# CHAPTER 1

**Toilet Papering the Cultural Edifice: Jose Maceda’s *Cassettes 100* as Philippine Happening**

**Introduction**

**[fig. 1.1]** On the evening of March 8, 1971, following a curious performance at the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), clusters of people milled about as they made their way towards the lobby’s front doors. Above the crowd hung large chandeliers dripping with tiny Venetian crystals and expensive capiz seashells. Their costly procurement and presence signaled First Lady Imelda Marcos’ desire to construct a spectacular international center for the arts in Manila, the capital city of the Philippines. On that particular night, however, piles of unrolled toilet paper and crushed tissue littered the CCP’s pristine floor. A stray sheet or two of crinkled paper dangled from the CCP’s second-floor ledge; their height and vertical orientation mimicked the strands of chandelier in vulgar fashion. Nathanial Gutierrez, then documentary photographer for the CCP, captured a bird’s eye view of the scene from the CCP’s open third floor ledge.[[1]](#footnote-1) His high vantage point flattened the suspended crystals into the white mess of paper on the ground floor, collapsing not only the space, but also the hierarchical distinction between the two materials. While the typical concert might result in some misplaced bits of rubbish, the generous accumulation of crumpled paper revealed the peculiarity of that night’s performance.

The strewn paper had once comprised the backdrop of *Cassettes 100*, an avant-garde music concert/sound happening orchestrated in the CCP’s lobby by Jose Maceda. Maceda was an esteemed composer and ethnomusicologist at the University of the Philippines-Diliman who cited Edgard Varese and Iannis Xenakis as important influences.[[2]](#footnote-2) The chapter explores how *Cassettes 100*,one of the earliest and most significant examples of a happening in the Philippines, anticipated refusal as an elastic and indistinct form under Ferdinand and Imelda Marcoses’ dictatorship. In spite of claims that art within the CCP necessarily served the Marcoses’ cultural agenda, *Cassettes 100*—in its paradoxical challenge to and fulfillment of sensorial experience specific to the regime’s technological and socio-political concerns—configured the newly inaugurated CCP as a place in which doubt and contradiction persisted through the occupation of art. Through Maceda’s treatment of sound and space, *Cassettes 100* revealed the CCP to be a collection of vulnerable and ambivalent spaces rather than a colossal institution exclusively bound to the desires of governmental instrumentalization.

Maceda used newspaper announcements and cassette tapes to encourage public participation in the happening. In lieu of trained musicians, *Cassettes 100* called for one hundred volunteers to descend upon the CCP lobby wielding their own cassette players. **[fig. 1.2]** Each volunteer played a unique cassette that Maceda had recorded from his detailed score to create a cohesive composition. Maceda intended these cassettes to replace “several musical instruments emitting composed sounds of gongs, buzzers, harps, shells, leaves, flutes, sticks, zithers, human voices, blocks, tubes, clappers and so forth” to create “one complete music not based on melody, but on densities, permutations, filters, windows, and screens.”[[3]](#footnote-3) Maceda also provided the volunteers with five numerical diagrams, which illustrated each performer’s intended placement and activity within the CCP’s circling corridors and central lobby. These instructions indicated that after completing the diagrams, the performers were to rewind the cassettes and play them again to “original choreography” by Alice Reyes.[[4]](#footnote-4) Teodoro Hilado, then technical director of the CCP, designed the light projections used for *Cassettes 100*, and artists Jose Joya and Ofelia Gelvezon created its unusual set of streamers, toilet paper, and large sheets of paper hung from the ceiling and the ledges of the CCP hallways.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Daily newspapers such as the *Manila Chronicle* headlined *Cassettes 100* as a “novel music happening”[[6]](#footnote-6) and the *Manila Times* described it as a “happening at CCP lobby” that was a “total immersion in environmental sounds.”[[7]](#footnote-7) During the 1970s, mainstream publications in the Philippines often used the term “happening”to refer to conventional art, performance, and literary events in the 1970s. The *Manila Journal,* for example, would use “This Week’s Happenings”as the heading of a conventional list of art exhibitions and music performances. Those same publications, however, also employed the term “happening” in association with American artist Allan Kaprow and his carefully orchestrated situations.[[8]](#footnote-8) *Cassettes 100*’s emphasis on sound and highly scripted nature situates it as a concert of “new music”[[9]](#footnote-9) and within the canon of “happening”: a range of events, situations, and performances blending art and the everyday coined by Kaprow in the 1950s.

**[fig. 1.3]** Posters for *Cassettes 100* alsoadvertised it as a “A Sound Happening by Jose Maceda.” In notes for the performance, Maceda further characterized the performance as “an avant-garde music composition” that was “presented in a sort of ‘happening’ or an ‘event.’” [[10]](#footnote-10) His placement of quotation marks around the words “happening” and “event” indicate that he intended these terms—and their affiliated forms—as direct citations. *Cassettes 100* included what Maceda himself described in 1966 as John Cage’s penchant for “chance” and his use of “‘events,’ noises, electronic sounds, and all kinds of sound material in an indeterminate organization.”[[11]](#footnote-11) Maceda’s decision to place both the terms “happening” and “event” in quotations for *Cassettes 100*’s program notes linked the performance to his earlier reference of an “event” in relation to Cage, who premiered his most iconic oeuvre of *4’33”* in 1952 in New York City, where Maceda was studying composition and musicology.[[12]](#footnote-12) Kaprow also owed debt to Cage: the former had coined the term “Happening” in 1958 while he was attending a weekly experimental composition course taught by Cage at the New School of Social Research in New York City.[[13]](#footnote-13) Under Cage’s tutelage, Kaprow conceived of Happening, “a form in which a number of events take place together in space and time, never to be repeated in exactly the same manner.”[[14]](#footnote-14) Happenings ranged from “the highly scripted to the spare and conceptual.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

Like Cage’s events, happenings also implicitly included an element of indeterminacy, which, according to Stephanie Rosenthal, contained a level of risk with the introduction of the general public. According to Rosenthal, Kaprow’s *18 Happenings in 6 Parts* (1959) “gave way to a radically free artistic form in which the individual participant is crucially entrusted to take responsibility for his/her own actions/experience.”[[16]](#footnote-16) Both “happenings” and “events” referred to in notes for *Cassettes 100* rely on an open-endedness of form that included individual mediation. This key characteristic of happenings permitted the audience members and participants of *Cassettes 100*—similarly “entrusted to take responsibility for his/her own actions/experience”—to act as a faceless crowd that could trash the CCP from within.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Conceived as a happening in the corridors and lobby outside of the CCP’s Theater for Performing Arts, *Cassettes 100* allowed Maceda and its participants to reconfigure how space was used within a state-controlled cultural institution in a country on the brink of martial law. Maceda’s citation of an established avant-garde practice disguised *Cassettes 100*’s political undertones and permitted its entrance into the CCP under Imelda Marcos, a patron of the arts who wanted to establish the Philippines as a nation relevant to the international art world.[[18]](#footnote-18) During *Cassettes 100*, soft bodies—one hundred of them carrying cassette players—packed together as they circulated within the confines of the CCP’s concrete walls. The sounds emanating from these moving sources created an immersive sonic environment that absorbed the individual into a collective drone. The pretense of performance art and the indeterminacy specific to happenings generated a site for spontaneous action as bodies absorbed into an anonymous crowd emerged to temporarily deface the CCP without repercussion. By fitting *Cassettes 100* within the internationally accepted paradigm of a happening, Maceda and his collaborators could adorn the lobby with vulgar materials antithetical to the CCP’s ritzy interior—the literal toilet papering of a cultural edifice.[[19]](#footnote-19)

**“Slab of Sanctified Carpeted Concrete”: The CCP and its Critics[[20]](#footnote-20)**

*Cassettes 100* took place in the corridors of the University of the Philippines Faculty Center on March 5 and in the lobby of the Cultural Center on March 8, 1971. Co-sponsored by the University of the Philippines-Diliman Council on the Arts and the Cultural Center of the Philippines,the Faculty Center iteration was intended for students and faculty members and the second performance at the CCP was open to the public.[[21]](#footnote-21) Maceda circulated a press release that called for volunteers to carry the cassettes during *Cassettes 100* in Manila newspapers two months before the event. The announcement required participants to bring their own battery-operated cassette tape recorders and gave priority to those who registered in person with the secretary of the College of Music at University of the Philippines-Diliman, hereafter referred to as UP.[[22]](#footnote-22) Despite its affiliation as a public university, Ferdinand Marcos, himself a UP graduate, had failed to quash the University as a hotbed of activism in the 1970s. Universities such as UP would later be one of the few sites in Metro Manila that people could assemble for political protest during martial law, which Marcos declared one year after *Cassettes 100*.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Protests against the Marcoses had already surfaced before Ferdinand’s declaration of martial law in 1972. Shortly after the beginning of Marcos’ second term, students organized a set of riots and demonstrations that laid Malacañang Palace—the Marcoses’ official presidential residence—under siege.[[24]](#footnote-24) From January to March in 1970, in events that would later be called the First Quarter Storm, students at UP and nearby Ateneo de Manila University led three months of violent student protests directed at Marcos and the colluding United States government.[[25]](#footnote-25) That same year, students at UP also humiliated Marcos when they usurped the University radio station to broadcast a recording of Ferdinand Marcos engaging in intimate acts with Dovie Beams, an American actress who starred in one of Marcos’ propaganda films.[[26]](#footnote-26) Maceda’s affiliation with UP and the privileging of those who registered in person at the university suggested that *Cassettes 100* drew its performers from a largely leftist, politically conscientious pool of students who rallied against the Marcoses. *Cassettes 100* assembled these untrained volunteers, mostly from UP, to perform within the CCP, a visual, technological, and acoustical symbol of Philippine modernity and progress constructed under the Marcoses’ consolidation of power.

Soon after Ferdinand Marcos had taken office in 1965, Imelda conveyed her desire of creating a performance venue in the Philippines that would rival international concert halls. At her first press conference as the First Lady, Imelda proclaimed: “My dream is to have a theatre—a completely equipped auditorium where artists can find full expression of their talent. Something like Carnegie Hall, perhaps.”[[27]](#footnote-27) Though the CCP was intended to be a state repository of Philippine culture intended for a local audience, critics of the Center noted that its programming consisted largely of international performances flown in from abroad, which diminished the CCP’s intended purpose as the custodian and incubator of national culture.[[28]](#footnote-28)

The CCP Main Theater did function like a local Carnegie Hall with a roster of world-renowned performers such as Harvey Lavan “Van” Cliburn, an American pianist who received the International Artist Award in the Philippines in 1974.[[29]](#footnote-29) Since Imelda was interested in forming international alliances during the 1970s, she often entertained foreign dignitaries at the Cultural Center as part of her diplomatic strategy. During the Cultural Center’s opening festivities, which included American representation by then California governor and his wife, Ronald and Nancy Reagan, Imelda mused about the importance of the institution, stating, “A nation must have a place for Art, or it remains a strange sitting in the shadow, outside the sunlit circle of the human family.”[[30]](#footnote-30)

The CCP continues to be a prominent example of local Brutalist architecture and visual allusion of the Philippines’ bid for an international modernity in the 20th century. Filipino architect Leandro Locsin had designed the CCP—one of Locsin’s most recognizable buildings in the Philippines—against the scenic backdrop of the Manila Bay. When he had received the commission, Locsin, who had long been entrenched in the Manila art scene, had already obtained international and local recognition as the recipient of various awards, including a Pan Pacific Architectural Citation by the American Institute of Architects for consistent design in 1962 and a Gold Medal as the most distinguished alumnus of University of Saint Tomas in 1968.[[31]](#footnote-31) He would also receive the prestigious National Artist of the Philippines for Architecture in 1990. Nearly a decade before Locsin designed the CCP, the Philippine-American Cultural Foundation, comprising Filipino and American trustees, had commissioned Locsin to design a multi-functional theater in Quezon City.[[32]](#footnote-32)

While the theater for the Philippine-American Cultural Foundation was never realized due to conflict between the trustees, the original plans resemble the CCP’s design. Locsin translated the Philippines’ architectural understanding of space to the *bahay kubo*, or *nipa* hut—a rectangular structure resting on stilts—into “crisp modernist vocabulary.”[[33]](#footnote-33) The initial plans for the Philippine-American Cultural Foundation resemble Locsin’s Brutalist interpretation of *nipa* huts as a rectangular block lightly raised from the ground. Architectural historian Gerard Lico describes the plans for discarded Philippine-American Cultural Foundation theater as “a cantilevered rectangular slab… suspended above ground by thin, graceful curvilinear supports, which…were made to vanish into the shadows created by the exaggeratedly projecting eaves.”[[34]](#footnote-34)

Locsin submitted similar plans for the CCP. During its inaugural year, Filipino writer Nick Joaquin declared the CCP as “a most remarkable phenomenon of architecture: a great massive block of stone that seems to have been lifted up into the air and to be lightly poised there, sustained without effort.”[[35]](#footnote-35) Lico argues that this aesthetic was particularly Filipino as the concept of a massive block that appears to float with lightness recalled a rectangular house lifted onto stilts—a commonplace sight in the Philippines.[[36]](#footnote-36) The CCP mingles Filipino aesthetics with international sensibility to immortalize the Philippine design into permanent, industrial materials.

Plans for the CCP also differed in location from the initial ones for the Philippine-American Cultural Foundation Theater. Originally, the theater would have been situated on a 10-hectare lot in Quezon City, closer to the University of the Philippines-Diliman in Metro Manila. Imelda expressed distaste for the location and remarked, “When I looked at the property I found that it was full of squatters…So I looked for another place…What I found was water.”[[37]](#footnote-37) The First Lady intended her new cultural complex to resemble the French Riviera. To satisfy that desire, the CCP Theater of Performing Arts was built on reclaimed land along Manila Bay.

Presidential Proclamation No. 20 of March 12, 1966 had authorized “reclamation along Manila Bay and secured a 28-hectare reclaimed land area…to construct, establish and maintain in a single site a national theatre, a national music hall, an art gallery and other such buildings.”[[38]](#footnote-38) Land reclamation involves the creation of previously non-existent land on water by filling it with cement and dirt until the land rose above the water. Lico argues that the Marcoses’ manipulation of “natural physiology…by reclaiming the land from the sea” was a “symbolic gesture not only of its subversion of nature, but also of the impending social changes, especially the declaration of martial law in 1972.”[[39]](#footnote-39) The Marcoses’ reclamation of land—the literal creation of physical place from nothing—was not only testimony to their absolute power but also anticipated the eventual imposition of martial law.

Although the Marcoses had originally conceived of the CCP as a theater space for live performance and musical performances in particular, unused rooms in the building were quickly co-opted as art exhibition spaces. The fourth and third floor rooms, initially used for temporary exhibition, still remain the CCP’s primary visual art spaces. Since a separate structure for the visual arts never materialized, the CCP Theater of Performing Arts building hosted Manila’s most promising artists, choreographers, and composers. They would often congregate and collaborate on various projects; *Cassettes 100* benefitted from the close proximity of Filipino creative talent. Aforementioned Joya and Gelvezon, both prominent artists in Manila, organized the visual aspects of *Cassettes 100*, and Reyes, a top Philippine choreographer, planned an accompanying set of dance movements to follow Maceda’s initial diagrams. Many well-known artists of the period also contributed their labor to the CCP. Painters Fernando Zobel, Arturo Luz, and Cesar Legaspi designed murals around the Center, while sculptor Vicente Manansala donated the bronze wall sculpture at the entrance of the theater.[[40]](#footnote-40) H.R. Ocampo also donated his painting *Genesis*, which was used as the template for the drop curtain in the Main Theater.[[41]](#footnote-41)

Through its visual reference to international architecture and its mastery of natural physiology through the reclamation of land, the CCP symbolized the Marcoses’ consolidation of state power and commitment to rapid—and internationally legible—modernization. As the grand pet project of the First Lady, the CCP was criticized for using State funds and land to subsidize a building she had claimed would be mostly privately funded.[[42]](#footnote-42) Senator Benigno Aquino, Marcos’ formidable political adversary whose assassination in 1983 provoked the People’s Power Revolution, thought the government could more effectively use the money to serve impoverished populations. During the building’s inaugural years, he questioned the CCP’s legality of using State funds and its potential to truly benefit the people of the Philippines.[[43]](#footnote-43)

The CCP’s entanglement with the Marcoses also created suspicion towards those who exhibited at the institution. Artists such as Marciano Galang and David Medalla, the latter of whom an avant-garde artist known for his “bubbling machines” and “pervasive influence over young ‘rebels,’”[[44]](#footnote-44)picketed at the opening of the CCP.[[45]](#footnote-45) Medalla also called Locsin “a freak architect for designing the ‘monstrosity,’” and was “very vocal about the Cultural Center not buying his bubbling machine.” [[46]](#footnote-46) In another article criticizing the CCP shortly after its inauguration in 1969, Marra Pl. Lanot also argued that the CCP “breaks the unity of the artists…Only the yes artist and the name artist will make it to the Center, never the young talented rebel on the left of the Center.”[[47]](#footnote-47) After Lanot’s criticism, programs such as Roberto Chabet’s *Thirteen Artist Exhibition* and Raymundo Albano’s *CCP Annual* belied the notion that “rebel” artists were prohibited from the CCP as both programs promoted young and often provocative artists. Medalla’s *Bubble Machine*, listed as an example of kinetic art, was even exhibited in 1971 in the CCP’s *The Fifties, A Tribute to Lyd Arguilla* exhibition.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Scathing criticism of the CCP common during its inaugural years dubiously subsided as the decade progressed under the Marcoses. Purita Kalaw-Ledesma—the founder of the Art Association of the Philippines—and Amadis Ma. Guerrero suggest in *The Struggle for Philippine Art* that despite early “misgivings” that the CCP would be used as a “political weapon” through the years, this “suspicion seems to have died down.”[[49]](#footnote-49) The decreased “suspicion” might have occurred because Ferdinand Marcos began to suppress freedom of press during martial law, including closing the weekly *Philippine Free Press*—the Philippines’ oldest, most respected publication that circulated information on Marcos’ affair with Dovie Beams and much of Senator Aquino’s accusations against the CCP.[[50]](#footnote-50) As the Marcoses’ regime exerted control over the usual outlets (e.g. press and radio) used for public protest in a functioning democracy, people found creative ways to exercise forms of refusal or self-determination right underneath the prying eyes of authority.

That Maceda chose to site *Cassettes 100* in the CCP lobby rather than the Main Theater redefined the function of specific spaces in the state-supported institution. The CCP was not only a visual representation of modernity through what Lico describes as a “progressive image of Manila…through distinctive modern architecture,” but its Main Theater was also a symbol of sonic modernity through its command of reverberation.[[51]](#footnote-51) Hailed as “an acoustical marvel” by the *Business Chronicle*, the CCP Main Theater symbolized the Marcoses’ aspiration of sonic modernity in the Philippines.[[52]](#footnote-52) Engineers from Bolt, Beranek, and Newman, a top acoustical consulting firm from the United States, worked to bring perfection to the Main Theater, the centerpiece of the CCP.[[53]](#footnote-53) Since the CCP’s Theater was designed to host a range of performances with various sonic concerns, acoustical engineering had to account for those differences. The engineers incorporated variables such as a sound-absorbing curtain that could be lowered behind an acoustic wire mesh and adjustable sound reflectors hidden from public view to accommodate the type of reverberation needed for different performances.[[54]](#footnote-54)

These accoutrements allowed the Main Theater to control its reverberation, which Emily Thompson describes as “the lingering over time of residual sound in a space” that marks the specificity of that place.[[55]](#footnote-55) The technological command over reverberation, Thompson explicates, was “modern because it was perceived to demonstrate man’s technical mastery over his physical environment, and it did so in a way that transformed traditional relationships between sound, space, and time.”[[56]](#footnote-56) In a *Business Chronicle* article discussing the CCP’s construction in 1970, V.S. Sambo observed that the Main Theater auditorium could carry “sound, clear and unblurred, to the furthest seat so that every member of the audience felt himself the epicenter of soaring sound.”[[57]](#footnote-57) Just as the reclamation of land exhibited the conjugal dictatorship’s authority over nature, the attention paid to reverberation also demonstrated “mastery over their physical environment” as representative of the regime’s “progressive image.”[[58]](#footnote-58) The flattening of reverberation, which had previously been a building’s acoustical signature, had the consequence of producing a “modern sound [that] was easy to understand, but…had little to say about the places it was produced and consumed.”[[59]](#footnote-59) That the Main Theater’s superb acoustics allowed it to transmit sound as well as, or better than, other major concert halls meant that it could be any concert hall in the world.

**[fig. 1.4]** Maceda’s decision to situate *Cassettes 100* in the lobby—an open and public area immediately outside the Main Theater—denied the CCP fulfillment of its function as a sonic marvel equivalent to other premier concert halls.[[60]](#footnote-60) While acoustical engineering in the Main Theater controlled reverberation, the bank of glass doors that faced Roxas Boulevard, a broad boulevard full of city noises, failed to seal out sound from the world outside. Despite the exclusive car ramps that encircle an enormous fountain and the expanse of green lawn in front of it that separate the front of the CCP from the street, everyday sounds like honking car horns seep through the cracks between the doors.[[61]](#footnote-61) These sounds would consequently become part of the immersive sonic environment produced by *Cassettes 100*.

Not only was noise from the outside world included in the happening; the building’s transparent facade also expanded *Cassettes 100*’s set to include the area outside of the CCP. Like the hanging pieces of paper, the urban expanse was part of the backdrop to *Cassettes 100* as people circulated in front of it during the happening. Colored lights from *Cassettes 100*’s lighting design alsoprojected through the CCP’s transparent facade onto the surfaces outside. The light’s reach reciprocated the outside world’s intrusion into the happening as the happening also infringed upon the world outside. While the Marcoses’ crusade for international modernity created a performance venue that could exist anywhere, *Cassettes 100*, sited just outside of the Main Theater, emphasized through sound and sight the specificity of place—the city of Manila through the CCP’s transparent façade.

Notes on *Cassettes 100* also emphasize the importance of siting it in the “corridors” as a way to integrate the “artistic sound world” into public life. According to the notes:

A music played in corridors rather than on the stage brings artistic sound world into the everyday life of men who work in buildings. At the same time the participation of the public in the production of sound exemplifies the role of the masses in today’s life—in industry, consumption of goods, and political participation.[[62]](#footnote-62)

Maceda suggested that *Cassettes 100*, which obtained performers through mass media announcements, “exemplifies the role of the masses” in the public realm, including “political participation.”[[63]](#footnote-63) He acknowledged the potential of the mass of sound and bodies within the controversial CCP as one that could resemble political participation or protest. The absence of an elevated stage and lack of conventional spotlight obscured the visibility of the distinct performers. Volunteer performers and audience members fluctuated in and out of being seen and not seen as lights flashed around them; everyone participated in watching and being watched. The inclusion of an untrained public within an unconventional space permitted people to eschew the usual codes of behavior for concerts at the institution.

Maceda’s siting of *Cassettes 100* in the corridors and lobby of the CCP, rather than its carefully engineered theater, permitted people to contemplate how, like the structure of *Cassettes 100*, they could position themselves in physical and metaphorical structures of power in non-complicit, but not immediately critical, ways. Maceda created a participatory space in which the outside world and all its noises—antithetical to the ideals of Marcoses exemplified by the command of reverberation in the CCP Main Theater—might be incorporated into the happening. Though *Cassettes 100* made use of the CCP’s infrastructure and space, it did so outside of the place prescribed for musical performances. *Cassettes 100*’s locationrefused to fulfill the building’s function as an acoustical marvel and symbol of sonic modernity.

**Cassette Recording and the Drone in *Cassettes 100***

Situating *Cassettes 100* in areas immediately outside of the Main Theater was not Maceda’s only rejection of the CCP as an acoustical feat. His inclusion of one hundred cassettes spurned the CCP’s technological advancements intended to support live music—both local and from abroad—in the Philippines. While Locsin’s architectural plans for the CCP also acknowledged elements of the local culture through conceptualizing the Filipino *nipa* hut into concrete, the musical programming within the institution did not favor local instruments. During the months following the opening of the CCP, one of its major objectives was to bring foreign artists to enrich the Philippines’ cultural development and to establish it as a center for the arts in Asia. These included performances such as ones by the London Philharmonic, whose members described the Main Theater as “acoustically the best they have performed in.”[[64]](#footnote-64) Local or native music lagged in support compared to the piano, a more internationally recognized form of performance. [[65]](#footnote-65) Maceda, however, was committed to using native instruments made from local materials for his compositions.

*Cassettes 100*—Maceda’s only composition to exclusively use cassette tapes—drew inspiration from his years of diverse musical education and research in the Philippines, France, and the United States. This included frequent visits to Varese’s apartment while Maceda studied composition and musicology in New York and the study of *musique concrete* under Pierre Schaeffer, who had also worked closely with Varese, at the French National Radio.[[66]](#footnote-66) During Maceda’s time in Paris, he also visited *Musee de L’homme*,where his observation of gongs and other non-Western musical instruments at the museum inspired him to consider these instruments as sources of sound for *musique concrete*. As part of his doctoral studies in ethnomusicology at the University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA), he completed his dissertation on fieldwork in the Philippines by recording local instruments and music throughout the archipelago.

In “Philippine Music and Contemporary Aesthetics,” Maceda explicates: “In the same way that modern art is making use of primitive basketry, woodwork, and pipes, and their basic materials—bamboo, rattan, woods—modern music is using concepts of older music.”[[67]](#footnote-67) Maceda places music within a modernity that references the particularities of Philippine instrumentation; modernity was not, therefore, contingent on an ahistorical development or progress, but rather it requires acknowledgment of the past. Using “primitive” materials, as articulated by Maceda, was not a new concept, but rather one that was being concurrently examined through visual art practices. By using instruments made from indigenous materials, Maceda put forward modernity in the Philippines that relied on its peculiar place over international equivalency and contemporaneity.

One of Maceda’s earliest groundbreaking works to use indigenous instruments was *Pagsamba*, or *Music for a Religious Ritual*, which premiered at the University of the Philippines Circular Chapel of Holy Sacrifice on January 24, 1968.[[68]](#footnote-68) A precursor to *Cassettes 100* in Maceda’s treatment ofsound masses and careful mapping of performers in architectural space, *Pagsamba* included one hundred musicians who played instruments such as clappers, buzzers, scrapers, or sticks; one hundred vocalists who “utter high and low pitches in dense and thin combinations”; five groups of five male vocalists who chant/sing/mumbled disjointed lines; and two groups of gongs, each made up of eight people, for a grand total of 241 participants.While *Cassettes 100* included detailed diagrams to dictate the changing positions of the cassette-wielding participants, *Pagsamba* included a circular plan for its performers **[fig. 1.5]**. In his notes for *Pagsamba*, Maceda emphasized:

Space is also a part of the structure of this musical creation, which is conceived for a circular hall. Each of the 100 instrumentalists, each of the 100 vocalists, and each gong player occupy a seat along with the audience…Any person whether musician or listener, wherever he may be seated, would receive an impact of sounds different from those viewed by another seat in another segment of the circle.[[69]](#footnote-69)

*Pagsamba* was Maceda’s earliest experiment in producing sound masses, or sound clouds, with specific architectural space in mind. The performance included the participation of a number of musicians and singers, including the Ellinwood Chancel Choir, Far Eastern University Glee Club, Manila Cathedral Male Chorale, University of the East Mixed Concert Chorus, UP Conservatory of Music Students, and UP Madrigal Singers among others. While Maceda had composed *Pagsamba* to be sited in a circular auditorium, his notes for the performance indicate flexibility in the composition’s instrumentation. Maceda claimed that “as an experience, *Pagsamba* may be conceived of in different ways—as a stereophony of live sounds produced by individuals, as music that can be transmitted by computing and electronic machines, and as malleable sound which can assume different shapes following the sounds of similar musical instruments found in various cultures.”[[70]](#footnote-70) He further suggested that one could also simply seat 241 loudspeakers in the circular hall, with each loudspeaker animated by a separate sound track.[[71]](#footnote-71) Maceda acknowledges, however, that 241 machines would fail to capture the imperfection and imprecision of 241 people.[[72]](#footnote-72)

While Maceda proposed multiple alternative ways—including one that only used machines—to “experience” *Pagsamba*, *Cassettes 100* further pushed Maceda’s experimentation with shifting sound masses through space. Instead of the single static diagram used for *Pagsamba*, *Cassettes 100* included five diagrams with specifically numbered positions from one to one hundred that corresponded with the individual cassettes and the people carrying them. As an ethnomusicologist, Maceda was also fond of tape recording’s capacity to document and disseminate “a comprehensive connection with the past”—particularly of musical practices that were slowly disappearing in the Philippine provinces.[[73]](#footnote-73) Yet, the practical qualities that permitted the tape recorder—a portable and relatively affordable device—to function well as a tool for the ethnomusicologist also made it possible for it to be used in more nefarious circumstances.

Tape recording was undoubtedly a fraught medium in Manila when *Cassettes 100* premiered at the CCP. In 1970, students commandeered the university radio station to broadcast recordings of Marcos in an intimate moment with American actress Dovie Beams.[[74]](#footnote-74) As his primary mistress during the late sixties, Beams had secretly tape-recorded the couple’s private trysts. The US Embassy had offered her $100,000 cash in exchange for the recordings, but she refused. Instead, Beams held a press conference at the Bay View Hotel across from the Embassy, where she played recordings of her illicit encounters with Marcos to reporters. Unknown to Beams, two of these clever reporters also secretly recorded her tapes in the hotel room during the press conference. One of these bootlegs made its way to the UP’s student radio station, where it was again played for the station’s listeners. [[75]](#footnote-75)

The Dovie Beams scandal demonstrated tape recording’s capacity to bear witness and relay information to harm Marcos by exposing the fragility of his authority. A minor actress from Tennessee could use sound recording to implicate the President Marcos in a humiliating public predicament. The tapes became “a major topic of mirth and gossip” and made Marcos look “ridiculous.”[[76]](#footnote-76) The clandestine nature of tape recorders allowed anyone to replicate and propagate a moment that embarrassed Marcos and his claim of control—both of his personal life and of the people. Hamilton-Paterson even suggests it is not “beyond speculation that the act of declaring martial law contained an element of rebound from the confusions and depression of the affair with Dovie Beams.”[[77]](#footnote-77) That Beams was unable to restrict circulation of her own covert recordings demonstrated the potential of the people to mobilize in unpredictable ways to subvert Marcos. The memory of tape recording’s capacity for unbridled dissemination of information was fresh when Maceda composed *Cassettes 100*—a concert that called for one hundred people brandishing cassette recorders through an edifice that symbolized the Marcoses’ cultural power.

The exclusive use of tape recorders over live instrumentation also permitted people with no technical or musical training to volunteer as performers in *Cassettes 100*. Alfredo Roces, a critic for the arts column in the *Manila Times*, stated in his review of *Cassettes 100* that the concert sought “the participation of the public in music-making, the playing of music in public places other than concert halls.”[[78]](#footnote-78) Another review of *Cassettes 100* noted, “This is all part of the new thinking that music not need be limited to the capabilities of human voice or the skills of the instrumentalists.”[[79]](#footnote-79) Since anyone could participate in new music, regardless of skill, it demanded the masses to take part in the development of culture. *The Asia Magazine* reporter observed, “Maceda’s idea was to create a truly contemporary music for the ‘mass age’—massed populations, mass production, mass consumption. His theory is that the masses, even if musically unschooled, can take a conductive role in the creation of music.”[[80]](#footnote-80) Maceda’s decision to use tape recording—an easily accessible form of technology—emboldened mass participation.

Mass participation invited disorder. ThoughMaceda intended participants to simultaneously play their cassettes to produce one penultimate performance, he was more than aware of the potential for human error. The volunteers were unlikely to turn on their cassette players at precisely the same moment and move through the CCP lobby into their positions at the same pace. Since each performer brought a personal cassette player, the quality of the sound from the disparate apparatuses would also be variable. Yet, since the sounds of *Cassettes 100* depended on drone rather than melody, the performance permitted for a lack of precision since the drone was readily absorbed in the hum of a crowd. While a line of melody requires individual components to be perfectly, or at least closely, timed, the drone can be imprecise but still “make one complete music”—the bustling noise of a mass of bodies as they move through space.[[81]](#footnote-81)

According to his accounts and graduate school fieldwork, instruments from Asia prominently featured drone—the consistent repetition of a singular note, or set of notes— rather than melody—a linear set of notes that comprised a pleasing, musical harmony. In a paper presented at the *International Conference on the Traditional Drama and Music of Southeast Asia*, Maceda discussed his research on Philippine instrumentation and states, “In bamboo scrapers for example, there is neither a scale nor a melody to speak of.” He later described these instruments as producing single, steady rhythms—the drone—that he used consistently in *Cassettes 100*’s composition*.*[[82]](#footnote-82) The sounds that he recorded onto the cassettes produce a complete musical composition that, according to his press release, was “based not on melody, but on densities, permutations, filters, windows and screens.”[[83]](#footnote-83) *Cassettes 100*’s score alsodesignates long sections in which one note is played repeatedly over a span of time, including a few pages labeled “Grains,” which lists drums, pebbles, aluminum and leaves as its instrumentation in the margin notes of the score.[[84]](#footnote-84)

The recording of *Cassettes 100* from its original performance at the CCP begins with Maceda counting down from 10 to 0 over a loudspeaker. The recordingsounds similar to the shuffle of everyday life mixed with instances of music. Gentle strains of flute, crinkling paper, popping and banging noises, and the sound of raindrops consistently hitting a pavement are among those heard alongside the buzzing murmur of people’s voices in the recording. The bustle of the physical crowd moving about the CCP remains indistinguishable from the sound generated by the pre-recorded cassettes. This crowd was generated not only through the noise produced by the immediate presence of people in the CCP, but was also through the pre-recorded cassettes, extending the crowd’s presence beyond the time and space of *Cassettes 100.* The reviewer in *The Asia Magazine* observed, “There was no melody, nor was any melody intended. What each member of the audience heard was an amalgam of sound that deafened, slithered around, faded, irritated, excited and (who knows?) maybe even inspired.”[[85]](#footnote-85)

In *Listening to Noise and Silence*, Salomé Voegelin analyzes the social aspect of noise—the drone in particular—and its capacity to render the dense phenomenological sensation of a crowd through aural perception. Voegelin explains:

As I walk through a busy urban street I try to ignore the incessant hum of thick traffic, the noisy commotion and vocal drone of people around me…Sound renders the crowd massive and pervasive, becoming ever denser and more intimidating, encroaching on my personal space… Switch off the drone of hammering footsteps and the aural hubbub of human activity, the crowd shrinks immediately, the frightful beast is tamed.[[86]](#footnote-86)

In the passage above, Voegelin suggests that the “noisy commotion” and “drone” made by the people significantly enhances the sensation of a crowd that encroaches on “personal space.” While Voegelin describes this encroachment as negative, the aural perception of a crowd could also conceal the individual body. *Cassettes 100* made use of that disembodied sound. The cassette players generated a crowd that extended beyond immediate presence. The crowd in *Cassettes 100* was not only expressed through the physical accumulation of bodies, but enhanced through the aural perception of the crowd, cloaking the attendees of the eventin a sense of anonymity and privacy. Filled with the perpetual drone, Maceda’s composition sonically obscured individuals within *Cassettes 100* into a faceless crowd that was primed for action without consequence.

Maceda’s use of drone rather than melody permitted a lack of precision since the drone could be absorbed in the hum of a crowd. While a line of melody requires individual components to be perfectly timed, the drone can be imprecise but still “make one complete music” that included noise from the bustling masses.[[87]](#footnote-87) The social engagement of the volunteer participants was heard through the drone produced by their current movements and through the speakers of the cassette players they carried. By pre-recording instruments onto cassettes, the mass was experienced not only through the presence of bodies, but also through pre-recorded sound, extending *Cassettes 100* beyond the immediate time and space of the CCP. Embedded in a large, anonymous mass, nobody and everybody could be implicated.

**“Or do something”: Performing *Cassettes 100* at the CCP**

*Cassettes 100* not only created a sonic impression of a crowd through the drone and the dispersion of one hundred recordings; it also mobilized a physical mass of bodies at the CCP. Unlike the crowds that gathered at student demonstrations in Quezon City, those present for *Cassettes 100* did not explicitly assemble for protest or political interests. Despite the lack of overt affiliation, the chaos and camouflage of the crowd resulted in physical gestures of freedom or self-determination against the standards of control set by Maceda. Concealment afforded by the large presence of bodies, continually flashing lights, and fragmented surfaces of paper resulted in authorized mischief that foresaw how a faceless crowd could provide privacy necessary for refusal or defiance within the political arena.

Prior to the beginning of the happening*,* theuntrained volunteer performers received a set of nine instructions and five diagrams detailing where to go and what to do. These instructions included minor points such as what volume to set the cassette players, how hard to press the levers of the players, and how to clean them with “cotton dipped in rubbing alcohol” before *Cassettes 100*.[[88]](#footnote-88) The set of instructions also specified to “be sure your batteries are fresh.”[[89]](#footnote-89) The directions assert comic control over the minutiae of how participants were to treat their cassette players to maintain a consistency in sound. Yet, thepublic announcement for one hundred amateurs to participate in a performance with minimal rehearsal implied that Maceda expected confusion during the concert. The instructions given to participants before *Cassettes 100* further acknowledged that some volunteers might have skipped the happening’s sole rehearsal, noting that, “Those [participants] who did not rehearse, follow the movements of others who rehearsed.”[[90]](#footnote-90)

*Cassettes 100* required the recording to be played twice. After Maceda’s countdown, performers were to follow the formations diagrammed onto papers given to them before the performance. These handouts noted, “Immediately, after the FIRST performance, rewind your tape CAREFULLY, and go back to your position in Formations I.”[[91]](#footnote-91) The participants were further informed, “The change of formations or positions is every 6 minutes. Flood-lights flashing through the chandelier will signal when the change is due.”[[92]](#footnote-92) Handouts noted that they were also required to check in their shoes, which provided a ritual quality to the performance and prevented the volunteer participants from leaving without prior authorization. The removal of shoes would also muffle the sounds made by the performers’ live footsteps, allowing their bodies to quietly and stealthily move around the CCP.

Five diagrams included in the handouts annotate the positions assigned to each performer. **[fig. 1.6]** “Formations I” consists of the numbers one to one hundred scattered across the entire page. On the left side of the diagram it demarcates a lounge area, and on the right, a set of crudely drawn stairs. These features map the diagram to the CCP main lobby. “Formations I” is labeled as dispersion: the hundred participants were first expected to “stand motionless” and then “relax” in their assigned place for six minutes. Since the first formation called for a diffusion of participants and sound throughout the CCP’s lobby, it encouraged the audience members to also spread throughout the space, weaving through the cassette-wielding performers.

Embedded within the five diagrams are negotiations between the participants and their creator. The dearth of physical floor markers, rehearsal time, or legible numerical order suggest that “Formations I” might not be a diagrammatic programming of positions in real space, but rather an illustration of the random dispersion of bodies intended at the opening of *Cassettes 100*. Its fulfillment seems to require the hundred performers to space themselves out in cooperation with others to resemble the dispersion expressed on the paper. Like the mistimed cassette player enveloped in the drone, an errant performer—one who might stand in the periphery instead of following their assignment towards the center—can still appear to be a part of the intended mix of bodies. The opening formation also emphasizes the lack of a central focal point—an absence of stage—and blurs the distinction between performer and audience member.

Yet, an unmistakable crossed out number “23” left visible towards the bottom left of “Formations I” indicates authorial intention, as if Maceda had decided that *that* particular location was unsuitable for “23.” That the “23” remains visible beneath the imprinted X, signals not only its erroneous placement, but that some forethought must have been given to placing each number. This marker of intention suggests that participants had options: they could comply, adopt a divergent direction, follow someone else, or even mistakenly assume the incorrect position. In spite of their decision (or mistakes), however, the result was the same: the dispersion of bodies occupying the usually unused areas of the CCP.

**[fig. 1.7]** “Formations II” divides the participants into three groups. Two smaller groups of twenty-five are drawn at opposite diagonal corners from one another; the diagram instructs one group to simply sit and the other to form a single file line that “makes(s) a continuous spiral.”[[93]](#footnote-93) The large group of fifty people is labeled as the “walking group,” required to “keep moving.”[[94]](#footnote-94) Despite the lack of elevated stage, the two smaller groups are drawn sequestered together in distinct scenes that might encourage audience members to look upon them like pieces of theater. Dividing these two is the “walking group” that mirrors the behavior of the audience members as they traversed the CCP to observe the sitting and the spiraling performers. Although the possession of cassette players and bare feet made the performers distinct from audience members, in darkness it would have been difficult to discern a performer from a member of the audience. The vast majority of people would thus shift between spectator and performer as they navigated through the different groups in “Formations II.”

**[fig. 1.8]** “Formations III” divides the volunteers into one “big” group and one “small” group.[[95]](#footnote-95) “Formations III” requires the big group, consisting of seventy people, to “go near walls; walk and make the audience walk with you.”[[96]](#footnote-96) The remaining thirty are ordered to sit in the center and instructed to “examine your recorder, doodle, pretend to knit or do something.”[[97]](#footnote-97) The “small” group appears labeled as such not only because they are small in number, but also because their intended movements are modest. Though these gestures are humble, the participants are given a distinct instance in *Cassettes 100* to follow the directions, yet choose their own method of doing so. In this formation, the text in the diagram also encourages volunteers to explore the boundaries of the building by pushing right up against its walls. This is also the first time the diagrams address the presence of an audience. They encourage the performer to “make the audience walk with you” as they walked “near walls,” expanding the perimeters of the prescribed performance space to the very edges of the CCP. The audience members once again blend with the performers as they join them against the walls of the institution.

**[fig. 1.9 – 1.10]** “Formations IV” is labeled as “concentration.”[[98]](#footnote-98) Performers are called to walk in different speeds to the first floor or balcony over the lounge. Then “Formations V” has them disperse again, as they are called to their original position. When the music stops, the diagrams indicate that the volunteers were to “freeze” and hold their recorders “high.”[[99]](#footnote-99) **[fig. 1.11]** In one of Gutierrez’s photographs documenting this moment, most of the participants follow the directions expressed by “Formations V” and hold their recorders high above their heads. In this position, the performers appear as if they were either surrendering to authority or—due to the position of the paper banners above them—holding up posters in protest at the political rally. The photograph captures a moment in which motives seem unclear; the image oscillates between being a representation of surrender or a gesture of dissent. The photograph illustrates how acts of protest or resistance might be veiled as one pose could convey oppositional intentions.

Since the performers were following directions for “Formations V” that demanded they “freeze” and hold their recorders (and thus their hands) “high,” Gutierrez’s photograph might appear to represent an instance of submission—that of adhering to Maceda’s instructions—rather than resistance. Yet, not all of the performers followed directions. To the left side of the photograph is a small, blurry figure who, despite holding a cassette player over his head, seems to have been shifting when this photograph was taken. His face remains indistinct and anonymous. The fuzziness of that figure contrasts with the sharpness of the woman who stands still at the foreground of the photograph. She holds her cassette player high above her head. Though the woman in the foreground followed the directions, the blurriness of the figure behind her implies that he moved despite being ordered to “freeze.” The small size of the muddled body also suggests that it belonged to a child or an adolescent, indicating that everybody and anybody could participate in *Cassettes 100*. This concluded the first half of the performance as the participants waited to play the cassettes again to Reyes’ choreography.[[100]](#footnote-100)

Despite the order implied within Maceda’s methodic diagrams, *The Asia Magazine*, an international magazine published in Hong Kong and circulated in the Sunday edition of major Asian newspapers, described *Cassettes 100* as a “chaotic concert” in which “the brave majority [of the audience] thronged through the lobby… and the jungle of toilet paper streamers hanging from the ceiling.”[[101]](#footnote-101)In another review of *Cassettes 100* in the *Manila Times*, Exequiel S. Molina contrasted the wild ambiance of the evening with the CCP’s dignified décor. He observed, “Psychedelic lighting and streams of paper tacked to the ceiling gave the usually staid Cultural Center an atmosphere not unlike that of a hippy hangout.”[[102]](#footnote-102) He noted, however, that missing from the party “was the distinctive reek of marijuana smoke. And for a good reason: Everyone was cautioned not to smoke because the paper and inflammable decorative materials could easily catch fire.”[[103]](#footnote-103) Yet, even without drugs and impromptu flames, the CCP’s lobby became a chaotic site during *Cassettes 100*. While flashes of light throbbed onto the fragmented surfaces made from suspended planes of paper, members of the audience commingled with volunteer performers as everyone wove through the mess of people and paper in the CCP.

**[fig. 1.12]** Audience members and volunteer participants moved through the CCP lobby between fragmented planes of paper that comprised *Cassettes 100*’s backdrop. Projected onto the blank, broken surfaces were abstracted flashes of colorful lights that were also casted onto the moving bodies of those present. The projection of colored lights into darkness made some people visible and others imperceptible shadows. Instead of one flat, stable screen, the inclusion of varying surfaces comprised a fragmented backdrop that dissolved into the space of the attendees. Yet, the demands of the structure limited the possibility of the building’s dissolution; the planes of paper still had to drape over wires strung across the ceiling or adhere to the ledges of balconies. Simultaneously boundless and bounded, the layered surfaces caused different occasions of concealment within the open lobby. An audience member or participant could disappear behind a plane or become absorbed into the backdrop through the projection of images onto her body.

**[fig. 1.13]** In a photograph that inserts us—the ensuing viewer—in the lobby as part of the dense crowd, bodies blend together in a mass of dark shadows as two bright lights flash on the balcony ledge. On that balcony are more cramped bodies—people who seem to gaze towards the animated crowd beneath them. A mess of blurred arms and hands holding onto what appears to be programs for *Cassettes 100* wave around just under the paper streamers. Some of these hands nearly touch the hanging paper as if they might rip them down from their fixtures, anticipating the eventual mess that would conclude the happening. The photograph’s lack of clarity indicates the constant movement of people as they swayed to the sounds that emanated through the CCP. Despite the stillness of photographic documentation, as a viewer enmeshed within the crowd, one can almost feel the rhythmic throbbing of the scene through the blurred bodies and flailing arms. Like Molina suggested, it was *Cassettes 100*’s semblance to a free-for-all hippy hangout, or even a rock concert, that contrasted with the CCP’s usual decorous environment.

While the instructions include numerical markings as to where the individuals were to stand at any given time, specified movements appeared random, or without purpose, allowing participants to make choices and mistakes during the happening, such as moving when one was to freeze. The formations give order to a gathering of bodies that assumes an element of chance—or failure—and *Cassettes 100*’s environment also called for disorder. Joya and Gelvezon brought trash into the Cultural Center lobby to use as the backdrop of the happening. These cheap materials shift between signifying screens, decorations, and literal detritus, mirroring the precariousness of *Cassettes 100* as an authorized performance and an unsanctioned, psychedelic party disguised as such. The ephemeral quality of the tissue paper and the soft bodies of the large number of people who gathered also contrasted with the CCP’s solid concrete construction.

The second time the cassettes played, the participants were to perform Reyes’ choreography, which was described by Roces as “mass movements akin to Balinese rituals.”[[104]](#footnote-104)Gutierrez captures people performing various gestures and movements, such as synchronously raising their arms in cheerleader like fashion or gesturing towards the sky with cupped hands. In two particularly poignant, yet ambiguous photographs **[fig. 1.14 – 1.15]**, participants sit on the floor of the CCP as they flash the peace sign and flip the bird. Were these also a part of Reyes’ choreography or were they a part of Maceda’s call for a small group of participants to “sit” and “do something”? The veneer of performance allowed *Cassettes 100*’s attendees to enact symbolic gestures that, while not common signs of protest against Marcos in the Philippines, aligned *Cassettes 100* with images of dissent such as student protests against the Vietnam War in the United States.[[105]](#footnote-105) The decision to implement antagonistic gesticulations drawn from American influence rather than the usual raising a fist or an “L” sign—symbols more emblematic of resistance against Marcos in protests—demarcated the boundary for overtly politicized action permitted at the CCP. Yet, similar to how *Cassettes 100*’s form as a Western-inspired happening allowed a crowd of students from leftist UP into the CCP to temporarily trash its interior, gestures such as flipping the bird and flashing the peace sign as non-local gestures also concealed discontent under the guise of foreign exoticism.

As the night progressed, the events shown in Gutierrez’s photographs dissolved into disorder as people tore the paper streamers from the balconies and ledges of the CCP. In the dark, swirls of paper flew through the air like white clouds that wrapped around people and eventually fell to litter the floor. **[fig. 1.16 – 1.17]** Unlike images of protest or political rallies, people generally appeared jovial as they smiled, clapped, danced, and waved around their cassette players. **[fig. 1.18]** Towards the very end, after the lights had already been turned on to envelope the CCP lobby, Maceda also found himself wrapped in the rolls of unraveled toilet paper as the audience, themselves also standing atop piles of discarded paper, gleefully watched.

Amidst the drone of the cassettes and psychedelic lights, the crowd tore apart the pieces of *Cassettes 100*’s flimsy paper backdrop, smashing the debris into the ground as they moved throughout the building. The feckless and temporary vandalism of the lobby appeared to contradict the intention of the Marcoses’ to elevate the CCP as a sacred repository of culture. People gathered not for the purpose of political rally or protest, but for a performance that had lots of rules, yet no concrete goals—a performance antithetical to the Marcos’ goal-driven agenda. Hidden among the throng of bodies and the mess of paper, the crowd provided people the anonymity and privacy to trash the lobby of the institution right under the watchful eyes of symbolic authority.

Most of Gutierrez’s final photographs of the happening, such as the first one discussed in this chapter, capture *Cassettes 100*’s messy aftermath from the upper level of the CCP. **[fig. 1.19]** In one such photograph, paper and people are dispersed throughout the main lobby. Though many of the architectural signifiers, such as walls or other forms of support, have been removed, the height from which the photograph was taken and its inclusion of chandelier strands intimates the grandiosity of place. Bordering the composition are a handful of security officers dressed in black uniforms and distinctive hats. Visible figures of authority, they stand out from the crowd due to their clothing and sturdy wide stances. While others move about or huddled in small groups, these security guards, fixed to the edges of the lobby, retain a slight distance from the crowd as each guard maintains his or her position alone. These guards, however, are not the only ones to be unaccompanied in the photograph.

Towards the center of the photograph, right beneath the sparking strands of a large chandelier, a man raises his arms above his head and returns the camera’s gaze. He clutches what appears to be a program for *Cassettes 100* as he acknowledges that he, and those who mingle around him, are subject to surveillance. Although his raised arms might resemble a signal of surrender, they flare outwards, expanding his body to declare his presence in that space. He might be seen, but he will be seen on his own terms. While motivations for *Cassettes 100* remain unclear,the photograph captures the temporary defacement of the CCP as representatives of authority—the security guards and the CCP’s official documentary photographer—watched. One reviewer of the performance remarked, “To the security guard, the whole thing was a puzzler. ‘What are they trying to achieve?’ he asked.”[[106]](#footnote-106)

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While the CCP was built to embody the internationalist and modernist aspirations of the Marcoses, its physical presence as a visual, tactile, and aural space depended on compromise and reciprocity between authoritarian intent and the artists who—often on their own terms—exhibited at the CCP.[[107]](#footnote-107) Analysis of *Cassettes 100* reveals how the CCP accommodated for art that modeled aspects of refusal, ambivalence or indifference despite its affiliation with the Marcoses. By using the CCP’s lobby and hallways instead of its acoustically designed Main Theater and pre-recorded cassettes in lieu of live instruments, Maceda recognized the possibility of operating outside the usual standards for performances at the state-supported institution. He perceived the CCP as a collection of fluid spaces and set an example for the performers and audience members to enact similar acts of impropriety within structural limitations.

*Cassettes 100*’s detailed instructions and roughly drawn diagrams also gave volunteer participants the framework and the leniency to push boundaries and behave indecorously in the staid CCP as they gave the finger and ripped apart pieces of the set. Free from the burden of a spotlighted stage, specific instrumentation, and musical skill, volunteer performers could be anyone. Without physical separation between the two groups, participants could shift affiliations with an audience member or friend by handing them their “instruments.” *Cassettes 100* invited defiant actions that eluded clear categorization. Volunteers could comply, comply less, or simply abandon the structures and rules altogether by claiming that they were lost, confused, or following someone else in the crowd. Enveloped in the crowd and generated through the drone of the cassettes and the mass of bodies in the CCP, individuals could misbehave and affirm some autonomy over their everyday actions.

Though *Cassettes 100* led the public to deviate from propriety within a behemoth state structure,it also generated international publicity for the CCP and art prioritized by the Marcoses’ state-building efforts. *The Asia Magazine*—a weekly supplement periodical to a large number of newspapers Asia—reported *Cassettes 100* as a “Filipino ‘happening’” to an international audience, which further solidified the performance within the canon of happenings.[[108]](#footnote-108) Unlike Gutierrez’s black and white photographs, the photographs accompanying the article are in color. One of the images exhibited for international publication occupies an entire leaf of the two-page spread reserved for *Cassettes 100*. The photograph, which includes only a few people scattered beneath the paper streamers, captures an early moment in the performance when order still prevailed. The paper is still properly affixed to the ceilings and balconies of the CCP; the photograph seems to emphasize the vertical thrust of the colored streamers, the chandelier strands, and the people. Nobody seems to acknowledge the camera’s presence and no security guards need to be present—everything is in line.

The careful organization in the large photograph, however, contrasts with the title of the article, “Chaotic Concert,” and two smaller photographs on the adjacent page. Captioned as “more scenes from the ‘happening’” in which “colors blur, collide, and slide away from one another,” these photographs show an abandonment of social convention. The chandeliers that illuminate the CCP lobby are no longer depicted and the vertical order rendered by the large photograph has disintegrated into flashes of light and color. These smaller photographs capture the chaos of the colors from the lights that flickered on the surfaces and bodies present at the CCP. In one photograph, people appear to be lying on the floor in a circle under a burst of light. The contrast between the photographs reveal how the order initially established for *Cassettes 100* eventually succumbed to chaos.

*Cassettes 100* and similar artistic practices were effective in compromising authority because the ambiguity and illegibility of their intentions made them difficult to contain. Despite receiving state support under the Marcoses, *Cassettes 100* offered a means for regular citizens to reframe everyday experiences beyond those determined by the state’s manipulation of space, technological knowledge, and other political apparatuses. As what *The* *Asia Magazine* calls a “Filipino ‘happening,’” *Cassettes 100* fulfilled the Marcoses’ cultural agenda bydemonstrating the CCP’s potential as a creative artistic space engaged with contemporary international practices. Similar to Locsin’s design of the CCP as a colossal concrete *nipa* hut, the happening, with its inclusion of indigenous musical elements such as the drone and local instruments, legitimated the CCP claims to represent Filipino culture, including the emerging conceptual and avant-garde dimensions. Yet, the artworks displayed in the CCP, despite their acceptance by the official regime, often defaced or blemished—albeit temporarily—the interior of the edifice in ways that might indicate “veiled critiques from within the institution itself.”[[109]](#footnote-109)

**Coda: *Ugnayan***

With support from the CCP, in 1974 Maceda organized *Ugnayan*, a public broadcast event that “used radio stations as if they were musical instruments.”[[110]](#footnote-110) Like *Cassettes 100*, *Ugnayan* also included a number of pre-recorded cassettes filled with drone-like noises and sounds made by indigenous instruments. Itconsisted of twenty recordings, each simultaneously played over distinct radio airwaves through Metro Manila and six provinces, requiring Maceda to command control over twenty radio stations for the project. The twenty recordings would then blend into a cohesive symphony heard through the city and provinces to expose “hundreds of thousands if not millions” to the event.[[111]](#footnote-111)

*Ugnayan*, or something similar to it, had been on Maceda’s mind since he submitted a proposal of similar scale to the Ford Motors Corporation in 1969called *Music for Automobiles.* In the proposal, Maceda suggested that automobiles fitted with radios and loudspeakers blasting lines of pre-recorded music playing indigenous Filipino instruments circulate Los Angeles’s multi-level highways to create a complete composition.[[112]](#footnote-112) He imagined it as a symphony scaled of the size of a city rather than an auditorium. Though Maceda never realized *Automobiles*, he approached Lucrecia Kasilag, the President of the Cultural Center, following the success of *Cassettes 100* to plan a musical broadcast on similar scale to his failed *Automobiles* proposal.[[113]](#footnote-113) *Ugnayan* eventually received support from the CCP and Imelda.

Prior to the *Ugnayan’s* premier on January 1, 1974, residents of Metro Manila and nearby provinces of Rizal, Bulacan, Pampanga, Laguna, Batan, and Cavite received letters that invited them to a “the world premier” of a “unique socio-musical presentation *Ugnayan*, a simultaneous broadcast by 20 radio stations.”[[114]](#footnote-114) Centers to listen to *Ugnayan* as a full composition appeared all over Metro Manila and these six provinces, including at Roxas Triangle on Makati Avenue.[[115]](#footnote-115) These centers played the radio station broadcasts over twenty loudspeakers.[[116]](#footnote-116) According to columnist Rosalinda Orosa, *Ugnayan* had received “unrelenting media support” and anywhere between two and twenty million people listened to parts of it on the radio.[[117]](#footnote-117)

In order to fulfill his plans for *Ugnayan*, Maceda undoubtedly needed the Imelda’s support to take control of twenty radio stations.Whereas *Cassettes 100* took place shortly before Ferdinand Marcos’s declaration of martial law, *Ugnayan* was performed during some of its peak years. As discussed earlier, under martial law, Marcos took immediate control of television, radio stations, and major newspapers to regulate the circulation of information.[[118]](#footnote-118) In *Radyo: An Essay on Philippine Radio*, Elizabeth Enriquez writes that Ferdinand Marcos, “accused, among others, the vociferous radio commentators who were critical of his administration, of supporting the insurgency and of destabilizing the government.”[[119]](#footnote-119) According to Robert Youngblood, while Marcos had “initially stated that the control of the media was necessary because the press and radio were ‘infiltrated by Communist propagandists’” he later “claimed that continued restrictions were needed to prevent rightest oligarchs from using the media to undermine the goals of the New Society.”[[120]](#footnote-120)

Despite the totalitarian control of mass media, however, ethnomusicologist Neal Matherne suggests that Imelda allowed Maceda to take command of the radio stations as part of “grand artistic projects that celebrated their New Society.”[[121]](#footnote-121) He argues that Imelda’s support was “no neutral gesture” but rather a call for “ordinary citizens…to experience authentic Filipino culture in the form of nativized instruments.”[[122]](#footnote-122) Matherne further contends “the citizen was encouraged by the First Lady herself to join their nation-mates in a constructed public act of unity.”[[123]](#footnote-123) In other words, Imelda’s desire to present the Philippines as a unified nation to its citizens through the appropriation of “indigenous voices” temporarily released control of mass media outlets for the sake of art that might achieve that unity.[[124]](#footnote-124) Moreover, the establishment of listening centers for *Ugnayan* around Metro Manila and the provinces permitted people to publicly assemble in a moment in which people were usually intimidated from public gatherings.

Yet, though Matherne claims that Imelda approved of *Ugnayan* because of her goal to unite the common people, in actuality, Imelda appeared aware that such lofty aspirations were subject to conditions beyond her control. Orosa further noted in her review that while “*Ugnayan* reached the man on the street…this filled Mrs. Marcos, *Ugnayan*’s principal patron, with apprehension. She was launching, full-scale, a project that was too eclectic, esoteric in approach and, therefore, not likely to capture the common *tao*’s [people’s] imagination.”[[125]](#footnote-125) Despite her deep ambivalence about the project’s nation-building potential, Imelda endorsed the project anyway. [[126]](#footnote-126)

The First Lady’s consistent support of “esoteric” and experimental performances and artworks, ones that might fail at forwarding the administration’s agenda, suggested that her interest in art and culture opened a possibility for it to operate outside sociopolitical concerns. *Ugnayan* encouraged people to assemble despite the laws against it, and allowed a composer to take command over twenty distinct radio stations after the government had commandeered mass media outlets such as radio. Whereas the cynic might insist that *Ugnayan* functioned as an example of the Marcoses’ insistent progressivism through the arts, I propose instead that it serves as another example of how Imelda’s desires of advancing the arts and maintaining centralized control of the Philippines were often at odds with each other.

1. Gutierrez served as the “unofficial resident photographer” for the CCP from 1970 to 1974. He passed away on September 21, 1974. According to a tribute to him published in *Marks*,the short-lived CCP in-house publication, Gutierrez had a “reputation for being a ‘specialist’ in Cultural Photography…. In the advancement of the visual arts here, publications like Contemporary Philippine Art, Gallery Hopper, PAMANA, MARKS and others owe its quality to photographs to him and his file of negatives—a file which has become in a pictorial sense, a documentary of our cultural history.” The tribute also suggested that Gutierrez was known for being a “‘pitiless’ recorder” who “openly claimed his non-artistic approach to photography” and who “never show[ed] off any share of his artistic temperament.” “Nath Gutierrez: Cameraman Par Excellence,” *Marks* 1, no. 2-4 (May-Oct 1974): [PAGE NUMBER] I would contest the claim that Gutierrez—who deserves a longer study—was a pitiless recorder and this chapter owes much debt to his photographs documenting *Cassettes 100*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Ramon Pagayon Santos, “Jose Montserrat Maceda: Rebellion, Non-conformity, and Alternatives,” in *Tunugan: Four Essays on Filipino Music* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 125-178 for the most comprehensive overview of Jose Maceda’s biography and works. See also Francisco F. Feliciano, *Four Asian Contemporary Composers: The Influence of Tradition in their Works* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1983). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes, *Cassettes 100* 1971/Jose Maceda File (JM22), Jose Maceda Archives, University of the Philippines-Diliman Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. “*Cassettes 100* Participants,” Music Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. “*Cassettes 100* Participants,” Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. “Novel Music Happening to be Presented at CCP,” *Manila Chronicle*, January 18, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Exequiel S. Molina, “Happening at CCP Lobby: Total Immersion in Environmental Sounds,” *Manila Times*, March 10, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. In his column “Vignettes” in *Business Day* on July 25, 1975 art critic Angel G. De Jesus outlines a brief history of American “happenings” beginning with Allan Kaprow’s publication of “The Legacy of Jackson Pollock.” [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Cassettes 100* invitation opens, “The new music as composed by Jose Maceda is also ancient.” [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. “Background for new Music,” Maceda’s Program Notes at the Philippine Premier of *Ugma-Ugma* at the Phil-Am Life Auditorium, November 27, 1964, Music Compositions/Jose Maceda Folder (JM 13), Jose Maceda Archives, UP Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. While it was unclear if Maceda had actually attended the performance, as a music student he undoubtedly heard about it. Maceda’s main cited influence in New York City is Edgard Varese. He was not only impressed with Varese’s musical ideas and concepts but also “his courage and conviction in his non-conformism vis-à-vis the ‘mainstream’ modernist movement in continental Europe.” Santos, “Jose Montserrat Maceda,” 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Eva Meyer-Hermann, Andrew Perchuk and Stephanie Rosenthal, “Introduction,” in *Allan Kaprow—Art as Life*, editors Eva Meyer-Hermann, Andrew Perchuk and Stephanie Rosenthal (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008) 2; Paul Schimmel, “ ‘Only memory can carry into the future’: Kaprow’s Development from the Action-Collages to the Happenings,” in *Allan Kaprow—Art as Life*, editors Eva Meyer-Hermann, Andrew Perchuk and Stephanie Rosenthal (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008) 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Meyer-Hermann, Perchuk, and Rosenthal, “Introduction,” 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Meyer-Hermann, Perchuk, and Rosenthal, “Introduction,” 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Stephanie Rosenthal, “The Risk of Welcoming the Public,” in *Allan Kaprow 18 Happenings in 6 Parts* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2007), 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Rosenthal, “The Risk of Welcoming the Public,” 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. In her paper on modernism in South Korea, Sooran Choi similarly argues that the introduction of Fluxus in South Korea was not a form of passive influence. Rather the exoticism of Fluxus—an international and primarily Western practice—permitted Korean artists such as Nam June Paik to disguise and exhibit controversial works under the authoritarian rule of Park Chung-hee. From Sooran Choi, “Fluxus Revisited in a Global Context: Fluxus in South Korea in the 1960s and 1993, the Meta-Avant-Garde,” presented at *Multiple Modernisms: A symposium on globalism in post-war art*, Louisiana Art Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark, November 2, 2017. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The inclusion of vulgar materials such as toilet paper correspond to Kaprow’s assertions in his essay, “Happenings in the New York Scene,” in which he noted: “The physical materials used to create the environment of Happenings are the most perishable kind: newspapers, junk, rags, old wooden crates knocked together, cardboard cartons cut up, real trees, food, borrowed machines, etc. They cannot last for long in whatever arrangement they are put in.” Allan Kaprow, “Happenings in the New York Scene,” 1961, in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, edited by Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Shortly after the fall of the Marcos’ regime, art critic and painter Cesare A.X. Syjuco disparaged the CCP as a “slab of sanctified carpeted concrete” in “Old Dog, New Tricks at CCP,” *Manila Times*, April 27, 1987. From Article #50 of Kalaw-Ledesma Foundation, Inc. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Open calls were seen circulated in general audience broadsheets such as *Manila Times* and *Manila Chronicle.* See “A Hundred Cassettes to do ‘it,’” *Manila Times,* January 18, 1971, 13; “Novel Music Happening to be Presented at CCP,” *Manila Chronicle*, January 18, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Vincent Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 136-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. James Hamilton-Paterson, *America’s Boy: A Century of Colonialism in the Philippines* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998), 256, 263-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Mark R. Thompson, *The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the Philippines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995),37-8. See also Jose F. Lacaba, *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage: The First Quarter Storm and Related Events*, (Manila: Asphodel Books, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Sterling Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty* (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 225; Hamilton-Paterson, 256, 263-5; Raymond Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 67-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Pearlie Rose Salaveria Baluyut, “Institutions and Icons of Patronage: Arts and Culture in the Philippines during the Marcos Years, 1965-1986” (PhD Diss. University of California-Los Angeles, 2004), 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Pearlie Rose Salaveria Baluyut, *Institutions and Icons of Patronage: Arts and Culture in the Philippines during the Marcos Years, 1965-1986* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2012), 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Baluyut, *Institutions and Icons of Patronage*, 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Pedro R Nervasa, “The Cultural Center of the Philippines – Asia’s Mecca of the Arts.” *Business Chronicle*, May 31, 1970, 8- 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Nervasa, “The Cultural Center of the Philippines,” 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Nervasa, “The Cultural Center of the Philippines,” 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Gerard Lico, *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Lico, *Edifice Complex*, 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Nick Joaquin, “A Stage for Greatness,” in *Philippines Free Press,* September 13, 1969, quoted in Gerard Lico, *Edifice Complex: Power, Myth, and Marcos State Architecture* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Lico, *Edifice Complex*, 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Lico, *Edifice Complex*, 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Lico, *Edifice Complex*, 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Lico, *Edifice* Complex, 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Nervasa, “The Cultural Center of the Philippines,” [PAGE NUMBER] [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Angel G. de Jesus, “H.R. Ocampo: Unique and Filipino,” *Archipelago* Vol. 5, No. 51. September 1978, 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. For criticism during the CCP’s early years, see Jose S. Salazar, “‘Not Where It’s At’: Cultural Center Is Anti-Revolutionary Instrument of Establishment And Therefore Not Truly Cultural, Says Author,” *Philippines Free Press*, November 15, 1969, 14-15 and 33; Quijano de Manila, “Parthenon or Pantheon: The First Lady Answers the Blast on The Cultural Center by Senator Aquino,” *Philippines Free Press*, February 22, 1969, 2-3 and 72-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. de Manila, “Parthenon or Pantheon,” 72-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. “The Visual Arts in ’69,” *Manila Chronicle*, January 11, 1970. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. See Virginia Ty-Navarro, “Cultural Center and Barbecue Artists,” *Manila Chronicle*, November 4, 1969, 17; Maximo V. Solivan, “David Deserved a Medal and Not Cops’ Truncheon,” *Manila Times*, September 12, 1969; Jose Lacaba, “The Art of Politics. The Politics of Art,” *Philippine Free Press*, September 20, 1969, 72 for coverage of Medalla’s protest in 1969. See also: Patrick D. Flores, “Temerities,” *Pananaw: Philippine Journal of Visual Arts* vol. 7 (Paranaque: Pananaw ng Sining Bayan, Inc., 2010) 21 for more recent commentary. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ty-Navarro, “Cultural Center and Barbecue Artists,” 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Marra Lanot, “A Center for Whom?” *Manila Chronicle*, November 16, 1969, 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. In “The Fifties, A Tribute to Lyd Arguilla,” Documentation of Exhibitions, Main Gallery, 1971, “Bubble Machine” is listed as a “Kinetic Sculpture.” [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Purita Kalaw-Ledesma and Amadis Ma. Guerrero, *The Struggle for Philippine Art* (Manila: Vera-Reyes, 1974), 124. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Hamilton-Paterson, *America’s Boy*, 323; Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator*, 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Lico, *Edifice Complex*,144. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. V.S. Sambo, “Center for the Performing Arts – An Acoustical Marvel,” *Business Chronicle*, May 31, 1970, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Sambo, “Center for the Performing Arts,” 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Sambo, “Center for the Performing Arts,” 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004),3. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*, 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Sambo, “Center for the Performing Arts,” 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Lico, *Edifice Complex*, 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Thompson, *Soundscape of Modernity*,3. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Posters for *Cassettes 100* show that the performance actually cost 5 pesos to attend. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. These days it is not uncommon to see people exercising in front of the doors at the CCP. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Nervasa, “The Cultural Center of the Philippines,” 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Baluyut, *Institutions and Icons of Patronage*, 33-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Santos, *Tunugan*, 130. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Jose Maceda, “Philippine Music and Contemporary Aesthetics,” in *Cultural Freedom in Asia: Rangoon*, ed. H. Passin (Tokyo and Rutland, VT, 1956),120. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. From Maceda’s Notes for *Pagsamba*, *Pagsamba* ArchiveFile (JM-25), Jose Maceda Archives, UP Center of Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Maceda, Notes for *Pagsamba*, *Pagsamba*. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Maceda, Notes for *Pagsamba*, *Pagsamba.* [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Maceda, Notes for *Pagsamba*, *Pagsamba*. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Maceda, Notes for *Pagsamba*, *Pagsamba.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Maceda, “Philippine Music and Contemporary Aesthetics,”120. Not only do the Maceda archives contain much of Maceda’s recordings from his fieldwork, but in one text he also articulated how he wished to document Philippine music and send it via tape recording to libraries around the world—an inversion of the Marcos’ intent to bring international live music to Manila. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Hamilton-Paterson, *America’s Boy*, 256, 264-5; Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator*, 67-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Seagrave, *The Marcos Dynasty*, 225. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Hamilton-Paterson, *America’s Boy*, 256, 263. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Hamilton-Paterson, *America’s Boy*, 283. Another article, published shortly after the deposition of Ferdinand Marcos, noted, “What made the Beams-Marcos affair controversial was not the relationship itself…but the alleged tapes of Dovie’s lovemaking sessions with the deposed president.…The tapes were played on radio during the height of the student activist rebellion in 1971 – 1972 which prompted Marcos to proclaim martial law.” In Nicole S. De Guzman, “Dovie Beams Loved Marcos as Much As He Did,” *Manila Times*, July 8, 1986, 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Alfredo R. Roces, “Cassettes in Concert,” *Manila Times,* March 10, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Leonor Orosa Goquingco, “Cassettes 100: Pushing Criteria Overboard?” *Manila Bulletin,* March 14, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. “Chaotic Concert,” *The Asia Magazine,* May 30, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Jose Maceda, “Drone and Melody in Philippine Musical Instruments,” in *Traditional Drama and Music of Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1974),246. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. *Cassettes 100* Score, Jose Maceda Archive, University of the Philippines-Diliman Center of Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. “Chaotic Concert,” *The Asia Magazine,* May 30, 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Salome Voegelin, *Listening to Noise and Silence* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. *Cassettes 100* Press Release/Notes, *Cassettes 100* Folder, UP Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. “*Cassettes 100* Instructions to Performers About the Use of Tapes,” *Cassettes 100* 1971/Jose Maceda File (JM22), Jose Maceda Archive, University of the Philippines-Diliman Center of Ethnomusicology Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. “*Cassettes 100* Instructions to Performers About the Use of Tapes.” [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. “*Cassettes 100* Participants.” [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. *Cassettes 100*, “Formations I,” Documentation ofMusic Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *Cassettes 100* “Formations I.”

    [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. *Cassettes 100* “Formations II,” Documentation ofMusic Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. *Cassettes 100* “Formations II.” [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. *Cassettes 100* “Formations III,” Documentation ofMusic Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives.

    [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. *Cassettes 100* “Formations III.” [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. *Cassettes 100* “Formations III.”

    [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. *Cassettes 100* “Formations IV,” Documentation ofMusic Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. *Cassettes 100* “Formations V,” Documentation ofMusic Programs, Jan- Mar 1971, Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and Archives. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. “*Cassettes 100* Participants.” [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. “Chaotic Concert,” *The Asia Magazine,* May 30, 1971.  [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Molina, “Happening at CCP Lobby.” [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Molina, “Happening at CCP Lobby.” [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Roces, “Cassettes in Concert.” [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Hand gestures against Marcos during the First Quarter Storm and later during the People’s Power Movement included a raised fist or an “L” shape made from one’s thumb and forefinger. The latter stood for “laban” which means fight or resistance. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Molina, “Happening at CCP Lobby.” [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 126. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. “Chaotic Concert,” 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Ringo Bunoan, “Seeing and Unseeing: The Works of Roberto Chabet,” in *Roberto Chabet* edited by Ringo Bunoan (Manila: King Kong Art Projects Unlimited, 2015), 73. Bunoan describes Chabet’s artwork as “veiled critiques from within the institution itself.” [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Michael Tenzer, “Jose Maceda and the Paradoxes of Modern Composition in Southeast Asia,” *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Tenzer, “Jose Maceda,” 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Santos, *Tunugan*, 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Santos, *Tunugan*, 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Neal Matherne, “Naming the Artist, Composing the Philippines: Listening for the Nation in the National Artist Award” (PhD diss., University of California-Riverside, 2014), 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Rosalinda L. Orosa, “Ugnayan,” *Philippine Quarterly*, March 1974, 40-44 as cited in Santos, *Tunugan*, 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. See Thompson, *The Anti-Marcos Struggle*, 127 and Youngblood, *Marcos Against the Church*, 47–50. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Elizabeth Enriquez, *Radyo: An Essay on Philippine Radio* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 2003), 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Robert L. Youngblood, *Marcos Against the Church: Economic Development and Political Repression in the Philippines* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 85. In *Tunugan* Santos similarly suggests that Imelda Marcos had supported Maceda’s particular endeavor due to her own “sociopolitical agenda of uniting the masses” (142). [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Matherne, “Naming the Artist,” 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Rosalinda L. Orosa, “Ugnayan,” in Santos, *Tunugan*, 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Orosa, “Ugnayan,” 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)