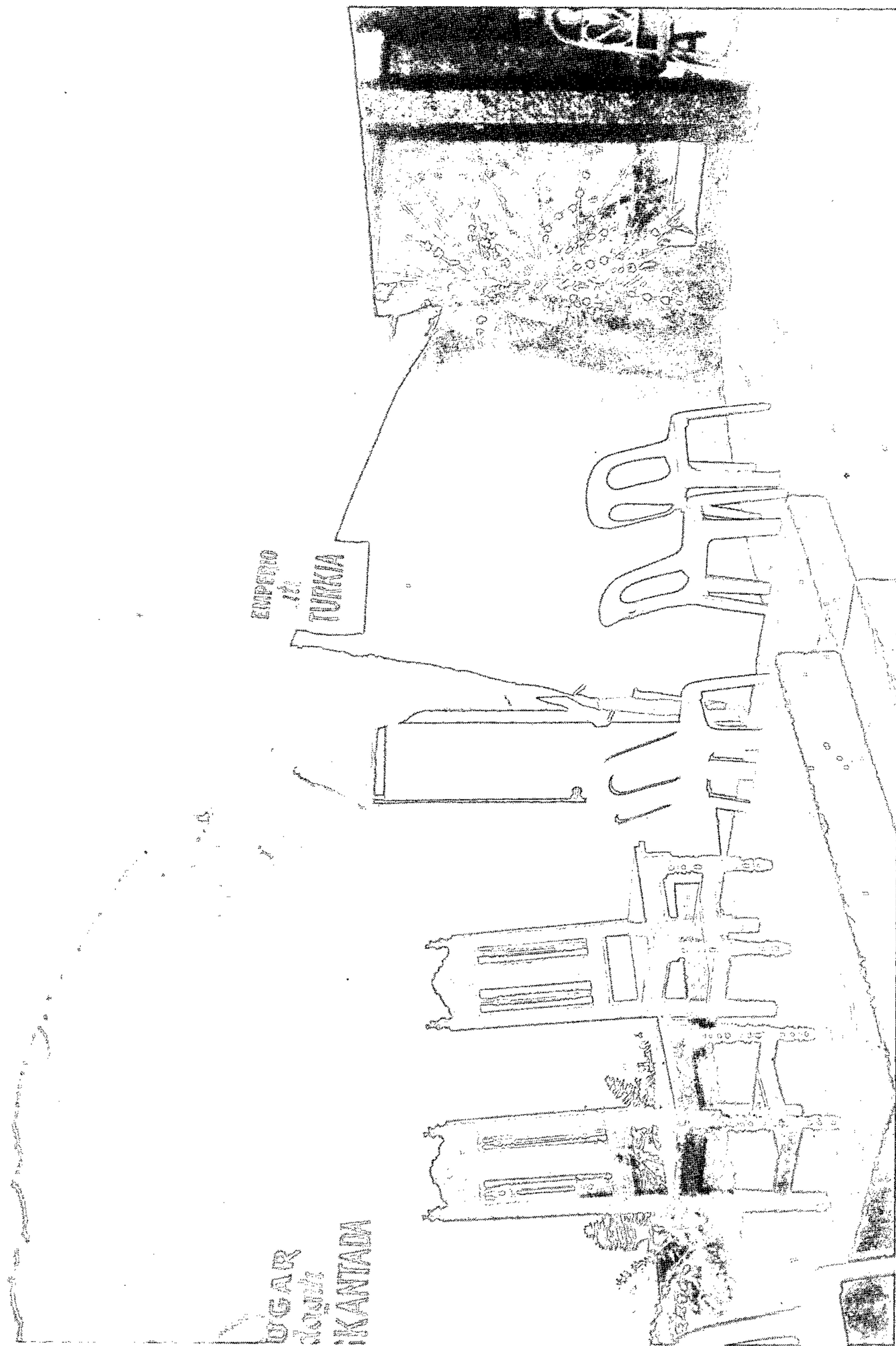
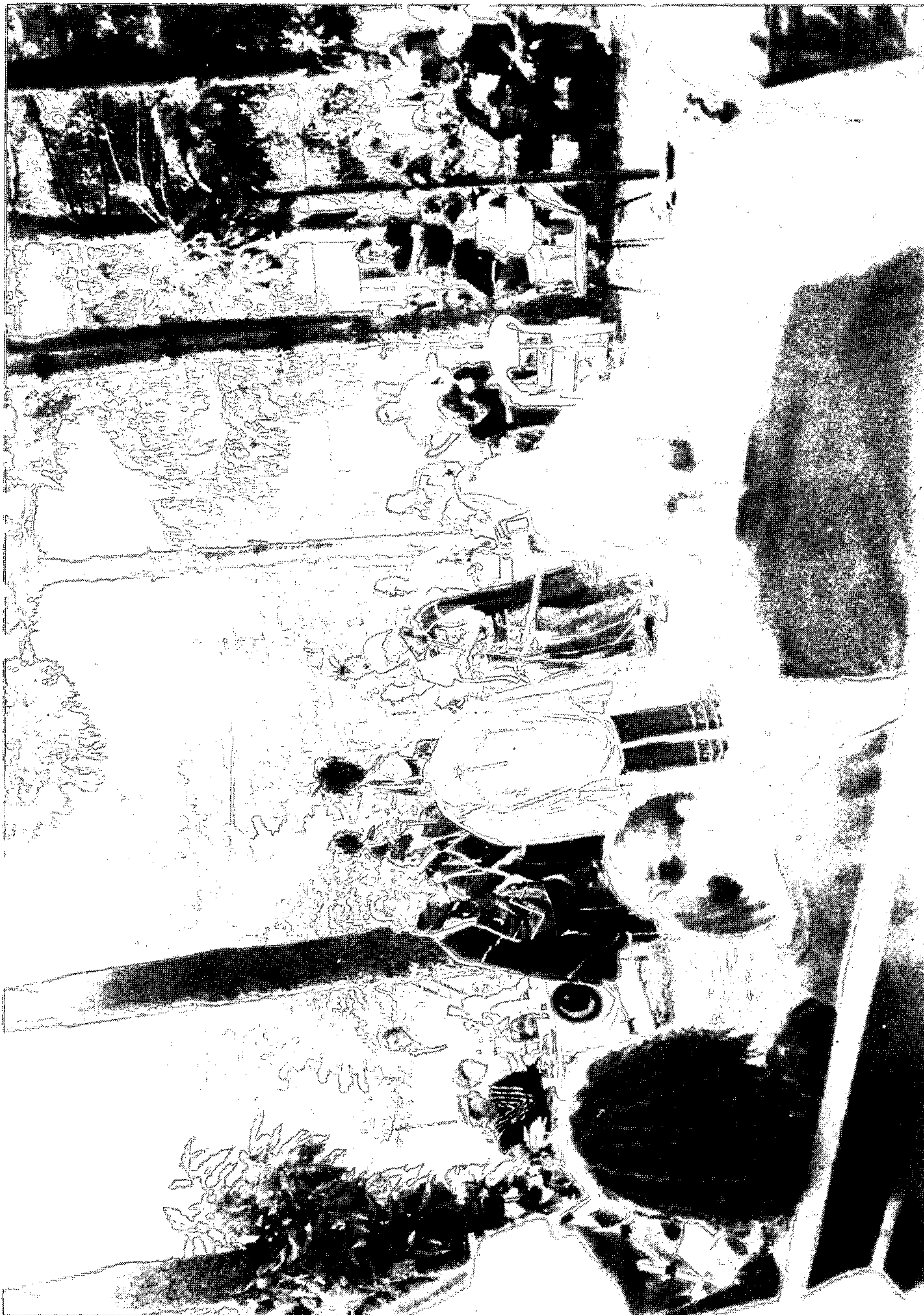


Plate 2: The 'Moorish' (in this case Turkish) side of the Burgos komedya stage 17 February 1993.  
(Photograph: Linda Barwick)



*Plate 3: The 'Christian' (in this case, Syrian) side of the maggio performance space at Piazza al Serchio 4 July 1993.  
(Photograph: Linda Barwick)*



*Plate 4: The 'Muslim' (in this case, Egyptian) side of the maggio performance space at Piazza al Serchio 4 July 1993.  
(Photograph: Linda Barwick)*