

The Godly Ilongga as Performative and Surplus: A Textual Analysis of *Flores ni Maria Santisima*

Cyril Belvis [University of the Philippines—Diliman]

For more than two centuries, the galleon trade formed a trade monopoly between Spanish America, the Philippines, and China (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 62). With maritime peace implemented by the British navy, European merchants and smugglers could directly trade with China which caused huge losses. The galleon trade ceased after its last ship left Manila in 1815 (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 75). Faced with a changing tide, the Philippine colonial government had to reform and search for a new way to generate revenues. In 1778, Governor-General Jose de Basco y Vargas started an economic reform in the colony by establishing a tobacco monopoly which paved the way for other export crops like hemp and sugar (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 76). When Manila opened its port to foreign trade in 1834, social changes like migration and cash-wage employment ushered the Philippines (or at least the capital) to modernity. For example, in 1822 Manila's population was estimated at 100,000, but increased fifty percent by the middle of the century (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 78). Since the capital offered opportunities, people left the provinces to look for work in the city. In 1856, Henry Ellis, a British navy officer, related about his stay in Manila where he found women working at a tobacco factory:

I had been standing in the rear of the cheroot manufactory [...] and the young ladies who had

attracted my curiosity, instead of coming out of the church of Binondo, which stands in the rear of the 'Fabrica', were girls leaving the latter establishment after their day's employment of cheroot and cigar-making. (Zaide 1990, p. 91)

Two economic indicators spelled out growth: the appreciation of the peso relative to the US dollar (1831-1859), and the steady rise of exports from P1,956,754 in 1837 to P9,082,868 in 1859 (Corpuz 1997, p. 184). Besides, the colony forged trade relations with the United Kingdom, British India, China, the United States, and Germany (Corpuz 1997, p. 185).

Iloilo opened its port in 1855, but the first foreign trading ship did not arrive until four years later (Corpuz 1997, p. 180). When the British vice-consul Nicholas Loney arrived in Iloilo in 1856, he paved the way for the development of sugar export in Iloilo and Negros Occidental (Loney 1964, p. 45). When the sugar price went up in the world market because of the Crimean War, he saw its viability as export crop. His 1857 economic report to the British Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell exuded confidence to the success of sugar trade:

If therefore in 1859 [...] one or two British ships can be despatched from hence, it will afford me great satisfaction to be able to announce to you a fact which may be looked upon as the probable commencement of a new era for the Bisayan trade. (Zaide 1990, 135)

The development of sugar planting for export brought Iloilo into the arena of world capitalist economies. Loney reported the number of foreigners increased from three in 1840 to sixty in 1857 (Zaide 1990, p. 104). Second, cash-wage employment orientated workers to a new form of economy based on monetary compensation. Third, the sugar boom formed the *hacenderos*, a new elite group who profited from sugar export and owned huge tracts of sugar land.

Lastly, retailers need not ship for imports from Manila; direct foreign trade in Iloilo port made imports accessible and retail goods cheaper (Sonza 1977, p. 53). Although foreign trade turned the colonial economy into a ‘dual economy’, the economic historian O.D. Corpuz admits the social impact of foreign trade on Manila and other ports: ‘The foreign trade brought the islands into the modern world. It was featured by urban businesses in Manila and the port cities and coped with market fluctuations in demand, price, and currency exchange rates, tariffs, and so on’ (1990, p. 197). Historian John Allan Larkin also arrives at the same conclusion: ‘Sugar created a native elite, prestigious and powerful who, despite their disparate provincial origins, acted together with the collusion of foreigners to shape the course of Philippine modernization’ (2001, p. 8).

This paper renders a textual analysis of *Flores ni Maria Santisima*, whose excerpts I have translated from Hiligaynon. Written by the Augustinian Raymundo Megia Lozano, it was printed in 1867 by Colegio de Sto. Tomas during his term as parish priest of San Miguel, Iloilo (Lozano 1964). I suggest a reading that centers on the production of the godly Ilongga, the woman of Iloilo, as a surplus value against the backdrop of Iloilo’s increased economic activity during the mid-1800s. There is a connection between the novena as a text and the growing capitalism in Iloilo, but this is not based on a cause-effect relationship. Instead, the practice of the novena does *not* go against the capitalist logic of accumulation; the devotee builds up heavenly wealth through the practice of disciplinary strategies recommended in the novena.

The paper focuses on female devotees without implying that the practice of the novena excludes males. The interest for women as readers of devotionals is motivated by missionary accounts of

women's religiosity. For example, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Augustinian Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga wrote in *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* about the decline of religious instruction among the natives:

They are less superstitious but more given to vice. They hear Mass more frequently but go to confession less regularly. *The women are more inclined to be devout.* Many of them go to communion on great feasts, but some of them, and many men, do not make their Easter duty. (Schumacher 1987, p. 235; emphasis mine)

Yet he promptly commented about women's propensity towards religion. Fifty years later, the British diplomat Sir John Bowring observed the widespread female attachment to religious paraphernalia:

Indian women [Filipino women] are seldom seen without their religious ornament. They have rosaries of corals or pearl beads, medals or copper or gold, having figures of our Lady of Mexico or Guadalupe. The scapulary is generally found hanging by the rosary. (1963, p. 95)

Therefore, the analysis of Flores predominantly uses the feminine pronoun for the devotee based on the accounts of the religious milieu in the Philippines. Furthermore, the nineteenth-century Ilongga differs from other subject positions, and could be analyzed separately from her male counterpart.

The Spiritual Economy

Pastoral modalities of power comprise disciplinary techniques developed by the Church as strategies for the care of the soul. Pastors, as 'technology of power', is theologically established on the paternalistic relationship between the church leader and his members (Foucault 1979). In 'Omnes et Singulatim' Foucault

identifies how the Hebrew metaphor of shepherding was expounded in the writings of the Church Fathers into a technology of knowledge. Two practices are vital in pastoral modality: the individualizing knowledge which probes into the soul of the believer, and the mortification of self-will (Foucault 1979). Pastoral modality of power — in its original religious form or its translation into governmentality — goes hand in hand with developments in economic relations of society. Weber writes,

[...] religious or magical behaviour or thinking must not be set apart from the range of everyday purposive conduct, particularly since even the ends of religious and magical acts are predominantly economic. (Weber in Morris 1987, p.69)

The economic bustle in Iloilo necessitated an increased contact between non-Catholic foreigners and the Ilonggos, which could hasten the proliferation of ‘the ideals of liberalism’ (Sonza 1977, p. 14). New ideas could disrupt the colonial system hinged on religious discourse, as exemplified by the Spanish government’s reluctance to open more ports upon the suggestion of British businessmen (Sonza 1977, p. 15). Indeed, Spain was already beset by liberals and the subsequent opening of the Suez Canal facilitated the transference of ideas from Europe to the Philippines (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 80-87). Colleges for girls increased after the 1863 royal decree implementing the public school system (Abinales & Amoroso 2005, p. 93). They offered piano and vocal lessons, and also handiwork; some colleges even conferred the degree *maestra* (Sunga 1999, p.105-107). Since education after the 1863 royal decree was still predominantly under the auspices of religious orders, schools still emphasized the ‘religious and cultural formation’ of their female students (Sunga 1999, p. 95). They devoted time to learning household work, spiritual exercises, and the practice of virtues.

Women's curriculum included home economics, and contributed to the transformation of women into docile bodies which could produce a surplus of both material and spiritual value, or the 'more-worth' of a body (Spivak 1996, p. 56).

The passion for heavenly reward (*gloria sa langit*) consequently leads to a search for an iconic sign of surplus. In a capitalist economy, Spivak connects surplus value with female function:

[B]y suggesting that woman in the traditional social situation produces more than she is getting in terms of her subsistence, and therefore is a continual source of the production of surpluses, *for* the man who owns her, or *by* the man for the capitalist who owns his labor-power. (1996, p. 56)

Trained for domesticity, a woman's unpaid services in the house become a surplus value for the family. If the woman indeed possesses surplus value, how did she become one in nineteenth-century Iloilo? Her production of holy practices, the iconic signs of godliness, supposedly brought divine favor to the family. Furthermore, she reinforced the hegemonic image of the patriarchal woman, the practice of subjectification that operates at the interiority of the subject to produce a corporeal signifier for patriarchal capitalism. This operational definition alludes to Spivak's image of the womb as a workshop in the economic and biological sense (1996, p. 53). If one were to deploy the etymology of 'hysterical', the remorseful tone of the devotional substantiates her productive/reproductive function as a 'womb' in both biological and spiritual dimensions. To function as a surplus, she must yield more than just material goods, such as handiwork, food, and household services. As a signifier of 'godly Ilongga', she must be on her knees, and with hands clasped in prayer like the Blessed Virgin. The favors bestowed through her piety became the spiritual

products, which testified to an attempted reproduction of the ideal image of *nuestra madre piadosisima* (our mother most pious). For example, *Flores* sets down the proper way of praying to the Virgin: ‘Kneel in front of her picture, and offer flowers underneath her feet. Pray the rosary as you clasp the flowers’ (Lozano 1964, p.3).¹ Spiritual exercises also involve a regimental employment of time: ‘They [the devotees] know that Saturday is the day the Holy Mother the Church has assigned to honor and praise the Virgin Mary. So offer her fasting and other forms of penitence to prove that you are her conscientious devotees’ (Lozano 1964, p.62).²

Many aspects of the novena could fit into the logic of capitalism. First, the text is based on asymmetry between the Virgin and the reader: ‘Oh Mother of God! Oh Mother of sweet love! Oh Mother of holy faith! O Mother of divine hope! Bearing our tremendous sinfulness, we face you with all humility’ (Lozano 1964, p.8).³ In the hierarchy of the text, the reader assumes the role of the supplicant and the Blessed Virgin as the powerful mediatrix between humanity and God. Mary’s role did not run counter to the dynamics of commerce in Iloilo. In the spiritual realm she functions like the middlemen who proliferated during the sugar heyday. Day 8, *Maria es nuestra madre protectora* (Mary is our mother and protector), describes the role of the Blessed Mother: ‘For according to the prayer ‘Hail holy Queen,’ the holy mother is indeed our

¹ *Lumuhod kamo sa atubangan sang larawan ni Maria Santisima, kag sa ubos na sia pagpunihi sing mayo pangadion ninyo ang Rosario kag gripahon ninyo ang mga bulak.*

² *Nasayran nila ang adlaw nga Sabado amo ang adlaw nga ginlalang sang Sta. Iglesia sa pagdayawa kag sa pagtahud kay Maria Santisima, kag gani ila ihalad sa mahal nga Birhen and pagpuasa kag ang iban nga penitensya sa pagkamuod nga debotos sila ni Maria Satisima.*

³ *O iloy sang Dios! Iloy sang madalig nga paghigugma! O Iloy sang santos nga pagtuo! O Iloy sang santos nga paglaum! Bisan makasasala kami nga daku umatubang kami sa Imo sa daku nga pagpaubos.*

spiritual intercessor in the presence of God' (Lozano 1964, p.29).⁴ Furthermore, the rhetorical style foregrounding the difference between the writer (Lozano) and the addressee (reader) implies an asymmetry in the power to articulate. By speaking for the reader, the author constructs a subject who must speak the words written for her in advance. In the first day, *Buenaventuras los que aman y sirven a Maria* (Blessed are those who serve and love Mary), the relationship is already staged as an act of pleading by a debtor (Lozano 1964, p.11). Central to the asymmetrical relationship, spiritual debt becomes the rationale of praying the novena.

Second, the message of remuneration has an accumulative undertone because it demands upright living in preparation of an afterlife. In *Tiliman-anan* Lozano encourages the reader to perform the *Flores* annually because of its benefits: 'May you employ *Flores ni Maria Santisima* every year because you will gather benefit from it and She will reward your devotion' (1964, p.4).⁵ The *pananglit* also emphasizes a spirituality based on heavenly reward, as revealed in two stories. The first comes from Day 20, which tells the story of P Martin Gutierrez, a martyred priest: 'And when Fr Gutierrez died in the hands of the infidel Huguenots, the holy Mother rewarded him by appearing with the company of holy virgins who brought his body to heaven (Lozano 1964, p.63).⁶ The operative binaries in this account are Catholic/Protestant, afterlife/present life, reward/punishment, gain/loss. The construction of the 'self' links

⁴ *Ang aton Iloy Santa Maria, amoy sia ang kumalagon kag umalampo naton sa atubangan sang Dios siling sang pag-abi-abi ta sa iya sang Maghimaya ka Hari.*

⁵ *Kabay nga unta nga inyo tumanon sa katuigan ang mga FLORES NI MARIA SANTISIMA agud mapuslan ninyo sing daku kay agud baslan kamo ni Maria Santisima.*

⁶ *[K]ag sang pagkamatay sang amo nga Pari sa mga Hugonotes nga dili Kristianos, umatubang ang Diosnon nga Iloy kaupod niya ang mga Santa nga ulay nga nangaput sila sang bangkay ni Padre Gutierrez, kag dinala nila sa langit nga amo ang balus ni Maria Santisima.*

smoothly with capitalist ideology through the activation of exclusionary terms. Another story talks about a *datu* (chieftain) who was brought back to life to repent because of the intercession of the Blessed Virgin in the heavenly tribunal of her Son. The commercial undertone of the text could be summarized by such faith in the merit of holy practices: ‘Without doubt we will profit from serving and invoking Her’ (Lozano 1964, p.30).⁷

Lastly, the devotional circulates spiritual currency; it reminds the reader that she gains indulgence through a faithful recitation of the prayers for the whole month (Lozano 1964, p.6-7). The devotion to the Blessed Virgin, patroness of the colony, was a highly commendable practice to such an extent that the bishops of Manila and Cebu granted eighty and forty-day indulgences, respectively. With prayer understood as currency for grace, Lozano ends *Tiliman-anan* by asking for the reader’s prayers: ‘Pray for me’ (1964, p. 4).⁸ The introductory song — to be chanted daily — declares this lyrically: ‘Let us show our love to our Mother/offer flowers in Her month/that She may shower us mercy’ (Lozano 1964, p.8).⁹ Feelings and good intentions alone would be insufficient; repentance must be demonstrated by the action of the body: ‘Repent so that the Blessed Virgin would reward you as She rewarded the man in the following story’ (Lozano 1964, p.86).¹⁰ All these practices are different technologies of confession. Christianity, according to Foucault, is a confessional religion because ‘it imposes very strict obligations of truth, dogma, and canon, more so than do the pagan religions’ (1988, 40).

⁷ *Kay sa waay duhaduha mapuslan ta ang pagsirbe kag pagdangup sa iya.*

⁸ *Kag kabay nga ig-ampo ako ninyo sa iya.*

⁹ *Gugmaon ta ang aton Iloy,/Halaran ta ang Flores Niya/Agud hatagan kaluoy.*

¹⁰ *Pagpenitensya agud baslan ka ni Maria Santisima subong nga binaslan niya ang tao sa sining pananglit.*

Adapting to the new economic environment of Iloilo, pastoral power evolved into a panoptic mode of governmentality. The public education system facilitated her transformation into a reading subject who could participate in the textuality of religion. She could speak about piety, but religious controversy was men's domain (Crawford 1996, p.75). The parameters of the text, such as its rhetoric and regimentation, enforce pious believing. Day 25, *Fede de Maria* (Mary's faith), is especially devoted to exhorting the reader to emulate Mary, *Iloy sang Santos nga pagtuo* (the mother of devoted faith) (Lozano 1964, p. 74). It details instances from Mary's life which display her unwavering belief in the messianic mission and divine nature of Christ. For example, even if Christ was born in a stable, she believed him to be the omnipotent creator of the world; despite his silence against false accusations, she held on to him: *sia ang maalam nga way katubtuban* (Wisdom before the creation of the world) (Lozano 1964, p. 74). *Santos nga pagtuo* reverberates in Day 29, *Obediencia de Maria* (Mary's obedience), because the connection between faith and unquestioning obedience is clearly expressed:

Endeavour to imitate the obedience of the Blessed Virgin for it is the most desirable of all virtues in the sight of God and our Blessed Mother. If you are indeed a devotee of the Blessed Virgin, you shall practice obedience. Take heed and do not resist the commandments of God but also the mandates of authorities. (Lozano 1964, p. 86)¹¹

Pastoral modality of power imposes complete submission of the reader's body to religious discourse. She must read with faith, or

¹¹ *Ilugon mo, Kristiano, si Maria Santisima kag magpasugot ka kay ang pagpasugot amoy ang isa ka birtud nga mahiyunan sing labi, dili lamang sa Dios kundi sa mahal nga Birhen. Kon deboto ka nga matuod ni Maria Santisima, tumanon mo ang pagsugot, kag dili ka maglalis kag magbatuk, dili lamang sa mga sugo sang Dios kondi sa mga sugo sang punuan.*

else the text becomes a condemning instrument that excludes her from the community of believers. Without total surrender of mind and body, the text would reflect an anxious disjunction between subjectivity and speech act.

The Godly Ilongga as Production

Social order entails four types of technology to maintain its existence: The *technologies of production* allow individuals to manipulate things while the *technologies of sign system* allow the use of symbols for communication; through the *technologies of power*, society acquires an ‘objectifying capacity’ to determine an individual’s conduct; with *technologies of the self*, individuals regulate their bodies in accordance with the mechanisms of power and the competencies expected of each individual (Foucault 1988, p.18). The function of *Flores* as a technology of the self is an interesting intersection between the process of truth production and the practice of truth upon one’s body. In *Flores*, Mary is addressed in different appellations which the devotee must contemplate each day. For example, in Day 22 (*Humildad de Maria*) her humility becomes the subject of the reading, which reiterates the holy practices discussed in the previous day (Lozano 1964, p.66). The author reminds the reader to adhere (*ginatuman*) precepts because those who do so are blessed (*managpalaran*). He proceeds by quoting St. Augustine who said that those who follow are immediately (*madali*) assisted by Mary and the Saints. Lozano uses the Magnificat as Mary’s definitive statement of the precious value of humility (Lozano 1964, p. 67). The text presents Mary as the epitome of the servant who constructs the truth by her word and

deed. It further consolidates practices of self-production in both epistemological and corporeal levels by initiating an appellation for the reader. From the beginning, she is called to participate or put on the communal identity of ‘we the baptized’ (*kami nga binunyagan*) (Lozano 1964, p. 9). Hiligaynon has two forms of expressing the first person plural. *Kami* addresses both members of the group and those excluded from it. *Kita*, on the other hand, does not entail the presence of the outsider because the addressees are supposed to be members. Lozano’s use of *kami* is peculiar because it designates the presence of ‘you’ as the other (*kamo*). Through the other, the production of identity is concretized because a referent exists in its excluded form. In short, truth production recognizes differentiation. Furthermore, *binunyagan* (baptized) follows the pronoun as an appositive that delineates the truth of inclusion because of baptism.

The renunciation of the will is paradoxically productive in a sense that discourse ‘manufactures’ the subject. The *pananglit*, a hagiographic narrative, always accompanies the *leccion* because it illustrates (‘in-flesh’) the truth with stories. The accounts serve as confirmation of the truth and the demonstration of how the process of docility has been infused into certain bodies to produce a beatific self. Because of their miraculous aura, protagonists take on fictive characteristics. But in the accounts, fictiveness remains hidden or silenced so that the simulation of the real is retained. The novena’s narrative invites the reader to dispense the laws of nature and to allow supernatural occurrences as possibilities that happened in the past or may happen in the present. The process of naturalization happens through daily accounts of the same types of supraordinary narratives.

Since basic prayers are not written *in toto*, knowledge about them further corroborates her competency as the praying reader; she

starts with *Ang Timaan* (The Sign), a reminder of the salvific discourse she enters (Lozano 1964, p. 6). She crosses her forehead, lips, and heart, followed by the traditional sign of the cross. The forehead is crossed to sanctify the mind, the lips to purify them in preparation for the novena, and the heart to melt it with the love of God. She imposes upon herself the ‘truth’ of the cross to ‘en-flesh’ the sign through the regulation of the body. She demonstrates the cyclical nature of truth production: she produces the truth just as the truth produces her. If the cross is the emblem by which she enters the fold, then it must be actualized through her. It suggests that without her body to cross with, the symbol remains a paleonymy only. The body and the cross may exist separately in the display of power relations, but such existence may not actualize the colonialist religious discourse. The female body must turn into a location for the repetition of the cross as a signification of colonial/pastoral power. After *Ang Timaan*, she prays *Ginuo ko Jesucristo* (act of contrition), which has an illocutionary character promising conversion of ways by conformity with the colonial will. The instructions given to the Augustinian Andres de Urdaneta, a sixteenth-century missionary, embody this purpose:

Teach them especially the obedience that all Christians owe to the Supreme Pontiff and to the Roman Church, always the ruler, head, and teacher of all other churches in the world. Teach them also to obey their legitimate princes and lords, and to live beneath the yoke and discipline of faith, hope, and charity, and to forget the former superstitions and errors of the devil. (Schumacher 1987, p. 13)

Using direct address all throughout the devotional, the author reminds the reader of her identity as *Kristiano* (Lozano 1964, p. 44). The repetitive manner of the style embeds her identity in two ways. First, it suggests an iteration of her personhood being linked to the

church militant (church on earth) and church triumphant (the company of God and the blessed). I want to bring out the etymological meaning of iteration (from Latin *iter*, ‘way’) as path for an acceptable representation of the self. The text sets beforehand the mental image of *Kristiano* as the licit signified of the devotee. Furthermore, re-iteration is supposed to protect against transgression through a constant reminder of the ‘right’ way. An awareness of the other as a disruptive presence underlies the text, which works on the *kami/kamo* binarism. Daily devotion produces by foregrounding *Kristiano* because the regimented body is expected ‘not only to believe certain things but to show that one believes’ (Foucault 1988, p. 40). Ironically, the circumspection about the other manifests the potent iterability of her performance as both repeatable and transgressive. Regulative practices are failed attempts to replicate *Kristiano* and to obliterate the incursion of the other. Second, repetitiveness is a labial performance by which the truth supposedly produced *upon* her is also re-produced *by* her. She undergoes subjectification, an ‘active self-formation’ through dividing practices that perform the truth (Foucault 1984, p. 11). At the surface, docility is spiritual, but in fact it is corporeal because her identity as *Kristiano* is embodied through an aspirate. If that which passes through her lips is a profession of subject-hood, then truth is a repetitive creation — which, for Foucault, is a ‘system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution and operation of statements. Truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it’ (Foucault in Hacking 1986, p.35).

In Day 26, *Esperanza de Maria* (Mary’s hope), the body must be guarded from the touch of pagan healers because it destroys the soul: ‘Ah! Indeed what lack of hope in God! Foulest sinners

against this virtue are those who implore the *babaylanes* for cure' (Lozano 1964, p. 77).¹² Clothing as material that touches the body, and hence the corporeal appendage of the soul, must align itself with the care of the soul. Devotees should wear scapulars for spiritual protection: 'On the Saturday after their death, those who wore the *Karmen* (the garb of the Third Order Carmelites) and affiliated with the *Kopradiyas* will be released from purgatory through Mary's intercession' (Lozano 1964, p.54).¹³ The text suggests that the spiritual realm shares a spatial similarity with the material world: the salvation of the soul is connected with a certain day. Time, as a material category, also measures non-material realms like heaven or purgatory.

Supplementary actions for praying the novena allow her to participate more fully in the life of the church. For example, Day 18 recommends joining *kopradiyas*, congregations with religious duties like praying the rosary, attending masses more frequently, confessing regularly, and doing penitence; these congregations are bulwarks against evil (*panulay*) because they serve as spiritual shelter and source of indulgences (Lozano 1964, p.56). The metaphor powerfully connects with the reader's colonial experience in a *reduccion*, an exclusionary manipulation of space creating a subject through a series of differentiation: *Kristiano/Moro*, civilization/savagery, *reduccion*/hinterlands, safety/danger. In Day 29, *Obediencia de Maria*, the Blessed Virgin's *voluntas* (will) to fulfil human salvation epitomizes the connection between the spiritual and the bodily, the interior life and the colonial life.

¹² *Ah! Kulang nga gayud ang paglaum sa Dios kag gani makasasala sa iya kag sa sning birtud ang magpabulong sa mga babaylan kag ang maglaum sa ila, kon may mga balatian.*

¹³ *Ang mga nanagbiste sang Karmen kag nanagkonprades man pagabawion sila ni Maria sa Purgatoryo sa Sabado nga madason sa ilang ikamatay.*

Voluntas utters the Word for the redemption of the human race, or, to borrow Classen's (1998) term, the 'redemption of the senses'. Obedience is central to the formation of a docile body because it allows the incorporation of the Word (the Spanish will, if read politically) into one's practices. Hence, Mary is set as an example of a malleable body that fleshes out the Will of God. Joining *kopradiyas* requires the production of truth about oneself through confession, a regimented time to bare herself through 'aspiration' (utterance). To receive purification through the Blessed Virgin, she must declare her spiritual impurity: 'Cleanse and purify, Oh Mother most undefiled, our miserable souls' (Lozano 1964, p.8).¹⁴ Confession and fasting possess methodical similarities because they lay the body 'bare' before the interrogating discourse. While fasting empties the body of extraneous elements that could stimulate concupiscence, confession discharges the soul from the guilt of unspoken offences. Hence, the physical practice of 'emptying' coincides with the spiritual 'emptying' of one's abject element. Keeping her soul bare, she allows herself to be poured by the Savior; in her emptiness she receives the Truth. The ironic etiology of truth demonstrates its dubious process because truth does not originate from the 'self' as much as it points to the construction of the self as truth's mediated agent. Foucault sums up pastoral power as 'the entire history of procedures of human individualization in the West' (Foucault in Golder 2007, p.173).

Conclusion

Speaking about the technology of power, Foucault used the image of a vein to describe its expansive effect:

¹⁴ *Tinloan kag himpitan Mo o senyora ang amon mga kalag nga makaluluoy*

When I think of the mechanics of power, I think of its capillary form of existence, of the extent to which power seeps into the very grain of individuals, reaching right into their bodies, permeates their gestures, their posture, what they say, how they learn to live and work with other people. (Foucault in Martin 1996, p.188)

Pastorate combined with capitalism fashioned a subject that could produce commodities and truth through self-regulation. The individualization of the subject happens through the iterability of the 'godly Ilongga.' Repetitive performance of that category produces a surplus which mimics the accumulateness of capitalist ideology. Since the 'godly Ilongga' is an elusive signified, it linguistically lapses from one signifier to another, resulting in an erratic iterability. As the corporeal signifier who inadequately performs the category, she develops into a discrete individual who becomes a location for discipline during confession and devotional reading.

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